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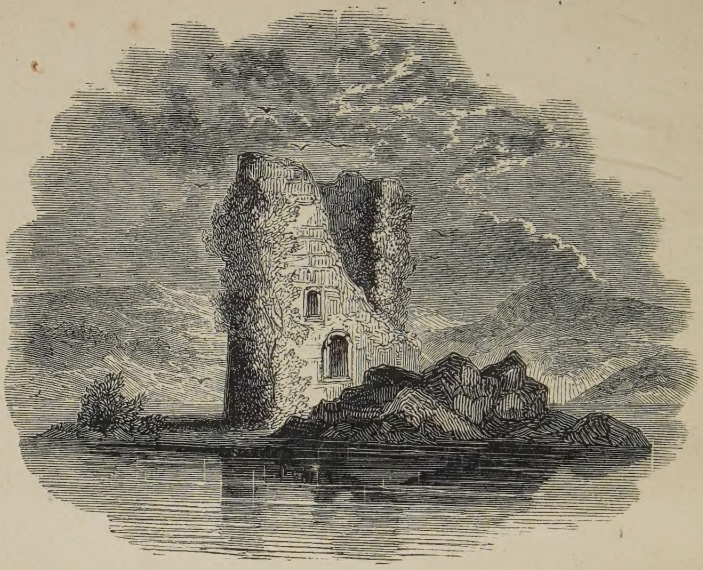

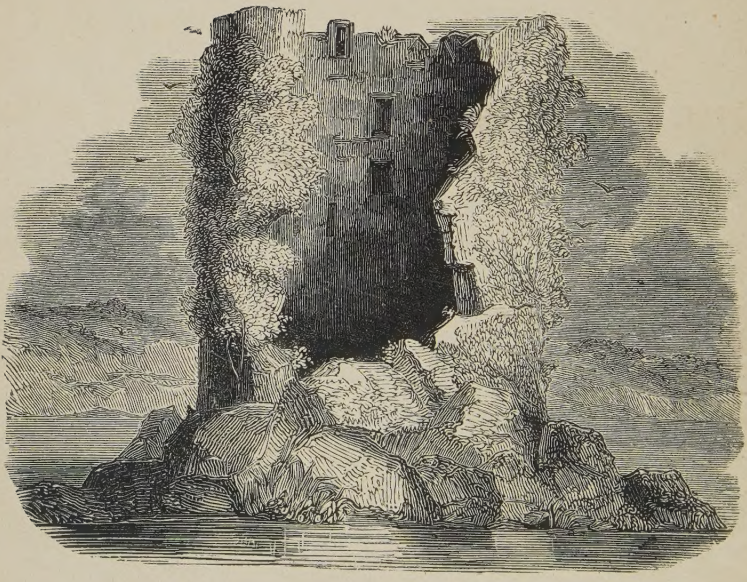

Remains of Lough Oughter Castle, where Bishop Bedell was confined in 1641.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

WITH

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY,

FROM

THE PAPAL USURPATION, IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY,

TO ITS

LEGAL ABOLITION IN THE SIXTEENTH.

BY

THE RIGHT REV^{D}. RICHARD MANT, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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TO THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST,

CATHOLICK AND APOSTOLICK,

UNDER HIS PROVIDENCE

IN IRELAND BY LAW ESTABLISHED:

SPECIALLY TO THE

BISHOPS AND CURATES,

AND THE

CONGREGATIONS COMMITTED TO THEIR CHARGE:

THIS HISTORICAL SKETCH,

INTERESTING PROBABLY FROM ITS SUBJECT, HOWEVER DEFECTIVE IN EXECUTION, IS, AFTER ALMOST TWENTY YEARS OF PROFESSIONAL CONNEXION, PRESENTED AS

THE AUTHOR'S RESPECTFUL OFFERING OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP AND BROTHERLY LOVE.

DOWN AND CONNOR HOUSE,
October, 1839.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

My opinion of the utility of a work on the subject of the present undertaking is briefly stated at its commencement. Ignorance of the existence of such an one induced me to engage in this attempt to supply the deficiency; and I may add, that it certainly would not have been undertaken, if I had hoped to see the realizing of the prospect, several years ago held out to the publick, that a History of the Church of Ireland would be put forth by one so well qualified to execute it, as the present Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. Having, however, been assured by Dr. Elrington, that prolonged ill-health, and other literary and professional occupations, prevented him from fulfilling his intention; and that he should be happy to be released from his promise by the task falling into other hands; I have ventured to do that, with which the reader, as well as myself, might have had better reason to be satisfied, if it had been done by another.

In constructing my work, much difficulty has been encountered, and much information withheld, by the absence of a fuller supply of materials. Of such as I could command, I have endeavoured to make the best use in my power. In some cases advantage has been now and then taken of kind assistance, which

has been for the most part acknowledged on the occasion. But for the friendly zeal and intelligence, by which my attention has been directed to many valuable channels of information in the University Library, as well as for the free use of a copy of WARE's *History of the Bishops*, enriched with a large collection of curious manuscript annotations, derived from various sources, my special thanks are due to its learned possessor, the Reverend James Henthorn Todd, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

R. D. AND C.

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THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

SUMMARY VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, FROM THE PAPAL USURPATION, IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, IN THE SIXTEENTH.

SECTION I.

Introduction. Polity and Independence of the Church. Commencement of the Pope's Interference. The Archiepiscopal Pall. Nomination to Bishopricks. Papal Encroachments on the Royal Prerogative.

Introduction. Occasion of the present work.

AN acquaintance with the history of the Reformed Church of Ireland is necessary for completing an acquaintance with the history of the British empire in general, as well as with that of Ireland in particular. It is also necessary for completing an acquaintance with the history of that National Church, of which the Irish Church forms an integral member, the United Church of England and Ireland. But an acquaintance with the history of the Reformed Church of Ireland is not readily attainable: for, whilst England and Scotland each possess its ecclesiastical histories, Ireland is destitute of similar channels of intelligence. Those, indeed, who are solicitous on the subject, and have the various sources of information at hand, may search it out, where it lies overwhelmed, as a secondary topick, among the records of the general history of the country; or

imperfectly blended with the biographies of eminent political or ecclesiastical characters: or mixed up with heaps of miscellaneous documents. But it is not easy thus to procure a copious, detailed, entire, and continuous view: and in all likelihood the consequence is, that the history of the Reformed Irish Church is known, with any considerable degree of accuracy and fulness, by a few only; and by the many is hardly known at all.

And the design of it.

The design of the present undertaking is to give a regular narrative of events in the Church of Ireland, and thus to supply a defect in the ecclesiastical history of the British empire, during the important period that intervened between the commencement of the Reformation, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and its final establishment by the abdication of King James the Second. Information on this subject may be found, as already intimated, dispersed over several quarters, but it requires to be collected, combined, and arranged: and although, after all, it be incomplete, from the failure of many valuable documents, still, perhaps, sufficient may be brought forward to engage and reward attention. The circumstances of my professional life naturally made me desirous of becoming possessed of this information; and that, which I in the first place endeavoured to procure and digest for my own satisfaction, I thought might be so increased and constructed as to be not unacceptable to others. But before we enter on the proposed narrative, it will be useful to take a brief survey of the condition of the Irish Church at the beginning of the proposed period, or rather during the three or four centuries that preceded it.

Primitive polity

The polity of the Church of Ireland, like that of

all national members of the Church Catholick, was from the first episcopal, comprising the three orders of ministers: bishops, priests, and deacons. At the era of the Reformation, its episcopate consisted of four archbishops and twenty-six suffragan bishops. Each of the archbishops had metropolitan authority and jurisdiction in his own province; and the Archbishop of Armagh, being the Primate of all Ireland, possessed a visitatorial power over the other three provinces. The suffragan bishops had been in former times much more numerous. In the earliest ages, indeed, of the existence of the Irish Church, they are said to have exceeded three hundred: but many of these were situated in small villages or districts, and their number was soon reduced. In the year 1152, or about four centuries before the Reformation, in a national synod, they amounted to thirty-four: of whom ten were in the province of Armagh, five in that of Dublin, twelve of Cashel, and seven of Tuam. Of some of these the names were retained at the time of the Reformation, and indeed are still preserved; but of the greater number the names had at that period been changed into others of a simpler form and more easy pronunciation, or had been merged in the names of other contiguous bishopricks, with which the smaller and less important had been united[1].

of the Church of Ireland.

Until about the middle of the twelfth century the Church of Ireland maintained its character, as an independent national church, without acknowledging any pre-eminence, authority, or jurisdiction, of the See of Rome. The Archbishops of Armagh exercised a spiritual power throughout the country;

Independence of the Irish Church.

[1] *History and Antiquities of Ireland*, by Sir JAMES WARE, Knight; edited by Walter Harris, Esq. Dublin, 1764. Vol. ii. p. 285.

and erected archbishopricks and bishopricks without consultation or communication with the Roman Pontiff. For the supply of vacant bishopricks persons were elected by the clergy, or by the clergy and laity, of the diocese, recommending them to the king; or by the king's nomination or influence, concurring with the good will of the clergy and people: whereupon the bishop-elect was sent to the archbishop for consecration: to the Archbishops of Armagh for the most part, except in the case of those colonies of Ostmen from the north of Europe, who inhabited the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick; and who, esteeming themselves countrymen of the Normans, now in possession of England and of its highest ecclesiastical dignities, sent their bishops to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But in every case these appointments and consecrations were altogether independent of the Papal See[2].

Appointment of bishops.

First interference of the Pope.

The earliest interference of the Pope on such occasions in Ireland was in the twelfth century.

Archiepiscopal palls solicited by Archbishop Malachy.

The pallium, or pall, is an ensign of dignity, which the Pope had taken upon himself to confer upon archbishops. But this ensign was never worn by an Irish archbishop until the year 1152[3]. Malachy O'Morgair had occupied the archiepiscopal see of Armagh by the joint suffrages of the clergy and people, and resigned it afterwards by his own voluntary act in 1137, retiring to the suffragan bishoprick of Down. What was his motive to the step, which he took two years later, has not been distinctly

Year of our Lord 1137

[2] *Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish.* By Dr. JAMES USSHER, Archbishop of Armagh; edit. Dublin, 1815, chap. viii.

[3] WARE'S *History of the Irish Bishops*, being vol. i. of his *History and Antiquities*, p. 55.

stated; but it is most probably to be found in a desire to assimilate the usages and discipline of the Irish Church more nearly to those of Rome; especially by introducing among the clergy an obligation to celibacy, which was not required of them at the time in question, but was, at an early period after, most earnestly imposed upon them by Malachy in his new capacity, in which he soon made his appearance among them. However this be, the step, which he now took, was that of a journey to Rome, for the purpose of soliciting from the Pope two palls: one for the metropolitan see of Armagh, which, though possessed from the beginning of archiepiscopal dignity and authority, had never borne the archiepiscopal pall; the other, for the newly-constituted metropolitical church of Cashel, which was indebted for its creation to his almost immediate predecessor Celsus.

The Pope's courteous reception of Malachy.

Innocent the Second, who at that time filled the Papal chair, received Malachy very courteously, informed himself accurately by his means of the condition of the Irish Church, confirmed the establishment of the archbishoprick, invested him with the office of his legate in Ireland, an office recently instituted, and previously filled by only one occupant[4], and dismissed him with tokens of singular respect and benevolence: but with regard to the palls, he acquainted him, that a matter of that consequence ought to be transacted with great solemnity, and by the common suffrages of a National Council, which the Pope advised him to call on his return into Ireland, with a promise that, upon their request, the palls should be granted. The Papal policy appears to have been to encourage the zeal of the voluntary agent, so as eventually to produce the desired

[4] Abp. USSHER's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 74.

consummation, but to be cautious of adopting any measure without being previously assured that it would be acceptable to the Irish Church.

Malachy's exertions to promote the Papal authority.

On his return to Ireland, Malachy, in his character of Papal legate, proceeded to exercise his function in all parts of the country, and was indefatigable in his efforts to reduce the Irish Church to a conformity with that of Rome. Gelasius had succeeded to the vacancy which he had made in the archbishoprick of Armagh. And matters being at length judged ripe for prosecuting the application for the palls, with the concurrence of the primate and the legate, a national synod was assembled at

Year of our Lord 1148.

Holmpatrick, in the year 1148, when fifteen bishops, two hundred priests, and a considerable number of the inferior clergy, are said to have attended, and joined in making a solicitation to the Pope. Eugenius the Third had in the interval succeeded to the Papal chair. To him, therefore, the request of the assembly was addressed; and Malachy, at his own urgent entreaty, was deputed to convey it. His sudden illness and death upon his journey caused an interruption in the progress of the business committed to him. But the delay was of no long duration. The opportunity for the Pope's interposition, afforded by the previous transactions, was not to be omitted. And accordingly, in the year 1152, John Paparo, Cardinal Priest, having been appointed by the Pope his apostolick legate to Ireland, arrived with four palls, which he was commanded to confer on the four Irish archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam[5].

Palls conferred on the four archbishops by Cardinal Paparo.

For the more solemn execution of the Papal commission, another national synod was convened at

[5] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 58.

Kells, on the 9th of March, 1152. To the mandate which ordered this convention, the greater part of the Irish bishops yielded obedience; there were some, however, of them, as well as of the inferior clergy, among whom those of Armagh and of Down are particularly noticed, who refused to sanction, by their presence, the acts of the council. But the legate, regardless of the opposition, proceeded to execute his instructions in the presence of those clergy who were assembled: and he accordingly conferred the pall on each of the four archbishops, distinguishing, at the same time, the See of Armagh with its peculiar honour, and recognising Gelasius, in accordance with ancient usage, as the Primate of all Ireland.

Year of our Lord 1152.

"The Annals of St. Mary's Abbey," says Harris, in his edition of Sir JAMES WARE'S *Lives*, "and those at the end of Camden, call this prelate 'the first Archbishop of Armagh; that is, the first who used the pall: although others before him were called archbishops and primates out of reverence to St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, whose see was, from the beginning, held in the greatest honour, not only by bishops and priests, but by kings and princes.'" The fact is as we have seen; he was the first archbishop who compromised the independence of the National Church of Ireland by accepting the stamp and ensign of his ecclesiastical dignity from the hands of a foreign prelate.

Gelasius, the first Archbishop of Armagh who used the pall.

A foundation was thus laid for the Bishop of Rome's interference with the vacant Irish Sees; but it does not appear to have been extended further than the bestowing of the archiepiscopal pall till the year 1206. In the mean time, King Henry the

Progress of the Pope's interference with the Irish Church.

Second had acquired the dominion of Holland, in
1172. 1172; and soon after the acquisition, namely, in
1175. 1175, had exercised his prerogative in a council held at Windsor, by giving the bishoprick of Waterford, then vacant, to an Irishman named Augustin, and sending him to the Archbishop of Cashel for con-
1202. secration. But in 1202, the lordship of Ireland having, in the mean time, passed to King John, on a vacancy which occurred in the archbishoprick of Armagh, a competition for the succession ensued among Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath; Ralph, le Petit, or the Little, archdeacon of Meath: and Humphrey de Tickhull, each of them pretending to be the candidate on whom the choice of the electors had fallen. The king decided in favour of Tickhull, on the 4th of May, 1202. But another candidate, Eugene MacGillivider, was declared archbishop by the Pope. The king, incensed by this usurpation of his authority, sent mandatory letters, on the 22nd of
1203. May, 1203, to all the suffragan bishops of that province, forbidding them to acknowledge Eugene for their metropolitan: and circulated duplicates among all his faithful subjects of the province, imposing on them the like prohibition[6].

First archbishop appointed by the Pope.

About the end of that year, however, the king's archbishop died; and his authority was then exerted in confirming the election of Ralph, archdeacon of Meath. But Eugene, who, by his Irish extraction and his personal good qualities, was rendered popular with the clergy and laity, had on the very first occasion hastened to the Court of Rome, and secured a publick acknowledgment and formal ratification of his claim from the Papal See. A powerful influence was also set in motion by himself or his friends for

[6] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 62.

counteracting the opposition of the king: three hundred marks of silver and three marks of gold, presented in Eugene's behalf by two friars of Mellifont, for restitution of the lands and liberties appurtenant to the archbishoprick, dispersed the indignation, and secured the acquiescence of the unworthy sovereign. In the grants made to British adventurers, the donation of bishopricks and abbeys had been expressly reserved to the Lord of Ireland; but the honour of the crown and the dignity of the country weighed light against the necessities of the weak and venal John; his wrath was appeased by the gratification of his covetousness, and he confirmed the appointment of Eugene[7].

King John's weakness and venality. 1206.

This is the first Archbishop of Armagh who appears to have been appointed by the Pope's provision; nor can any instance be cited of a pretence on the part of the Pope to confirm a bishop, when elected, till the fatal collation of the archiepiscopal palls. But from this period history abounds with lamentable examples of controversy between the king and the Pope for this attribute of ecclesiastical supremacy. The nature of this controversy, as well as the general course which henceforth prevailed in episcopal appointments, may be understood from the following statement.

Subsequent contests between the king and the Pope for episcopal appointments.

Upon the next vacancy of the see of Armagh, in 1217, Luke Netterville, the archdeacon, was regularly and canonically elected by the chapter; and went over to England with the instrument of his election, for the purpose of procuring the king's confirmation. This, however, was refused, upon the plea of the election having been made without the king's licence. For it had been the constant order

Regular method of appointing bishops. 1217.

[7] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 64.

of proceeding in England, and the same became the order in Ireland after the introduction of the English laws, that, upon a vacancy in the archbishoprick or bishoprick, the chapter first sued to the king for a *congé d'élire:* that is, a licence to proceed to election; and, after an election made, they certified it to the king, and obtained his royal assent; and thereupon he issued a writ of restitution to the temporalties, which he held in his hands until the see was settled. If any chapter proceeded to an election without the king's previous licence, the king annulled the act, and commanded them to proceed to a new election, upon licence first obtained. Sometimes, however, he was graciously pleased to pardon the contempt; always adding to the grant of this favour a clause, that it should not be made a precedent to the prejudice of the crown, and obliging both the electors and the elected to give security for that purpose; and sometimes he proceeded judicially against the offenders, and imposed a heavy fine on them for their contempt[8].

Interference of the Pope with such appointments.

Meanwhile the Pope often interfered; and, when he found an election to a church litigated, would place a pastor in it, "out of the plenitude of his power," as he termed it, without any election; and would often disapprove and nullify canonical elections, and place his own dependants in vacant sees, in contempt and violation of the king's prerogative. Still, whatever power the Pope usurped on these occasions, it had relation only to the spiritualties; namely, those profits which the bishop received as bishop, and not as a baron of parliament, such as visitation, ordination, and institution dues. The temporalties, or lay revenues, which the bishop

[8] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 63.

enjoyed, still remained entire to the crown; and the provisional bishop had but little for his subsistence, until he obtained restitution to the temporalties by the king's consent.

Thus to complete the appointment of a bishop, there were henceforth three parties concerned: the king, the Pope, and the diocesan chapter; and of these the conflicting sentiments and wishes were the fruitful source of much contest and confusion, by no means conducive to the honour or welfare of the Church. As to the chapter, indeed, they had little more than a nominal share in the appointment; for the *congé d'élire* by degrees was considered as leaving to the electors only the shadow of a right, while, in the licence to elect, the king named the person to be elected. The inutility and absurdity of this method were perceived; and accordingly at an early season of the Reformation, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, the *congé d'élire* was abolished in Ireland; and the nomination to bishopricks left to the appointment of the crown by letters patent, without any capitular election. But with respect to the rival claims of the king and the Pope, matters were not so easily adjusted. Much inconvenience was continually caused by the conflict of the supposed rights of each; nor was the Pope satisfied with his actual usurpation of the spiritualties, but sometimes endeavoured to wrest the temporalties also out of the power of the crown. Hence it became the constant practice for bishops, on receiving their temporalties from the king, to renounce by a solemn document all right to the same by virtue of any Papal provision, and to acknowledge that they were granted only by the royal bounty. Yet the Pope was often on the watch to make encroach-

Inconvenient consequences of this method.

Papal usurpations.

ments on the crown, when it was worn by a prince naturally feeble, or involved in political difficulties.

1258. Submission of King Henry the Third.

Thus, in 1258, when King Henry the Third was at war with his barons, Pope Alexander the Fourth sent him an insolent command to restore Abraham O'Conellan to the temporalties of the archbishoprick of Armagh, which had been granted to him by his Holiness through the plenitude of his power; and to that command the necessitous king tamely submitted[9].

Further encroachments of the Papacy on royal prerogative.

Other encroachments were attempted to be made on the royal prerogative by the Papal provisions, in which were inserted clauses prejudicial to the king and the kingdom. As a counteraction of such encroachments, it was customary for the Irish bishops to receive consecration in England, that so, before the completion of their titles by the king, they might be obliged to renounce in person any claims prejudicial to the crown, contained in the Pope's bulls. Sometimes this renunciation was allowed to be made by proxy; and then the bishop-elect was spared the trouble and expense of a journey into England, by virtue of a royal mandate for his consecration by the Irish Metropolitan, as in the instance of Richard de Northampton, consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin to the bishoprick of Ferns in 1282[10]. In pursuance of the same principle of counteraction, in the time of King Edward the Second, in 1306, the king refused to restore the temporalties to Walter, who had been restored to the archbishoprick of Armagh by the Pope's provision, until he had renounced all the offensive clauses, and engaged to pay a fine of a thousand crowns for that misde-

[9] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 67.

[10] *Ib.*, p. 441.

meanour[11]. It was another device of the Papal see, to protract the time by long and useless delays in examining a bishop's election; and so to constrain him, though lawfully elected, to resign his right into the Pope's hands, and to receive his bishoprick again by the Pope's provision dearly purchased, as in the case of William de Bermingham, elected to the archbishoprick of Tuam in 1289; and, on his resignation of his lawful claim, reappointed to that see by the Pope[12].

Prejudicial influence of the Papal See.

But the influence of the Papal See in Ireland was made instrumental to the furtherance of its ambitious projects, in other ways prejudicial to the rights both of the sovereign and the subject. In 1229, a chaplain of the Pope was sent over with a demand of the tenths of all the moveables, to support him against the Emperor Frederick: a tax so hard to be discharged, that it was necessary to part from, not only the cadows and aqua vitæ, but even the chalices and altar-cloths[13]. In 1240, another missionary arrived from Pope Gregory, with a demand, under pain of excommunication and other censures ecclesiastical, of the twentieth part of the whole land, besides donations and private gratuities for the maintenance of the war against the emperor: whereby he extorted a thousand and five hundred marks or more[14]. In 1270, another messenger was sent, requiring the tithes of all spiritual promotions for three years to come, to carry on the wars of the Pope with the King of Arragon; a demand which was greatly murmured at and gainsaid, yet the nuncio went not empty away[15]. In 1329, a remarkable reservation in

[11] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 71.
[12] *Ib.*, p. 608.
[13] *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*. By Richard Cox, Esq.; 1689. vol. i. p. 61.
[14] Cox, i., 65.
[15] *Annals of Ireland*. By Sir James Ware. Hen. iii. p. 57.

favour of the Papacy was made in a commission, sent by the Pope's Penitentiary General to the Dean of St. Patrick's, empowering him to hear the Archbishop of Dublin's confession of certain crimes, in pursuance of the request of the archbishop himself; the commission, in the thirteenth year of the pontificate of Pope John the Twenty-second, empowered the dean to remit all the sins which might be confessed by the archbishop, except contempt of Papal authority[16]. And in 1394, Pope Boniface the Ninth, for the promotion of a favourite of his own, took the extraordinary step of translating William O'Cormacain, against his will, from the archbishoprick of Tuam to the bishoprick of Clonfert: a translation which the archbishop took so much to heart, that he neglected to expedite his Bull in due time, and was thereupon deprived, and fell into a fit of sickness, which at last terminated in his death: "a new strain," as Harris hath well remarked, "of the Pope's usurped power; who presumed to do what the king could not do, namely, to deprive a man of his freehold without the judgment of his peers[17]."

SECTION II.

Encroachments by the Irish Hierarchy on the King's Prerogative. Arrogance and Violence of the Prelates towards each other. Other Enormities in the Hierarchy. Abuses of Excommunication. Treatment of Hereticks.

Example of the Papal See followed by the Irish hierarchy.

MEANWHILE the same spirit of encroachment, which actuated the occupiers of the Roman See in opposition to the royal prerogative, was imparted to the

[16] *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* By W. MONCK MASON, Esq. Dublin, 1820. p. 122.

[17] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 640.

highest order of ecclesiasticks; and manifested itself, as occasions were offered, in the members of the Irish hierarchy.

Instances of encroachments by the prelates on the royal prerogative, in an Archbishop of Dublin;

In the early part of the thirteenth century, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, filled the honourable and confidential office of Lord Justice of Ireland under King John. Yet so regardless was he of the trust reposed in him, and of the consequent duty, and so glaring were his infringements of the rights of the crown, by drawing temporal causes into ecclesiastical courts, that the clamours of the subjects were no less excited against him than the resentment of the king; and in the year 1223, on the complaints of the citizens of Dublin, a writ was issued to prohibit him from such practices in future, not without threats of severe penalties if he proceeded[1].

In an archbishop of Armagh;

Similar writs of prohibition, under pain of losing his temporalties, were issued against Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh; who, during his occupancy of the metropolitical see, from 1240 to 1247, roused the displeasure of King Henry the Third, by labouring to advance the usurped authority of the Pope; and especially by prosecuting a long suit with the prior of Lanthony in the spiritual court, concerning pleas of advowson and patronage which belonged only to the temporal courts of the king[2].

In the bishops collectively;

About 1250, the bishops in general formed a project to deprive the king of the custody of the temporalties during the vacancy of a see; and also to prevent their tenants from suing in the king's courts without the Pope's assent[3].

In a Bishop of Down;

About 1277, Nicholas, bishop of Down, asserted his privilege to hold almost all pleas of the crown in his manors; and claimed cognisance of felonies, and

[1] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 319. [2] *Ib.*, p. 66. [3] *Ib.*, p. 506.

the right of ransoming felons; for which he was called to account by King Edward the First, and amerced. A full narration of the charge and the judgment is given by Harris, as a "discovery of the usurpations made on the crown by the aspiring bishops of those days." And in the year 1297, the same bishop was indicted for another offence of a similar complexion. For the abbey of the convent of St. John at Down being void, the prior and convent sought and obtained the king's licence for electing another abbot. But the bishop broke into the Abbey, and stole the letters of licence, and created an abbot of his own choice, and restored to him the temporalties; whereupon both he and the newly-created abbot were prosecuted for the usurpation[4].

In an Archbishop of Armagh;

In the interval between these two occurrences, namely, in 1285, the Archbishop of Armagh, Nicholas Mac Molissa, made an attack on the king's prerogative, by seizing the temporalties of the See of Dromore during a vacancy; for which he was prosecuted in the King's Bench in Ireland, and amerced twenty marks, half of the penalty being afterwards remitted by the king, on his paying the remainder. The same primate, in 1291, promoted and headed a very extraordinary association, whereby the three other archbishops, all the suffragan bishops, all the deans and chapters, and the other orders and degrees of the clergy, unanimously engaged in a confederacy, not only under their hands and seals, but confirmed, moreover, by the sanction of an oath. They swore, first, that if they, or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should, by *any lay power or jurisdiction whatever*, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would at their

In an association of the archbishops and bishops;

[4] WARE, p. 199.

common expense in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular. Secondly, that if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders, should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by *any lay power or jurisdiction*, they would amply, and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damages, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues. Other articles of the agreement pledged them to mutual co-operation in enforcing sentences of excommunication, so that, if a person excommunicated in one diocese, should flee to another, the place where he continued should be put under an interdict; and laid every archbishop and bishop, who should be negligent in executing the agreement, under a penalty respectively of five hundred marks and two hundred pounds, to the Pope. This agreement was executed in the Dominican convent at Trim, the Sunday after St. Matthew's day; and, as Harris observes, needs no comment[5].

In an Archbishop of Cashel, and his suffragans;

In 1346, a parliament, holden at Kilkenny, having granted the king, Edward the Third, a subsidy for the exigences of the state, the Archbishop of Cashel opposed its being levied within his province, and summoned an assembly of his suffragan bishops, who joined with him in decreeing that all beneficed clergymen, that contributed to the subsidy, should be *ipso facto* deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of obtaining any other preferment within that province; that any of the laity, who were their tenants, contributing, should be *ipso facto* excommunicated; and that their children to the third generation should be incapable of being

[5] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 70.

promoted in the province to any ecclesiastical benefice. In consequence of these decrees the archbishop and the three bishops, who had attended the assembly, went to Clonmel; and in their pontifical robes, openly, in the middle of the street, excommunicated all who had advised or granted the subsidy, and all who were concerned in levying it; especially the king's commissioner for receiving it from the several collectors in the county of Tipperary[6].

In a Bishop of Limerick.

And in 1423, February the 3rd, a writ was directed to Cornelius O'Dea, bishop of Limerick, requiring him to appear before Edward, bishop of Meath, lord deputy, without excuse, on Tuesday next before St. Patrick's day, to answer such things as should be objected to him on the king's part, which summons he disobeyed[7].

Unbecoming conduct of the prelates towards each other.

There are on record during the same period various examples of arrogant and domineering conduct in different members of the hierarchy towards each other, which reflect much discredit on the individuals, and are no slight scandal to the Church. Among these disputes and contests, one of the most prominent is the rivalry, which prevailed for three or four centuries, between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right of each bearing his cross erect in the province of the other. This controversy, which had existed in earlier times, but been allayed in 1262, again broke out in 1311, when it was revived by John Lech, archbishop of Dublin; who, relying on the support of the king, whose favourite and almoner he was, forbade the primate, Walter Jorse, to appear in the province of Dublin with that emblem of metropolitical dignity.

Controversy between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin.

[6] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 478.

[7] *Rot. Pat. Tur. Berm.* 2 Hen. VIII. N. 45, D.

The primate declined the contest, being probably overborne by the king's power, which supported his competitor[8]. But, on the death of the primate, his brother, Robert Jorse, who succeeded him, continued the contest; and, having arrived at Howth the day after the Annunciation in 1313, he arose in the night-time, and by stealth erected his cross, and carried it in that position as far as the Priory of Grace Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where some of the archbishop's family met him; and, beating down his cross, drove him in confusion out of Leinster[9]. This contest was carried on from time to time with such violence, that on five several occasions, between the years 1429 and 1438, John Swain, the archbishop of Armagh, having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, as often made returns to the writ of summons, that he could not personally attend without violating his consecration oath "to defend the rights of his see, being hindered by the contradiction and rebellion of the archbishop and clergy of Dublin, on the articles of bearing his cross and his primatial jurisdiction in that province[10]." And similar returns were made by his successor, John Prene, in 1442 and 1443, and four times by Archbishop Mey in 1446, and the three succeeding years[11]. An interval of tranquillity succeeded, till the controversy was again raised by Archbishop Alan, a prelate of a high and turbulent spirit, in 1533, in opposition to Primate Cromer[12].

In the meantime different scenes of disgraceful outrage were occurring, in which the rulers of the Church unhappily bore too conspicuous a part.

[8] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 74. [9] *Ib.*, p. 75. [10] *Ib.*, p. 77.
[11] *Ib.*, p. 86. [12] *Ib.*, p. 78, 348.

Contention between the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore.

About the year 1210 a most scandalous contention was carried on between two rival prelates, of Waterford and of Lismore, concerning certain lands alleged by each to be the property of his see. The question was referred for decision to delegates appointed by the Pope. The history is too long for insertion. But what especially relates to our immediate purpose, is the conduct of the Bishop of Waterford; who, being condemned by the delegates, and enraged at their sentence, formed a private plot with some of his dependents, for seizing the Bishop of Lismore. They besieged him for some time in his cathedral, where he was engaged in divine service. As he quitted the church they fell upon him, tore off his episcopal robes, robbed the church of its property, and hurried him from place to place, till they brought him to the castle of Dungarven, where the Bishop of Waterford threw him into a dungeon in irons. Seven weeks after, the Bishop of Lismore, having been cruelly macerated with thirst and hunger, escaped from prison; but was again surprised and seized by the Bishop of Waterford's clerk, who drew a sword and attempted to cut off his head. These opprobrious transactions were accompanied by the most outrageous behaviour of the Bishop of Waterford against the delegates and his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel; and led to a sentence of excommunication against him and his clergy, who abetted him in his outrages[13].

Usurpations of Bishop of Derry.

About 1266 a part of the diocese of Raphoe was taken away, and annexed to the see of Derry, by the overbearing power of the bishop of the latter see; who also treated after the same manner many churches of the diocese of Clogher[14].

[13] WARE, p. 523. [14] *Ib.*, pp. 271, 283.

In 1353 a contest arose between the Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragan, the Bishop of Waterford, who had burned two Irishmen for heresy, without the licence of the metropolitan: or, according to another account, for a contumely offered to the Virgin Mary. Thereupon "on Thursday after St. Francis's day, a little before midnight, the archbishop entered privately into the church-yard of the blessed Trinity at Waterford, with a numerous guard of armed men; and made an assault on the bishop in his lodgings, and grievously wounded him and many others in his company, and robbed him of his goods[15]."

Contest between Archbishop of Cashel and Bishop of Waterford.

This was an outrage of a metropolitan on his inferior; the following is that of a suffragan on his superior. In 1369, a Bishop of Limerick having been accused of violating the privileges of the Franciscan Friars, the matter was referred, by the Pope, to the Archbishop of Cashel. But on a citation being issued for an answer to the alleged grievances, the bishop laid violent hands on the archbishop, tore the citation from him with such force that he drew his blood, and ordered him to be gone, with menaces of further injury to him and his attendants. In the end, after much litigation, the archbishop being compelled to fly from Limerick by the danger of fresh personal assaults, the bishop, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, entered the city with his accomplices; and by bell, book, and candle, publickly excommunicated every person who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment. And when the archbishop, on a day of solemnity, repaired to Limerick, according to custom, to preach, the bishop caused publick proclamation to be made, that no

Outrage of the Bishop of Limerick on the Archbishop of Cashel.

[15] Ware, p. 533.

person, under pain of excommunication, should hear his sermon; and excommunicated by name those who attended it; and when the archbishop left the city, the bishop sent after him some of his servants, who laid violent hands upon him, and forced the bridle from his horse[16].

Allusion to other enormities.

Some acquaintance with these enormities is necessary for giving an insight into the condition of the Irish Church, during the ages preceding the Reformation: but it is painful to dwell upon them in detail. It may suffice, therefore, to allude in passing to the extortion of the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry de Loundres, in 1212, whom "they nicknamed, as the Irish do commonly give additions to their governors, in respect of some fact or quality, 'scorch-villain' and 'burn-bill,' because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colourably pretending to learn the kind of each man's several tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their estates or to hold at will[17]:"—

Extortion of Archbishop of Dublin.

Trials by battle.

To the trial by battle, in 1284, waged in a writ of right for a disputed manor, between the champion of the Bishop of Ossory, and the champion of his competitor[18]; and to a similar trial by combat, appointed in 1446, in Smithfield, between Thomas Fitzgerald, prior of Kilmainham, and James Butler, earl of Ormond, the former having impeached the latter of high treason[19]:—

Action between

To the action brought in 1309, by the prior of

[16] WARE, p. 508.

[17] CAMPION'S *History of Ireland*, c. iii.

[18] WARE'S *Bishops*, 406. Cox, i. 76.

[19] WARBURTON'S *History of Dublin*, i. 180.

the Abbey of Ardfert, against the bishop of that diocese, and the chaplain of the church, for forcibly taking from the friars of the convent the corpse of John de Cantelupe, and burying it elsewhere, and also for beating and otherwise ill-using sundry friars of the house; the bishop, at the same time, prohibiting all persons, under pain of excommunication, from furnishing the friars with any necessaries, either through charity or otherwise[20]:—

Prior of Ardfert, and bishop.

To the great controversy which arose in 1337, between the Archbishop of Armagh and the regulars, when at length, by favour of the Pope, the friars got the better of the prelate[21]:—

Controversy between Archbishop of Armagh, and friars.

To the resistance made in 1381, by the prior and brethren of St. Saviour's Friary, Dublin, against the appointment, by the Pope and the general master of the Dominicans, of a provincial of that order; opposing him by force of arms on his arrival at the monastery, meeting him at the door in coats of mail, with swords, clubs, and other weapons, assaulting him, and, with the assistance of the people, who rushed in on the ringing of the bell, seizing the provincial and his partizans, dragging them like common malefactors through the city, and imprisoning them in the castle[22]:—

Assault of Prior of St. Saviour's Friary on provincial of the order.

To the articles of impeachment alleged in parliament, in 1421, by the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore against the Archbishop of Cashel, charging him, among other offences, with the scandalous enormities of counterfeiting the King of England's seal, and his letters patent, and sacrilegiously taking a ring from the image of St. Patrick, and giving it to his concubine[23]:

Impeachment of Archbishop of Cashel for scandalous enormities.

[20] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 300.

[21] Cox, i. 124.

[22] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 208.

[23] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 480.

Irregularities and publick adultery of Bishop of Down.

To the numerous irregularities of the Bishop of Down, in 1434; and especially his criminal conversation, and publick cohabitation, with a married woman, in the castle of Kilclief, his episcopal residence[24]:—

Rival claimants of bishoprick of Kilmore.

To the contest, in 1489, between two rival claimants of one and the same bishoprick, both asserting their right to the episcopal dignity, and both strangely entitled, at a provincial synod, "by the grace of God, Bishops of Kilmore[25]:"—

Rival claimants of Priory of Kilmainham.

To the no less remarkable contention in 1485, between two claimants of the priory of Kilmainham, prosecuted with violence and outrage, and terminating in their ignominious ejection from their dignity, and in the death of one in imprisonment, and of the other in poverty and disgrace[26]:—

Controversy between the two cathedrals of Dublin.

To the pertinacious and irreconcileable controversy between the two cathedrals of Dublin, concerning the election of their archbishop, which continued to be carried on between the contending parties, notwithstanding the efforts of the Pope for their reconciliation[27]:—

Murder of Bishop of Leighlin by his archdeacon.

And to the murder, in 1525, of a Bishop of Leighlin, by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction[28].

Abuse of the power of excommunication.

Incidental mention was just now made of excommunication, and the greater excommunication also was specifically noticed. This penalty was of two sorts: the less and the greater. The effect of

The less excommunication,

the less was to separate the subjects of it from a

[24] HARRIS's *State of the County of Down*, 1744, p. 24.
[25] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 229.
[26] WARE's *Annals*, Hen. VII. p. 2.
[27] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 320.
[28] *Ib.*, p. 461.

participation of all the sacraments of the Church, and to retain them in that condition, until they were assoiled or absolved, The greater excommunication was much more formidable. For its effect was a separation of those against whom it was pronounced, "from God, and from all holy Church, and also from the company of all Christian folk, never to be saved by the passion of Christ, nor to be holpen by the sacraments that be done in holy Church, nor to have part with any Christian man[29]." I cite the description from an English writer, but I suppose it to be equally applicable to the Irish Church. This powerful engine of ecclesiastical discipline, in both its divisions, was not unfrequently wielded against individuals or communities by the rulers of the Church: if sometimes in visitation of offences, which required severe reprobation, at others in a manner the most arbitrary, for the gratification of personal revenge or avarice, and in a degree which was much more than commensurate with the offence, and to an extent which comprehended the innocent with the offender.

And the greater.

The exclusion of individuals from the communion of the church was a common exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, early in the thirteenth century, for the most outrageous treatment of the Bishop of Lismore, followed by contumacy towards the Pope's delegates: first, the partizans of Robert, bishop of Waterford, then the Bishop of Waterford himself, and lastly the clergy of his diocese, were excommunicated by the Archbishop of Cashel, and under the Pope's authority, with the solemnity of a publick proclamation, and the accompaniments of bell, book, and candle[30].

Excommunication of individuals,

By an Archbishop of Cashel;

[29] Becon's *Reliques of Rome*. *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 378, b.

[30] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 529.

By an Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragans;

In 1346, Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, with three of his suffragan bishops, decreed that all their tenants who should contribute to a certain subsidy, should be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated[31].

By a Bishop of Limerick;

Peter, bishop of Limerick, in the year 1376, treated the brethren of the Gray Friary in that city with great indignity; and excommunicated every person who should either repair thither to hear divine service, or desire sepulture within their church. And afterwards, having been cited to appear before the Archbishop of Cashel for heresy, the same bishop in his pontificals entered the city of Limerick, and by bell, book, and candle, excommunicated every person who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment[32].

By an Archbishop of Armagh;

In 1424, a sentence of the greater excommunication was denounced by John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, on Catharine O'Farrel and Cornelius, her son, in case of disobedience to a claim for some of the principal goods, such as his horse, his ring, and his cup, which belonged to a deceased Bishop of Ardfert; and a similar claim was made on the executor of a deceased Bishop of Clogher, in pursuance, as the citation states, of a prescriptive custom[33].

By an Archbishop of Armagh;

In or about 1442, O'Donnel, prince of his clan, having seized the profits of the bishoprick of Raphoe, of which Archbishop Prene was the guardian, and being aided in his usurpation by the dean and chapter, the archbishop prosecuted them to a suspension, excommunication, and interdict, declared O'Donnel an heretick, and deprived the dean and chapter of their benefices[34].

General excommunication;

A general interdict, or the excommunication of

[31] WARE, p. 478. [32] *Ib.*, p. 508. [33] *Ib.*, p. 253, 185. [34] *Ib.*, p. 274.

an entire province or district, was of less ordinary occurrence, though some examples of it are on record. Thus, early in the thirteenth century, in revenge for certain injuries inflicted on him by Hamo de Valoniis, lord justice of Ireland, John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, not only pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the offender and his associates, but, by an interdict on the unoffending city and diocese, suspended therein the celebration of all religious rites[35].

By an Archbishop of Dublin;

In or about 1220, his successor, Henry de Loundres, in vindication of some exorbitant demands of his clergy, which were resisted by the magistrates and citizens, together with particular denunciations of the offenders, combined a general interdict upon the whole city[36].

By another Archbishop of Dublin;

And in 1267, the Archbishop of Dublin, Fulk de Saunford, highly resented certain encroachments made by the mayor and citizens on the ecclesiastical immunities, and having ineffectually admonished them to forbearance, by his ordinary authority, promulgated against them the sentence of excommunication, and put the city under an interdict; in confirmation of which the Pope's legate sent orders to the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, to denounce by bell, book, and candle, the excommunicated mayor and citizens in all publick places within the city of Dublin[37].

By another Archbishop of Dublin;

About 1222, Donat, archbishop of Cashel, interdicted the king's tenants and lands within his diocese; which interdict, being without any reasonable cause, he was enjoined by the Pope to relax in fifteen days[38].

By an Archbishop of Cashel.

The use of "bell, book, and candle," specified in

Bell, book, and candle.

[35] Ware, p. 317. [36] *Ib.* [37] *Ib.*, p. 322. [38] *Ib.*, p. 471.

some of the foregoing references, was an awful and alarming accompaniment, sometimes annexed to the sentence of excommunication for the purpose of giving additional terror to a denunciation, terrible as it was in itself. A circumstantial account of this ceremony, as practised in Ireland, does not occur to my recollection; but it probably did not differ in any material particulars from that which was used at the same period in England; and of which the following narrative is supplied by STAVELEY'S *History of Churches in England*, on the authority of one of the early Reformers. He observes, that "an extraordinary and dreadful use was made of bells, and that was the cursing by bell, book, and candle." And he proceeds to "relate the manner thereof, out of an ancient festival, and the articles of the General Great Curse, found at Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1562, as it is set down by Thomas Becon, in the '*Reliques of Rome*.' This was solemnly thundered out once in every quarter. . . . At which action the prelate stands in the pulpit, in his aulbe, the cross being lifted up before him, and the candles lighted on both sides of it, and begins thus: 'By authority of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the glorious mother and maiden, our Lady St. Mary, and the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and all apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and the hallows of God, all those be accursed,' whereon the book records the offenders against whom the curse is denounced; and then concludes all with the curse itself, thus: "And now by authority aforesaid, we denounce all those accursed that are so founden guilty, and all those that maintain them in their sins, or give them hereto either help or counsel, so they be departed from God and all holy Church; and that

Manner of cursing by them.

they have no part of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor of no sacraments, nor no part of the prayers among Christian folk. But that they be accursed of God, and of the Church, from the sole of their foot to the crown of their head, sleeping and waking, sitting and standing; and in all their words, and in all their works; but if they have no grace of God to amend them here in this life, for to dwell in the pain of hell for ever without end. Fiat, fiat. Do to the book; quench the candles; ring the bell; amen, amen.' And then the book is clapped together, the candles blown out, and the bells rung, with a most dreadful noise made by the congregation present, bewailing the accursed persons concerned in that black doom denounced against them[39]."

Burning of heretics.

During this period the fire of persecution against heresy was lighted in Ireland, and the first victim was one Adam Niger, or Adam Duff, of the family of the O'Tools, in Leinster; who, in the year 1326 or 1327, being possessed, as was said, with a diabolical spirit, denying the incarnation of Christ, the Trinity of Persons, and the resurrection of the flesh, professing also that the Scriptures were fabulous, and that the See of Rome did affirm these errors, was by the Church adjudged to death, and was burned and hanged in the fire in Hoggin-green, near Dublin[40].

Adam Duff.

The Lady Alice Kettle.

About the same time a charge was brought by the Bishop of Ossory against the Lady Alice Kettle, with two accomplices, of "enchanting and witchcraft." One of the latter, Petronilla, a female servant, was convicted and burned at Kilkenny. What

[39] *History of Churches in England.* By Thomas Staveley, Esq. 1712; pp. 235, 238.

[40] *Lofus MS.*, Marsh's Library, Dublin.

became of the lady herself, and of the other accomplice, does not clearly appear. It has been stated, both that she escaped, and that she suffered death; and together with the charge of sorcery, has been blended that of heresy, which was alleged also against Arnold le Power, lord of Donnoil, and then seneschal of Kilkenny, and eventually against the Lord Justice of Ireland. On a solemn investigation of the charge, the lord justice was pronounced "a zealous and faithful child of the Catholick church;" but before the acquittal of the unfortunate Le Power, he died in confinement; and because he died unassoiled, his corpse was left for a long time without burial[41].

Two Irishmen of the Clankellans burnt.

Somewhat later in the same century, about 1353, two Irishmen of the Clankellans were convicted of heresy, or, according to another account, of contumely, offered to the Virgin Mary, before the Bishop of Waterford, and burned by his order[42].

These were the earliest severe visitations of heresy in the Irish Church. Meanwhile, as to that particular form of heresy, so called, which in the ensuing centuries excited the jealous vengeance of the Papal power, that did not show itself in Ireland till long after its first appearance in England, nor even till the era of the Reformation.

SECTION III.

Moral character of the Clergy in general. Abuse of Ecclesiastical Privileges. Celibacy. Concubinage. Intellectual character. Defective means of Education.

Clerical character not high in the scale of morals.

THE characters of the clergy in general seem not to have stood high in the scale of moral improvement,

[41] MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, pp. 120, 121.
[42] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 533.

being depressed both by an exemption which they claimed as belonging to their profession, and by the restraints which it imposed upon them.

Their ecclesiastical privileges appear to have been abused by them, and used as a shelter for dishonesty and outrage in the ordinary transactions of life. Thus a clerk, being indicted in 1310 for secreting himself in the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin by night, and breaking open a chest wherein were deposited the alms given for the relief of the Holy Land, and carrying away the greater part of the money; and also for breaking open a coffer, and taking books thereout; and at the same time despoiling the image of St. Catherine of part of its ornaments, appeared, and pleaded that he was a clerk, and could not answer[1].

Ecclesiastical privileges abused,

in defence of sacrilege,

The same plea was alleged in 1307 by the prior of the canons regular of Newtown, who was accused of inhumanly murdering a canon of his house, by stabbing him with a knife, and of assisting his brother to kill another friar. The prior pleaded that as a clerk he was not obliged to answer[2].

and of murder,

Letters patent having been issued by the king in 1390, for inquiry into divers extortions and offences committed in the Cistertian Abbey of Dunbrody, the royal commissioner on his arrival was assaulted with force and violence by the abbot and six of his monks, aided by their associates, who seized and destroyed the king's letters, and secured the commissioner in the abbot's prison for sixteen days, and compelled him to swear that he would never prosecute any of the persons concerned in the transaction[3].

and of violence and outrage.

After the same manner the clergy deemed their

[1] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 163. [2] *Ib.*, p. 561.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 738.

privileges infringed and violated, and were roused to expressions of deep indignation by a canon enacted in a provincial synod at Limerick in 1529; whereby authority was given to the mayor of that city for imprisoning ecclesiastical debtors until they should make due satisfaction to their creditors, without danger to the magistrates of incurring the censure of excommunication. The inference from this professional tenacity of exemption from a civil penalty in such a case is not favourable to a character for integrity in those who maintained it[4].

Clerical resistance to a canon against ecclesiastical debtors.

Celibacy.

Meanwhile the consequences which have been commonly found to result from a forcible restraint imposed upon the innate and lawful appetites of human nature, did not fail to contaminate the purity of the Irish clergy.

Its introduction and effects.

So late as the twelfth century, the celibacy of the ministers of religion was not required nor generally practised in the Church of Ireland. About that period it was encouraged, and matrimony earnestly discountenanced, by the same legate of the Roman See, who was the prime promoter of Papal authority in that kingdom. And it is not a little remarkable, that about fifty years afterwards, in 1185, Albin O'Mallory, abbot of Baltinglass, and subsequently bishop of Ferns, preaching on the subject of the continency of clergymen at the synod in Dublin, lamented how the probity and innocence of the Irish clergy had been of late vitiated. The cause of this indeed he referred to the evil examples of the clergy of England and Wales, against whom he bitterly inveighed, and showed how great had been the chastity of the Irish clergy before they had contracted con-

[4] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 482.

tagion from corrupt strangers. Giraldus Cambrensis, the celebrated historian, archdeacon of St. David's, who was present at the sermon, took upon him to rebuke the preacher for his censure of the English clergy, confessing that the Irish clergy were commendable enough for their religion, and among other virtues, for their chastity; but he hinted that their long fasts were concluded with drunkenness, and that their virtue was something rather in appearance than in reality[5]. Report of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Thus, according to the testimony of Giraldus, the character of the Irish clergy was open to other charges of irregularity: whilst, as to that of incontinence, to whatever cause it be attributed, the fact of its prevalence, and of the recent deterioration of their characters in that respect, is too sufficiently attested by the complaint of the preacher; corroborated as it is by a canon of John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, made at this same synod, which "under the penalty of losing both benefice and office, forbids that any priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should keep any woman in his house either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever; unless a mother, own sister, or such a person whose age shall remove all suspicion of any unlawful commerce[6]." An occurrence, which had taken place not long before, may serve still further to corroborate the allegation in the sermon, and to justify the prohibition of the archbishop; for of his immediate predecessor in the archiepiscopal see it is related that so high was his esteem for chastity, and so determined was his opposition to the contrary vice in his clergy that on one occasion he sent to Rome for the purpose of procuring their absolution Canon of Archbishop Comyn.

[5] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 439.

[6] *Ib.*, p. 317.

One hundred and forty clerks sent to Rome for incontinency.

from the Pope, one hundred and forty clerks, who had been convicted of incontinency[7].

Extensive prevalence of incontinency.

It were needless, as it is revolting, to dwell on individual examples of this profligacy. Its extensive prevalence appears from such attestations as these. And it is a proof of the prevalence and the notoriety of the vice, that among the municipal regulations, enacted for the good order of the town of Galway, by the corporation, in the year 1520, such a law should be found on the books of records, as the following:—"That no priest, monk, nor canon, nor friar, shall have no w—e nor leman, in any man's house within the town, and that man which keepeth or hosteth the said w—e or leman, to forfeit twenty shillings." And again, in the year 1530, "enacted that any priest or vicar of the college, found with any fault or crime, to lose one hundred shillings, and his benefice: and also if he or they keep any w—e, being with child, or bearing him children, to pay the above penalty[8]." The author, from whose work those extracts are cited, observes, that this is the only imputation which occurs, affecting the moral character of the town of Galway. Perhaps it should be regarded less as a local imputation than as an indication of the besetting sin of that class of men against whom the regulations are directed.

Not deemed discreditable.

The sin, indeed, appears to have been so lightly esteemed of, that of those who were taught to believe marriage unprofessional and dishonourable, and who had recourse instead to illegitimate concubinage, there were some who made, and seduced others to make, a glory of their shame. Such is the

[7] WARE, p. 314.

[8] HARDIMAN'S *History of Galway*, pp. 202, 233.

purport of an anecdote, related by Bishop Bale, who, on his first arrival in Ireland, at an early stage of the Reformation, in 1552, had the following memorable conversation with a Popish priest relative to the parentage of the latter:—"The parish priest," he says, "of Knocktoner, called Sir Philip, was very serviceable, and in familiar talk described to me the house of the White Friars, which some time was in that town: concluding in the end that the last prior thereof, called William, was his natural father. I asked him, if that were in marriage? He made answer, No: for that was, he said, against his profession. Then counselled I him, that he should never boast of it more. Why, saith he, it is an honour in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or a priest, to father. With that I greatly marvelled: not so much of his unshamefaced talk, as I did that adultery, forbidden by God, and of all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment[9]."

To be the illegitimate offspring of a clergyman esteemed an honour.

In further exemplification of which it may be noticed, that Ralph Kelley, who died archbishop of Cashel, in 1361, is recorded as the illegitimate son of a Carmelite friar, by the wife of a merchant named Kelley, of Drogheda. The authority is that of John de Bloxham, Vicar-General of that order in Ireland about the year 1325. And that, in 1444, Bishop M'Coughlan and James, the bishop's son, archdeacon of Clonmacnois, were slain in battle with another sept of their name[10]. And in confirmation of the

[9] *Vocacyon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory.* Republished in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 412.

[10] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 478, and his *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 85, 320. *Bishops*, p. 173.

same may be cited the charge made by the jury of Clonmel to the king's commissioners, in 1537, of several of the regular priests in that part, who kept lemans or harlots, and had wives and children; as well as an Act of Parliament, which was passed not many years after, namely, in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, 1569, in consequence of a discovery made by Sir Henry Sydney, the lord deputy, of the great abuse of the clergy of Munster and Connaught, in admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities, which had not lawfulness of birth; but were descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chaunters, and such like, getting into the said dignities either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil example of all honest congregations[11]."

Low intellectual state of the clergy.

The intellectual condition of the clergy seems to have been at this period one of great depression. The character given of them in that respect by Archbishop Browne, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, 1535, appears just, and applicable to those of the preceding ages. "This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue[12]." And when a similar character of ignorance and illiteracy was attributed to the priests shortly after

[11] Irish stat., 11 Eliz. c. 6.

[12] ROBERT WARE'S *Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the Life and Death of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.*

by the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger in the presence of Archbishop Dowdall, the great advocate of the Papacy, it met with no contradiction.

Some of the higher dignitaries, indeed, are recorded as constant and assiduous in exercising the office of preachers[13], and as possessed of learning, which they probably acquired by their education at the English or continental universities. But, for the instruction of the great body of the parochial clergy, provision must have been hardly at all attainable. About the middle of the fourteenth century, Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who is commemorated as a learned divine and an able and diligent preacher, and who left behind him testimonies of his literary qualifications in a manuscript book of sermons, which he preached partly in London, Lichfield, and other places in England; partly at Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and other churches in his province; and partly at Avignon in France; appears to have been desirous of procuring for others similar advantages of education to those which he had himself enjoyed. He accordingly sent three or four of the secular priests of his diocese into England to study divinity at Oxford; but they were forced soon to return, because they could not find there a Bible to be sold[14]. Facilities of that kind were hardly likely to be more purchasable in Ireland; meanwhile in the latter country places of domestick education were few and ill provided.

Want of places of education.

From ancient writers of reputation and credit we are informed, that there were of old time schools or academies in Ireland, to which not natives only, but

University of Armagh.

[13] Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 82, 291.

[14] Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible.*

the British, Saxons, and Scots, resorted for education[15]. But in the comparatively modern times now under review, or the three or four centuries preceding the Reformation, these had for the most part passed away, with the exception of that of Armagh, the high estimation of which was attested by a synod of twenty-six bishops, convened by the primate in 1162, who decreed, that "no person for the time to come should be admitted a public reader in divinity, unless he had been a student, fostered or adopted by Armagh[16]." But this single institution was insufficient for the necessities of the country; and the places of others, which had fallen into decay, were not effectively supplied by new foundations, notwithstanding the attempts which had been occasionally made for that purpose.

Attempts to establish an university in Dublin;

Thus in 1310, John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, formed a plan for founding an university for scholars, in that city; and procured a bull from Pope Clement the Fifth, dated July 10, 1311. But the archbishop's death in 1313, before the project had been matured, prevented its execution[17].

In 1320, the scheme was again undertaken by the succeeding archbishop, Alexander Bicknor, who renewed the foundation, and procured a confirmation of it from the Pope, John the Twenty-second. The instrument, which contains the rules for its government, by a chancellor and two proctors, is to be seen in WARE'S *Antiquities of Ireland*, page 37; and a divinity lecture was afterwards instituted by King Edward the Third, and his protection extended to all students resorting to this university, "conscious,"

[15] WARE'S *Annals*, p. 36.

[16] WARE'S *Bishops*, page 60; STUART'S *History of Armagh*, pp. 140, 592.

[17] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 330.

as his majesty expresses himself, "of the benefits arising from such studies, and especially as thereby virtue was propagated and peace maintained[18]." But there appears to have been no provision of a special endowment; and thus, the maintenance of the scholars failing, the university, by degrees, came to nothing, though some traces of it remained in the time of King Henry the Eighth; for in the provincial synod, holden in Christ Church, Dublin, Walter Fitzsimons, then archbishop, the suffragan bishops, and the clergy of the province, granted certain stipends to be paid annually to the lecturers or readers of the university[19].

And at Drogheda.

In 1465 also, at a parliament, convened in Drogheda, by Thomas, earl of Desmond, an act was passed for founding an university in that town, and endowing it with privileges similar to those of the university of Oxford[20]. The want, however, of sufficient revenues seems to have been fatal to this as to the former project.

Section IV.

Monastick Institutions. Their number. Orders. Some of their Rulers Lords of Parliament. Monks and Friars, how distinguished from each other. False principles in the foundation of these establishments. Practical evil in them predominant over good.

Great number of monastick institutions, at an early period.

Some substitute for the defect of schools and universities was supplied by the monastick institutions, which were very numerous in Ireland; and had been at an early period much cherished and frequented, so that in the seventh century the monks had multi-

[18] *Rot. Pat.* 32 Edw. III., cited in Mason's *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 101.

[19] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 344.

[20] *Stat. Roll*, 5 Edw. IV. Lotus' MS. Marsh's Library.

plied to such an extent, as to have been supposed equal to all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Such is the computation of Bishop Nicholson, as quoted by Archdall in the introduction to his "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," p. 11: which contains an account of above eleven hundred of these institutions; augmented by his subsequent inquiries, as stated in the introduction to GROSE's *Irish Antiquities*, p. 16, by about three hundred more. Of many of these, however, very little, not even the exact situation, is known; and many others had lost their monastick character, or had been incorporated with others, before the era of the Reformation.

Probable amount of them at the dissolution.

Sir James Ware, in his "*Annals*," enumerates three hundred and eighty-two, purposely omitting those which had been erected in the first times of the Church of Ireland, and were afterwards converted into parish churches; indeed, by far the greater number of those, which he enumerates, had been founded within three or four centuries of their dissolution, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Several abbeys and monasteries, which had been omitted in this enumeration, were added, partly from records, and partly from subsequent writers, by Harris, in his edition of WARE's *History and Antiquities;* and he also supplied from records, as far as they gave light to the subject, the names of the grantees or assignees of the several monastick lands after the suppression. The catalogue thus supplied amounts to about five hundred and sixty-five, among which several of an early date are specified as having been made parish churches and bishops' sees, and several have no notice of their ultimate assignment. Thus the number of those, which were suppressed by King Henry the Eighth, according to this enumera-

tion, does not vary materially from Ware's enumeration of three hundred and eighty-two. Possibly this ought to be increased by the addition of some of those contained in Archdall's *Monasticon*. Otherwise the sum of the monastick institutions in Ireland, at the period in question, falls short of four hundred.

Various monastick orders.

These contained devotees of a variety of orders: Augustinians, Benedictines, and Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites; in the poet's language:

> ——————— Eremites and friars,
> White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery[1].

Augustinians.

Of all the monastick establishments of Ireland, those of the Augustinian order were the most numerous: the more so in outward appearance, because the several monasteries, which had been founded in that country whilst the Irish Church continued to be independent of the Roman See, were required by Pope Innocent the Second, in the Lateran council of 1139, to submit to the rule of St. Augustine; so that they became afterwards reckoned among the institutions of that order. Inclusive of those, the houses for regular canons were two hundred and twenty, and for nuns sixty-five. However, exclusively of those, the monasteries of the regular canons of St. Augustine exceeded most others in number. And including the Aroasian canons, who were a branch of the Augustines, reformed about 1097, in Aroasia, an abbey in the diocese of Arras, they amounted at the dissolution to about seventy. At the same time, the houses of the nuns, or regular canonesses of the order, were about twenty.

Aroasians.

Victorines.

Under the same general head of Augustinians,

[1] Milton's *Paradise Lost*. B. iii. v. 474.

came the regular canons of St. Victor, of whom little seems to be known; and the Premonstratencian, or White Canons, who derived their name from Premonstre, in the diocese of Laon, in Picardy. Of each of these there were about seven establishments at the dissolution. The military order of Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who succeeded to the possessions of the Knights Templars, on their abolition in 1312, also adopted the rule of St. Augustine: as did that of St. Gilbert, a rule composed of those of St. Augustine and St. Benedict. At the suppression there were about twenty-three establishments of the Knights of St. John: of the Gilbertines there was only one.

Premonstratencians.

Knights Hospitallers, or of St. John of Jerusalem.

Gilbertines.

Benedictines.

Of the Benedictine order there were about ten establishments of monks, and about half that number of nuns. The Cistercian, or, as it was also called, the Barnardine, being a reformed order of the Benedictines, comprised about forty institutions for men, who were likewise known by the appellation of White Monks. There appear to have been only two establishments for nuns of this order, which were dedicated, as usual in such cases of Cistercian nunneries to the Virgin Mary.

Cistercians.

Mendicant Friars.

There were, also, the four orders of Mendicant or Begging Friars, bound, as their name imports, to live upon gratuitous contributions. These were, first, the Dominicans, so called from their founder, St. Dominic; or black friars, from the colour of their habit; or preaching friars, or predicants, from their chief professional occupation: their establishments were about forty.

Dominicans.

Franciscans.

Secondly, the Franciscans, whose establishments were about a hundred and fourteen. Their name,

likewise, was derived from their founder, St. Francis; and, from an affectation of humility, they termed themselves friars minor, and from the colour of their dresses they were named gray friars. Their rule of discipline, having been somewhat relaxed, had been brought back to its primitive severity; when they who preferred it in its relaxed state acquired the distinction of Conventuals, and they who admitted the stricter form were denominated Observantines: there was also another division, which was called the third order of St. Francis. Of the whole number of their brotherhoods, the Conventuals constituted about sixty-nine; and the Observantines, or strict order, about nine; and the remaining thirty-six were of the third order.

Carmelites.

Thirdly, Carmelites, or White Friars, to the number of about twenty monasteries, denominated from Mount Carmel, the first abode of their order, or from the colour of their dress.

Austin Friars.

Lastly, Eremites of St. Augustine, or Austin Friars, as subject to the Augustine rule; and under the same rule, and sometimes identified with them, the Crossed or Crutched Friars, or Cross-bearers; the former having twenty-two, the latter fourteen houses: and with these may also be classified the Trinitarians, for the ransoming of Christians who were in captivity to Pagans; but of this order there appears to have been only one fraternity, which was likewise under the rule of St. Augustine.

Friars de Pœnitentia Jesu Christi.

There were other denominations of monastick orders in England, and on the Continent: but the preceding comprise all such establishments in Ireland, unless it be the Friars *de Pœnitentia Jesu Christi*, also named the Sax Friars, of whom mention is once made in the reign of King Edward the

Second, about the year 1330. This order was commenced in the year 1245; it appeared in England, in 1258, at Cambridge; and was transferred to Ireland, where it seems to have had one establishment in Dublin, in 1268. But it was of no long duration: in England it was condemned in 1307, and its houses passed to other fraternities, or to private persons; and in Ireland the traces of its existence are obscure and uncertain.

Several abbots, &c., Lords of Parliament.

Several of the rulers of these establishments possessed, upon summons, a place and a voice among the Lords of Parliament. Ware has particularly mentioned fourteen abbots and ten priors; but observes, that, as to their certain number, it is far short of what appears in the records. Of the episcopal vacancies, a large proportion was filled from the same quarter. Thus, of about twenty-six prelates who occupied the archiepiscopal see of Armagh in the three centuries before the Reformation, three had been previously abbots, and seven others inferior members of some regular religious community. After such elevation, they appear to have been fond of exhibiting an outward sign of attachment to their former society, by wearing the habit of their respective orders, such being the common practice of the bishops who had been so elevated: and the laying aside of the monastick dress was regarded as a scandalous act, and one which by the canons deserved censure of the greater excommunication; so that for such omission, at a Provincial Synod holden by the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1427, a Bishop of Down was called to account, and admonished to amend the scandal; and, on his neglect of the admonition, was peremptorily cited, in 1430, to

show cause why he should not be formally excommunicated[2].

Distinction of orders.

The members of the different orders that have been recited occupied their several abodes of monasteries, abbeys, priories, friaries, convents, cells, preceptories, commanderies, hospitals, and nunneries. The different rules which regulated their dress, their diet, their habits, their modes of living, their occupations, their devotions, and other particulars, distinguished them from each other. One general distinction, however, prevailed between the monks and the friars: the essential difference seems to have been this, that whereas the monks possessed property, which belonged to them, however, in common, the friars had originally no property, either private or in common, but begged their subsistence from the charity of others; although eventually they likewise became proprietors of large possessions. In practice, also, the friars had more latitude, as to going about and preaching in their neighbouring parishes, whilst the monks were chiefly confined to their cloisters.

Difference between monks and friars.

Modern origin of the mendicant orders.

Of these institutions the four orders of mendicant friars were of comparatively modern introduction; being, as Archbishop Ussher says, "a kind of creatures unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ, and instituted contrary to the general Council of Lateran, held under Innocent the Third, which prohibited the bringing in of any more religious orders into the Church." And he thus describes their character after the example of one of his predecessors:—"Now there is started up a new generation of men, that refuse to eat their

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 202, 415.

own bread, and count it a high point of sanctity to live by begging of other men's bread; if yet the course they take may rightly be termed begging. For, as Richard Fitz-Ralph, that famous archbishop of Armagh, objected to their faces, before the Pope himself and his cardinals in his time, (and the matter is little amended, I wiss, in our's,) 'scarce could any great or poor man of the clergy or the laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would intrude on him: not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or door (as Francis commanded and taught them in his testament,) by begging; but without shame introducing themselves into courts or houses, and lodging there, where, without any invitation, they eat and drink what they find among them: and not content with such conduct, carry away with them either wheat or meal, or bread, or flesh, or cheese, (although there were but two in an house,) in an extorting manner; there being no one who can refuse their petitions unless he would divest himself of natural shame[3]'"

Character of them by Archbishop Fitz-Ralph.

Meanwhile the early forms of monachism, which the ecclesiastical historians of Ireland are fond of connecting with the first introduction of Christianity into the country, were, with many modifications and innovations on the original plan, and with new constitutions, and under new denominations, perpetuated in the monasteries, which had greatly degenerated from their prototypes; and with a portion of the good, originally contemplated by the primitive institutions, mingled, in the lapse of time, a larger share of concomitant evil.

Early forms of monachism degenerated.

The principle, indeed, which actuated the foundation and maintenance of these institutions, as it

Monastick institutions deemed meritorious.

[3] *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 53.

continually shows itself in the terms of their endowments, was essentially faulty and mischievous: for they were considered as treasures of merit, propitiatory offerings, whereby their founders and benefactors might expiate the sins and purchase the salvation, not of themselves only, but of others whom they might comprise with them in their deed of gift; whether dead, living, or not yet born. Of this principle profession is continually made in a very usual form of expression, whereby the gift is said to be granted "for the health of the soul" of the granter, and of those of his family and friends, or his official predecessors or successors.

Examples of this false principle at different times.

For example, in 1178, William Fitz-Andelm gave, on the king's part, to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, recently founded by him, certain lands "for the health of the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, father to the king, his mother the empress, and all his ancestors, and for the king himself and his sons;" 1178. and in 1180, "Felix, bishop of Lismore, for the health of the soul of the king, and his son John, and also of his own, did grant to this priory the church of St. John in Lismore, paying two candles of wax, each weighing two pounds, yearly[4]." 1180.

In 1200, "Johanna, countess of Pembroke, for the health of the souls of her father, Earl Richard, and her lord, William Mariscall, bestowed on the Priory of the Holy Trinity certain tithes for the support of one canon to say masses for their souls[5]." 1200.

In the same year, Walter de Lacie granted a piece of land to St. Thomas's Abbey, "in pure and perpetual alms, for the health of his soul, and of Hugh his father, and of his mother, Rose de Munemnene, who lies buried in the church[6]." 1200.

[4] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 178. [5] *Ib.*, p. 152. [6] *Ib.*, p. 181.

1206. Theobald, the son of Walter, butler of Ireland, who died in 1206, confirmed to God and the blessed Virgin, and certain monks of the Cistercian order, all his possessions in Arklow, "for the love of God and the blessed Virgin, and for the health of the souls of Henry the Second, king of England, King Richard, and King John, and those of Runulph de Glainvill, Earl William Mareschal, the Lord Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his (Theobald's) brother, Hervey Fitzwalter, his father, Matilda, his mother, and for his own soul and that of his wife, Matilda[7]."

1207. Roger de Pippard, lord of Atherdee, founded an hospital there for croutched friars, in 1207, "for the health of his own soul, and the souls of his wife Alicia, his father William, his mother Joan, and his brethren Gilbert and Peter[8]."

1216. Milo le Bret, "for the health of his soul, and the souls of Lord Hugh Tyrril, and his sons Roger and Richard," made grants in 1216 to the Priory of the Holy Trinity[9].

1230. In 1230, Geoffrey de Tureville assigned two marks out of certain lands to the priest who, in the same priory, "should daily say a mass at the new altar of the blessed Virgin, for the health of his own soul and those of his friends[10]."

1374. The "great expence and burden of supporting divers chaplains and clerks, to say divine offices for the king's health and for the souls of his ancestors," was assigned, in 1374, as a ground for certain immunities granted by King Edward the Third to the priory of St. John the Baptist, Dublin[11].

1400. The monastery of the Dominican friars at Cashel

[7] ARCHDALL, p. 759. [8] *Ib.*, p. 445. [9] *Ib.*, p. 155.
[10] *Ib.*, p. 156. [11] *Ib.*, p. 203.

having been destroyed by fire in 1480, it was rebuilt by the Archbishop John Cantwell; and the instrument for its re-erection declared, "That all persons assisting and agreeing to this new foundation should be brethren and sisters of the order; and should partake of all masses, prayers, sermons, vigils, and other good deeds of the brotherhood throughout the kingdom in this life, and afterwards they should enjoy eternal happiness[12]."

In 1484, the Archbishop of Dublin having released certain contested rights to the priory of Holmpatrick, it was ordered that "the said convent should keep yearly an anniversary for the archbishop and his successors, on the morrow of All Souls, by singing a placebo and a dirige[13]." 1484.

And in 1513, Gerald, earl of Kildare, by his last will, "bequeathed his best gown of cloth of gold and purple, to make dresses for the priests of the priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin; he also bequeathed to the prior and canons the town of Caparaw, with its appurtenances, for the support of the canon who should celebrate mass for the health of his soul; and pray for the soul of Thomas Plunket, sometime Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the souls of all the faithful. A yearly commemoration, with an office of nine lessons, was appointed for the earl[14]." 1513.

But examples of the avowed operation of this principle of imaginary merit, on behalf of founders, benefactors, their friends, their ancestors, and their posterity, are beyond number: and a few only have been cited almost at random during a succession of ages, and under various modes of application.

Another pernicious departure from the truth Derogatory to

[12] Archdall, p. 647. [13] *Ib.*, p. 219. [14] *Ib.*, p. 168.

the honour of God.

attended the foundation of these establishments, consisting in the confusion which was introduced between the claims of the divine Being and those of his creatures, and even of the works of his creatures' hands. A monastery was wont to be placed under the guardianship of a chosen protector, "under the invocation," for such was the phrase, of this or that particular patron. The patronage of the Godhead, however, was not accounted sufficient, but was seconded or superseded by that of a sainted mortal or deified stock of wood.

Monasteries founded under the invocation of the Deity;

Thus, for example: whilst the Franciscan monastery at Clonkeen, and that of the Augustinian eremites at Inistormor, were "under the invocation of the Holy Trinity;" and that of the Dominican friars at Arklow, "under the invocation of the Holy Ghost;" two chantries or chapels in the church of Callan were founded "under the invocation of the Holy Trinity and St. Catherine;" and the Augustinian priory at Aghrim, "under the invocation of St. Catherine" alone[15].

And of other patrons;

Of the Virgin Mary;

Examples of foundations, made "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary," are the most frequent. Such were the monasteries of regular canons at Navan and at Killagh, and the nunnery of regular canonesses at Termon-Fechan; the Cistercian abbeys of Fermoy, of Shrule, and of Bectiff; to which may be added the Cistercian monastery of Gray Abbey, remarkable for being "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, of the Yoke of God;" the Dominican friary of Burishoel, and the Carmelite friaries of Clara and of Frankford, were also "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary." The priory of regular canons at Great Conall was devoted to a joint

[15] ARCHDALL, pp. 281, 502, 759, 349, 270.

patronage, being "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary and St. David[16]."

Of various saints;

"Under the invocation," severally "of St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, Mary Magdalen, St. Columba, St. Brigid, and St. Edmund the King and Martyr," were founded the Augustine hospital for cross-bearers, or crouched friars at Ardee; the Augustine abbey for regular canons at Clare; the Augustine hospital for crouched friars at Kells; and the priory of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Kilmainham, the abbey of regular canons at Mayo; the Dominican friary at Drogheda; the priory of regular canons at Monaincha; the monastery of the black nuns of St. Augustine at Moylagh; and the priory of canons regular at Athassel[17].

Of the Cross.

The two Dominican friaries of Tralee and Sligo, and the Franciscan friary of Strade, were foundations "under the invocation of the Holy Cross[18]."

Preponderance of evil over good.

No incidental good, arising out of these institutions, could have compensated for the essential evil inflicted on religious truth by prominently professing these principles, as the motives and objects of monastick endowments. But in truth, there was no small portion of practical evil also interwoven intrinsically with whatever incidental good they may have occasioned.

Opposition to the divine will and law.

On a general view they militated against God's purpose in the creation of man; for whatever may be pleaded in favour of celibacy under particular aspects, and in particular circumstances, it was not

[16] Archdall, pp. 553, 304, 491, 69, 436, 516, 120, 498, 396, 318.

[17] *Ib.*, pp. 446, 43, 548, 222, 505, 455, 667, 669, 640.

[18] *Ib.*, pp. 307, 637, 509.

according to the Divine will, that a very large proportion of human kind should be shut up in cloistered seclusion; bound by indissoluble obligations to abstain from honourable marriage, the first law of man's Creator: and precluded from exercising the duties, the virtues, and the charities of social and domestick life.

Practical effects.

Further, if regard be had to their particular operation, and to the effects which practically they produced, the evil greatly preponderated. For, whilst on the one hand they may have been instrumental in producing habits of labour and industry; on the other, they gave encouragement to inactivity and indolence, luxury and self-indulgence in their inmates, leaving to the parochial clergy, the vicars who were charged with the care of the parishes, a very disproportionate share of emolument, and seeking to lower them in publick estimation. Whilst in some cases, under wholesome laws steadily enforced, they may have assisted a spirit of devotion, and corresponding holiness and chastity of life; in others, under a system faulty in itself, or faultily administered, they led to the substitution of outward mortification for inward sanctity, gave occasion to hypocrisy, spiritual pride, and vain glory, or induced usages of intemperance, licentiousness, and impurity. Whilst in some cases, by the exercise of a free hospitality and bounty, they may have contributed to the relief of the traveller and the stranger, in need of temporary aid; and been the means of sustaining the sufferer under honest poverty and unavoidable distress; in others the promiscuous dispensation of their doles supported only those, who did not need, or did not deserve it, and was lavished in perpetuating the indigence, with its concomitant

vices, which they themselves had made. Whilst in some cases, they afforded a refuge for the sick, the infirm, and the afflicted, they in others were privileged sanctuaries for criminals, and encouragers of crime. Whilst in some cases they may have laid the foundation of useful learning, of philosophy and divinity, in others they only filled the mind with legendary tales, and the creations of a fond imagination. Whilst in some cases they may have preserved and dispensed what remained of the knowledge of God, and true religion, in others they only more firmly established the reign of false doctrine and superstition; and were especially instrumental in maintaining the corrupt views and deceitful usages, which at those times overloaded the Church's profession of Christianity.

Some of those views and usages shall now be specified, as enabling us better to understand the religious condition of Ireland during the centuries at present under review.

Section V.

Superstitions prevailing in the Church. Veneration for Saints. Traditionary Legends. Modes of celebrating Divine Worship. Veneration for outward signs of the Holy Communion. Canonization of Saints. Reverence for their reliques. Reverence for other sorts of reliques. Reverence for crosses and images. Belief in fictitious miracles.

Among the superstitions which superseded true religion in the Irish Church, and showed themselves in the conduct and marked the character of the people, the following are the most conspicuous. They do not materially differ from those which pre- Prevailing superstitions.

vailed at the same period in England, and in other parts of Papal Christendom: but they are needful to be specified here for the purpose of impressing on the reader that Ireland was not exempt from the general contagion.

Veneration of saints.

God's honour given to his creatures.

1. The inordinate veneration of saints was carried to such an extent, as to associate them on the most solemn occasions with the Godhead, as if they were partakers of the Divine nature and attributes. Thus, not to insist upon the ordinary and well-known Offices of the Church, upon the erection of the building, which afterwards became one of the cathedrals of Dublin, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, 1191. together with the Pope's legate, in 1191, consecrated the new edifice with great pomp and ceremony "to God, our Blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick[1]".

1220. In 1220, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, made certain grants to the said church, which he described as "devoted to God, and Saint Mary, and the Blessed Peter, and the Blessed Patrick, our patron[2]."

1202. In 1202, a priory was founded by William de Burgh, in the country of Antrim, "to the honour of 1220. God and the Virgin Mary[3]." And about 1220, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, founded an abbey at Kilkenny "in honour of God and St. John[4]."

1432. In 1432, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, decreed certain ordinances for some of the officers of the church, "to the honour of God the Father Almighty, and of the glorious Virgin his Mother

[1] MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 2.
[2] MASON, App. p. xxxvi.
[3] ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 11.
[4] GROSE'S *Irish Antiquities*, i. 32.

the Blessed Mary, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of our patron Saint Patrick[5]."

John Alleyn, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, by his will, in 1505, "committed his sinful soul to the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ, the Maker and Redeemer of him and of all mankind; and to the most blessed Virgin Mary, his Mother; and to all Saints[6]." 1505.

And, in 1515, a bull, addressed to the Bishops of Meath, Waterford, and Leighlin, by Pope Leo the Tenth, denounces upon every one who shall infringe it, "the indignation of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Peter and Paul, his Apostles[7]." 1515.

2. Traditionary legends of the most palpable falsehood, in default or rivalry of Scriptural knowledge, were taught for the religious instruction of the people. Traditionary legends.

Of these, the two following may serve for specimens: the former being an account of a prophetical vision, witnessed by St. Patrick, of the future condition of the Irish Church; the latter, a narrative of the conquest of another saint over the Prince of Darkness.

The former of these is copied from a "*History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern, taken from the most authentick Records*, by the Abbé Mac Geohegan; published at Paris, in 1758, under the authority of the King of France, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade. Translated from the French by P. O'Kelly, late Professor of Languages in the city of Versailles. Dublin, 1831." "St. Patrick," says Joceline, as quoted by the Abbé, "filled with apprehensions for A vision of St. Patrick.

[5] Mason, App. p. xxxiv. [6] *Ib.*, p. xiv.
[7] *Ib.*, p. xviii.

the church he had founded, offered up a fervent prayer to God, to know what its destiny would be in future ages. The Lord, having heard his prayer, first presented to his view an island, as if all on fire, and covered with a flame which raised itself to the skies: he afterwards beheld only the tops of the mountains burning. Those first visions may be applied to the four first ages of Christianity in this island, when religion was still in all its splendour. But the eclipse, occasioned by the incursions of the barbarians of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries, is strongly represented by the darkness, which, according to the vision, had succeeded to the light, and by the thinly-scattered sparks which the saint beheld in the valleys, and the still lighted coals which lay concealed beneath the ashes. The light which the apostle saw coming from the north, and which, after dispelling the darkness, lighted the whole island, implies the re-establishment of religion after the expulsion of the Danes; which that author ascribes to the zeal of the learned Celse, otherwise, Celestine, Ceallach, or, in the language of the country, Kellach, who was Archbishop of Armagh in the beginning of the twelfth century, and of his successor St. Malachi[8]."

Future state of the church supernaturally revealed to him.

The latter legend is cited by the modern historian of St. Patrick's Cathedral from the Register of John Alan, the last Archbishop of Dublin before the Reformation, and it is said to have been written with the archbishop's own hand. Mr. Mason adds, that this story of Satan flying from the holy man, and escaping into the earth at Puck's Rock, is preserved among the neighbouring people by tradition.

A miracle of St. Nessan.

[8] MAC GEOHEGAN'S *Hist.* vol. i. p. 457.

It seems that on an island, called "Ireland's Eye," not far from the main land, a monastery was founded, in 570, by St. Nessan, thence denominated St. Nessan's Isle in the Bull of Pope Alexander the Third, which was issued in 1179. Alluding to this island, the archbishop describes it as the spot "where that holy man, St. Nessan, was instant in frequent prayers, fasting and watching. In which place," he continues, "there appeared to him the evil spirit in the form of a very black man, whom with some indignation he pursued, with hyssop full of holy water; walking over the sea for the space of about a mile, and bidding the Devil to enter the rock at a place which is called Howth, where that hill is vulgarly named 'Powkes-rock,' and outside is seen his image in stone of a very common appearance. Where it is related, that, at the time when he put the devil to flight, there fell into the sea his own book of the Gospel, called by the inhabitants 'The Keslowre,' which afterwards being found by sailors uninjured, it has thenceforth, and to this day, been there held in great value, and no common veneration: so that scarce a religious man dares to swear upon it, on account of the vengeance of God hitherto manifested on men, who have sworn on it falsely[9]."

His personal defeat of the evil spirit.

But these, perhaps, may be regarded as mere private tales. One, therefore, shall be added from the authorised publick services of the Church. It relates to a very distinguished Irish saint; and is taken from the supplement annexed to the Roman Breviary, and containing proper offices commemorative of certain of the saints of Ireland, published by the

[9] Mason's *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 64.

printer and bookseller of the Royal College of Maynooth, Dublin, 1808.

Miraculous legend of St. Bridget, or Brigid.

"Brigid," says the lesson for the 1st of February, being the festival of St. Brigid, virgin, patroness of Ireland, "Brigid, a holy virgin of the province of Leinster, in Ireland, born of noble and Christian parents, became the mother of many holy virgins in Christ. When she was yet a little infant, her father saw men, clothed in white garments, pour oil upon her head, thus prefiguring the future purity and holiness of the virgin. Arriving at the first years of childhood, she so earnestly, from the bottom of her heart, clung to Christ the Saviour, whom she chose for her spouse, that, for love of him, she expended on the poor whatever she could acquire. And lest the suitors, by many of whom, on account of her incomparable beauty, she was sought in marriage, should compel her to break the vow of virginity, by which she had bound herself to God, she prayed God to make her deformed, and presently she was heard; for one of her eyes immediately became swollen, and her whole face was so altered, that she was permitted to send back a message to her suitors, and to consecrate her virginity to Christ by a solemn vow.

Her miraculous deformity.

Miraculous restoration of her former beauty.

"Having then taken to her three maidens, she proceeded forth to the Bishop Macheas, St. Patrick's disciple, who seeing over her head a pillar of fire, put on her a shining vest, and a white robe, and having read holy prayers, admitted her to the canonical profession, which the blessed Patrick had introduced into Ireland. Whereupon, whilst she was stooping her head to receive the sacred veil, when she had touched with her hand the wood at the foot of the altar, that dry wood, on a sudden, became green again, and her eye was healed, and her face

restored to its pristine beauty. And afterwards, by her example, such a multitude of maidens embraced that institution of a regular life, that in a short time, it filled all Ireland with convents of virgins: amongst which that, over which Brigid herself presided, was the chief, and on that as their head, all the rest depended.

Miracles performed by her.

"Moreover the holiness of this virgin is attested by the miracles wrought by her both during her life, and after its termination. For ofttimes she cleansed lepers, and, by her prayers, procured health for those who were afflicted with various infirmities; yea, she also gave sight to a man blind from his birth. And when Bishop Broon was falsely accused, by an unchaste woman that she was with child by him, by making the sign of the cross on the mouth of the new-born infant, who thereupon announced his real father, she rescued the accused from calumny. Nor was she wanting in the spirit of prophecy, whereby she foretold many future things, as if they were present. To St. Patrick, also, the apostle of the Irish, to whom she was joined in the most holy intimacy, she foreshowed the day of his departure from this life, and the place of his burial, and was present at his departure, and gave him a linen cloth, which she had prepared beforehand for swathing his body. At length, yielding up her beautiful soul to her spouse Christ, she was buried in the same tomb with the blessed Patrick."

Her spirit of prophecy.

Celebration of divine worship.

3. For the scriptural and primitive modes of worship, publick prayers, and the ministration of the sacraments, were celebrated in an unknown tongue, with the inventions of a fond imagination.

Some of these are described feelingly and for-

Remnants of Romish superstition in 1552.

cibly, but, as it should seem, not untruly, by Bishop Bale, who, on his arrival in Ireland in 1552, found the remnants of the Romish superstition still in operation, notwithstanding the progress of the Reformation, and thus speaks of the religious rites which first fell under his notice in Waterford.

"In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests. The communion, or supper of the Lord, was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneelings and knockings. . . . There wailed they over their dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ, and redeemed by his passion, but that they must come after, and help at a pinch with *requiem eternam*, to deliver them out of hell by their sorrowful sorceries." And when, by the removal of the restraint imposed by the Reformation under King Edward the Sixth, the former observances revived, and "the clergy resumed again the whole possession, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome," "they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water-stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession, most gorgeously, all the town over, with '*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,*' and the rest of the Latin Liturgy; they again deceived the people as aforetime, with their Latin mumblings; they made the witless sort believe that they could make, every day, new gods of their little white cakes, and that they could fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else[10]."

Manner of celebrating mass.

Add particularly the manner of celebrating the

[10] BALE'S *Vocacyon*.

mass. "Of all occupations," says the same writer, "methinks it is the most foolish; for there standeth the priest disguised, like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall in a foreign language. If he turn his face to them, it is either to receive the offering, either to desire them to give him a good word, with *Ora pro me, fratres*, (Pray for me, brethren,) for he is a poor brother of theirs; either to bid them God speed, with *Dominus vobiscum* (the Lord be with you), for they get no part of his banquet; either else to bless them with the bottom of the cup, with *Benedictio Dei* (the blessing of God), when all the breakfast is done."

Religious processions;

4. The veneration for the outward signs of the sacrament of our Lord's Supper was shown, not only by the lifting up and worshipping of the sacramental bread in the celebration of the mass, but by solemn exhibitions of it in publick processions, amid a concourse of gazing votaries, and with all the pomp and circumstance of the most superstitious observances.

These processions were wont to be conducted on several occasions, with much imposing pageantry: both in the case of the holy sacrament, which was carried about among numerous appendages of banners, crosses, torches, censers, and vessels of frankincense, so as to attract the reverence of the people; and in that of biers, which held the reliques of saints, and which were brought before the attention of the publick on certain festivals, as the days of Rogation, Palms, and Corpus Christi, for soliciting and collecting alms towards the rebuilding of churches, or the supply of other necessities. A publication of curious extracts from the proctor's accounts of the

Of the holy sacrament;

Of reliques.

receipts and disbursements of money for St. Patrick's Cathedral[11], in the year 1509, contained in Mason's history of that church, records certain payments made to the persons employed in those processions, as well as for the sacramental bread and wine, and the other exigencies of the Church.

Carrying of the host through the kingdom. 1156.

In connexion with these processions may be mentioned the enterprise of Turlogh, monarch of Ireland in 1156, who caused the host to be carried with great solemnity to the abbey of Roscommon, through the kingdom, attended by a large concourse of clergy and other religious men: and there to be deposited in a tabernacle prepared for it of immense value[12].

Canonization of saints.

5. The canonization of saints, whereby, after the example and in the manner of the ancient heathens' apotheosis, or deification of their heroes, favoured individuals were declared worthy, after their death, of publick honour and veneration in the Popish Church, was a ceremony observed in the Church of Ireland.

St. Malachy.

Thus, for the first time, this distinction was conferred in the twelfth century upon Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, whose claims upon the gratitude of the Papal See have already been mentioned; and who, having been the first of the Irish hierarchy to submit the independent Church of his own country to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, may have been well thought entitled to be the first to receive from him in recompense the distinction of a canonized saint[13]. And soon after, Laurence O'Toole,

St. Laurence O'Toole.

[11] MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, Appendix; pp. xxix. xxxi. No. XVII.

[12] ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 619.

[13] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 31.

archbishop of Dublin, was admitted to the same honour by Pope Honorius the Third[14]. "The holy prelate," says a modern Romanist historian, "fell sick in the town of Eu, where he died in the odour of sanctity, on the 14th of November, 1180, and was interred in the church of Our Lady in that city. . . The miracles which God wrought by his intercession, both before and after his death, induced Pope Honorius the Third to place him amongst the number of saints, 1225, by a bull, dated the third of the ides of December, and the tenth year of his pontificate. . . . . The reliques of this saint were removed to Dublin, and deposited in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity[15]." After this event, a chapel, adjoining the high choir in the cathedral, previously dedicated to the Holy Ghost, was dedicated to the canonized archbishop, and called St. Laurence O'Toole's chapel; as the name of the cathedral church of Down, originally consecrated to the Holy and Blessed Trinity, and so denominated, was, on its transformation into a Benedictine monastery in 1183, changed to the name of St. Patrick, to whom, on that occasion, it was dedicated[16].

Veneration for reliques.

6. The veneration for saints was transmitted to their reliques or mortal remains.

Their translation from one place to another.

The above-named St. Laurence O'Toole having died in Normandy, some of his bones, as already noticed, were translated to the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin: as those of the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitz-Ralph, commonly called St. Richard of Dundalk, those, at least, which passed for

[14] Ware, p. 313.

[15] Abbé Mac Geohegan's *History of Ireland*, v. i. p. 175.

[16] Harris's *History of the County of Down*, p. 27.

his, for, as Pembrige observes, "it is yet a question whether they were his bones, or another man's[17]," were conveyed about 1360 from Avignon, the place of his death, to Dundalk, the place of his birth, where they were deposited in a monument in the parish church: and as those of St. Malachy in 1194 had near fifty years after his death been translated from Clareval, where he was interred, and deposited with great reverence and devotion in the abbey of Mellifont, and other monasteries of the Cistercian order[18].

Specification of distinguished reliques.

In a chapter held at Louth, in 1242, by Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh, at which were present all the abbots and priors of regular canons in the kingdom, the veneration of the people was excited by an exhibition of many reliques of saints brought from Rome by St. Mochtra. The abbey of Ardboe derived particular sanctity from its preservation of the remains of St. Colman, as did that of Roscommon from the shrine which contained the reliques of its founder; and the interment of St. Ibar, in the monastery of Begery, procured the like esteem for the place, where his reliques continued to be honoured. The hand of St. Rundhan, preserved in a silver case in the abbey of Lorrah, and a piece of a bone of one of St. Kiaran's hands in the cathedral of Clonmacnois, sufficed for impressing on each a stamp of peculiar reverence; and a single tooth of St. Patrick gave a name and dignity to the church of Clonfeakle, "the Church," as the name signifies, "of the Tooth[19]." Minute portions of the mortal remains of these holy men were deposited in various

[17] *Annals of Ireland.* App. to CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, M.CCC.IX.

[18] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 57.

[19] ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, pp. 678, 619, 733, 667, 33. WARE, p. 166.

places, and cherished with reverential regard. We are informed by a modern Romanist writer, that on the translation of the reliques of St. Malachi to the abbey of Mellifont, "particles of them were distributed to the different Cistercian monasteries[20].

Veneration for reliques remarkably exemplified.

Of the veneration, which was at this period thought due to the mortal remains of saints, an instance may be given, as supplied by a transaction in the life of St. Malachy, about the middle of the twelfth century. The transaction shall be related, word for word, as it is given in a work composed for the instruction of the Irish students of the Romish Church, and entitled "*An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the Introduction of Christianity into that country, to the commencement of the tenth century.* By Rev. P. J. Carew, Professor of Divinity, Royal College, Maynooth."

Unknown burial-place of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba.

"During the incursions of the Danes," says the Professor of Divinity, "the remains of St. Brigid and St. Columba were, as we here see, transferred to Down, and placed in the same grave with those of the illustrious apostle of Ireland. The memory of this event was indeed faithfully preserved; but the recollection of the particular spot, where the sacred reliques of those three holy personages lay, became gradually obliterated from the minds both of the clergy and people. It would seem probable, that care had been taken to confine the knowledge of this circumstance to a few persons only: for had it been generally disseminated throughout the country, it must, in a short time, have reached the Danes, whose savage impiety appeared particularly to delight in dishonouring the reliques of the saints.

"The extraordinary veneration which St. Mala-

[20] Mac Geoghegan's *History*, v. i. p. 193.

Discovered by supernatural revelation to St. Malachy.

chy entertained for St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, made him anxious to discover the grave where the bodies of those holy persons reposed. But every effort which his ingenuity could devise proved unavailing, for no memorial remained which could assist him in the inquiry. All human means having failed, the good bishop had recourse to prayer; and with a holy importunity he earnestly besought God to make known to him the place in which the earthly remains of those three distinguished favourites of heaven were deposited. The prayer of the venerable prelate was at length favourably heard. On a certain night, while he offered up in the church his fervent petition to the Almighty, a ray of light, like a sunbeam, was seen by him to pass along the church, until it reached a particular part of the temple, when it ceased to advance. Persuaded that heaven had chosen this mode to reveal to him the subject which he so ardently desired to know, St. Malachy caused the place to which his attention had been thus drawn, to be immediately examined. His exertions were rewarded with the success which they so well deserved; for when the earth was removed, the bodies of the three saints were found deposited together in the same grave. By the bishop's direction the precious remains were then raised up, and placed in coffins which he had provided for them. As soon as this ceremony was completed, the bodies were consigned to the same tomb. De Courcy, the Lord of Down, being informed by the bishop of what had taken place, it was resolved that messengers should be sent to the Holy See to solicit permission to remove these sacred reliques from the grave where they reposed, to a more honourable part of the church.

Removed to a more honourable grave by Papal authority.

Urban the Third then filled St. Peter's chair; and it happened that De Courcy and St. Malachy were both personally known to him. That pontiff received their petition favourably, and immediately ordered Vivian, the Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen, to repair to Ireland, and assist at the celebration of the intended ceremony. The day fixed for the performance of the sacred rite was that on which the Church honours the memory of St. Columba. On that day the venerable remains of the three most illustrious saints of Ireland were accordingly transported, with the usual solemnities, to the place which had been prepared for them. At the ceremony, fifteen bishops and a numerous assemblage of other ecclesiastics attended; and in order that the memory of this interesting event might be preserved, they ordained that the anniversary of the translation should be kept thenceforward as a solemn festival throughout the churches of Ireland."

Pope's festival in commemoration thereof.

7. Other sorts of reliques partook of the veneration shown to the mortal remains of saints.

Veneration for other sorts of reliques.

Among these may be mentioned the mitre, the crosier, and some of the vestments of St. Cormac, which belonged to the church of the Franciscan monastery at Thurles[21]; the mitre of St. Ailbe, preserved for many ages, with great veneration, in the abbey of Emly; the bells of St. Senan, St. Nenn, and St. Evin, preserved respectively in the islands of Inniscattery, and Inis M'Saint, and in the abbey of Monasterevan; and the pastoral staffs of St. Finchu in Brigoun, and St. Muran in Fahan, richly ornamented with jewels and gilding; all of which were held to be endowed with miraculous powers,

[21] Grose's *Irish Antiq.*, ii. 85.

and used for the common people to swear by[22],—an oath as recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis in 1185, esteemed much more binding than one upon the holy Gospels[23].

The Staff of Jesus;

But the most distinguished of these was the supposed crosier of St. Patrick, commonly known by the name of "the staff of Jesus," and held in the greatest respect; not only on account of the belief that it had been used by the apostle of Ireland, but from the traditionary legend which connected it with our Saviour himself. No mention is made of this by the saint's most ancient biographers; but the following is the history of this celebrated staff, as delivered by Joceline, in 1185:—

Miraculous donation of it to St. Patrick;

"St. Patrick, moved by divine instinct, or angelick revelation, visited one Justus, an ascetick, who inhabited an island in the Tyrrhene sea, a man of exemplary virtue and most holy life. After mutual salutations and discourse, he presented the Irish apostle with a staff, which he averred he had received from the hands of Jesus Christ himself. In this island were some men in the bloom of youth, and others who appeared aged and decrepit; St. Patrick, conversing with them, found that these aged persons were the sons of the seemingly young. Astonished at this miraculous appearance, he was told, that from their infancy they had served God; that they were constantly employed in works of charity, and their doors were open to the traveller and distressed; that one night a stranger came to them, with a staff in his hand, and they accommodated him to the best of their power; that in the morning he blessed them and said, 'I am Jesus Christ, whom you have always faithfully served, but last night you received

[22] Archdall, pp. 656, 50, 262, 333, 58, 99. [23] Grose, ii. 25.

me in my proper person.' He then gave his staff to their spiritual father, with directions to deliver it to a stranger named Patrick, who would shortly visit them; 'in saying this he ascended into heaven, and left us in that state of juvenility in which you behold us; and our sons, then young, are the old decrepit persons you now see.'" Joceline goes on to relate that with this staff our apostle collected every venomous creature in the inland to the top of the mountain of Cruagh Phadraig, in the county of Mayo, and then precipitated them into the ocean[24].

Its imputed value;

"When St. Malachy became primate," as related by an author lately cited[25], "Nigellus, who had usurped the primatial see, carried the staff away from Armagh; and such was the importance attached to the possession of it, that many persons in consequence adhered to the usurper. But Nigellus did not retain it long; it was again restored to Armagh," where it was made an object of superstitious veneration. In the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, in 1179, during a pillage of the city and abbey, it was stolen and carried to Dublin; a theft of such great importance in the estimation of that superstitious age, as to merit a record in the annals of the country, as the breaking of it had been recorded on a former occasion in 1027[26]. Having then been presented to the cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, it was there preserved with reverential care, being the subject of a miracle on occasion of a great tempest in 1461; when the chest, which contained the staff of Jesus and other reliques, being broken to pieces by the falling-in of the east window, the staff was found lying, without the least damage, on

The subject of a miracle.

[24] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 150. [25] Carew's *Eccles. Hist.* [26] Archdall, p. 21.

the top of the rubbish; but the other reliques were entirely buried under it. And there it remained till the suppression of the monasteries; and in 1538 was removed from thence with the other reliques, and in the publick high street destroyed by fire[27].

Pieces of the true cross in Ireland.

A piece of the true cross, also, was preserved in several places with religious veneration. One of these had been presented by Pope Pascal the Second about 1110 to Murtogh, monarch of Ireland, and gave occasion for his founding, near Thurles, a Cistercian abbey, with the name, and in honour, of the "Holy Cross[28]." Another piece of it, which was presented to the Cistercian abbey of Tracton, in the county of Cork, by Barry Oge, in 1380, became there the object of popular devotion[29]. Another was preserved in the neighbourhood of Dublin; for in a contest between two competitors for the priory of Kilmainham in 1482, it is related that one had been deprived by the great master of the order, under an accusation of pawning or selling divers ornaments of the house, particularly a piece of the cross[30].

Veneration for crosses and images.

8. Crosses of stone, and images, were dispersed generally over the country, and made objects of special reverence, and treated with all the outward demonstrations of religious worship. Out of the vast variety of each of these, a few individual instances may be selected.

Specimens of images, favourite objects of idolatry.

As a specimen of the general propensity to this idolatrous form of religion, it may be briefly noticed, that the walls of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin contained several niches, which the superstition of the times furnished with images of saints[31]. Parti-

[27] WARBURTON'S *Hist. of Dublin*, vol. i. 181.
[28] GROSE'S *Antiq.*, i. 67.
[29] SMITH'S *Hist. of Cork*, i. 218.
[30] COX, i. 177.
[31] MASON, p. 8.

cular images are occasionally mentioned, as of St. John the Baptist, in the priory which bore his name in Dublin[32]; of St. Dominick, in the monastery of the Dominican Friars at Cork[33]; of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, over the east window of the cathedral church of Down[34]; and of St. Patrick, in his pontifical habiliments, and St. Francis and St. Dominick in the habits of their respective orders, over the northern door of the principal church of Clonmacnois. Below these were portraits of the same three saints[35].

Images of our blessed Lord, and the Virgin Mary.

Not to venture, however, on an extended exemplification of general image-worship, it may suffice to specify a few instances from the chief class of Christian idolatry, as practised in Ireland; and to observe that the image of our blessed Saviour in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, Dublin, and that of his virgin mother in the same cathedral, the latter wearing a crown, which was borrowed for the purpose of crowning Lambert Simnell in 1487, when he assumed the character of the murdered Richard, duke of York; another beautiful image of the Virgin with the child Jesus in her arms, in the abbey of the same city, which bore her name; another in the abbey of Trim, and another in that of Irrelagh, and another in the Dominican monastery of Youghal, all gifted with miraculous endowments; and another of the same character at Kilcorban; are distinguished examples of the reverence paid to images. Concerning the last of these, namely, that which was worshipped in the chapel, called the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of the

[32] Archdall, p. 405.
[33] *Ib.*, p. 67.
[34] Harris's *Down*, p. 27.
[35] Ledwich's *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 75.

Rosary, at Kilcorban, Burke, in his *History of the Dominicans*, gives the following citation from Heyn: "The frequent miracles which God performs through that statue, daily confirm the Catholicks in the true faith, and in the worship of the queen of heaven[36]."

Examples of crosses, distinguished as objects of religious veneration.

With respect to the former objects of religious veneration mentioned under this head, in Armagh alone there were, about the middle of the twelfth century, four stone crosses, and the fragment of a fifth, besides two in the burying-ground annexed to the cathedral. In the fifteenth century, about the year 1441, the primate removed to Armagh from the cathedral of Raphoe, another cross, which is supposed to have been the source of considerable profit to the dean and chapter of Raphoe from the miraculous power attributed to it[37].

The sanctified resorts of numerous devotees.

Many of these objects of misguided devotion, either singly or associated with each other, gave a character of sanctity to different parts of the country, where they had been erected, and which were frequented by numerous devotees. In the cemetery of the principal of the seven churches at Glendaloch, and near Temple Mac Dermot, one of the nine churches of Clonmacnois, were several of these erections, one of which, in each case, being formed of a single entire stone, and distinguished from its companions by superior height, respectively of eleven and fifteen feet, was a favourite object of popular adoration[38]. The still greater altitude of eighteen feet contributed, with its rude sculpture, to give additional celebrity to the ancient cross of St. Boyne, with which the abbey of Monasterboice was deco-

[36] ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, pp. 167, 147, 577, 303, 289, 82.

[37] STEWART'S *Hist. of Armagh*, pp. 143, 197.

[38] ARCHDALL, 773, 292, 491. LEDWICH, 76.

rated. The cross of Clonmacnois likewise was ornamented on its face, and on the sides of the shaft, with handsome but rude commemorative sculpture, representing, in a succession of relieved compartments, the principal events in the life of St. Kiaran, the founder and patron of the neighbouring abbey. A more usual erection was a simple shaft, with a cruciform head; adorned with no carving at all, as in the cross of Finglas, which gives a name to two baronies of the county, or at least with no carved figure, as in the above-named example at Glendaloch, or with a figure intended to represent our blessed Saviour's crucifixion, such as I have seen at Kilfenora. A circular mass of solid stone, with one vertical and two lateral projections, was a common form of the upper part of the monument, as in the last-mentioned instance, and in that of Finglas; in some instances, as at Clonmacnois, and at Kilclispeen, in Tipperary, whither the cross was brought by supernatural agency, the stone was cut away, and intervals left between the straight pieces and the circular. These intervals had their appropriate use. In the churchyard of Tallagh, near Dublin, were various crosses; one of which, mounted on a pedestal, had in its head four perforations, through which it was usual to draw childbed linen, for securing the easy delivery of the parent, and health to the infant[39]. A similar provision, and applied to the like purpose of affording relief and comfort to the wearers, by drawing through the perforations their articles of dress, distinguished another remarkable cross at Monaincha[40].

Forms and other particulars of crosses.

Their miraculous efficacy.

9. Fictitious miracles are another article in the catalogue of the superstitions of the Irish Church.

Fictitious miracles.

[39] Grose's *Irish Antiq.*, p. 15. [40] Ledwich's *Antiq.*, p. 116.

These were attributed, sometimes to the efficacy of their material objects of veneration, and sometimes to the agency of their saints.

An unextinguishable fire.

With respect to the former, in the nunnery of St. Brigid, at Kildare, was a fire, which had been preserved for many ages by the nuns, and was said to be unextinguishable, though it had been extinguished by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1220. The fire, however, was re-lighted, and continued to burn till the suppression of monasteries; one miracle attendant on it was, that, notwithstanding its perpetual consumption of fuel, ashes never increased[41].

About 1321, a great flood in the river Nore destroyed all the bridges and mills in Kilkenny, but dared not approach the high altar of the Franciscan abbey-church[42].

Miraculous cures wrought by images.

In 1397, the *Annals of the Four Masters* relate, that Hugh Matthews, by fasting and prayers in honour of the miraculous cross of Raphoe, and of the image of the Blessed Virgin at Trim, recovered his lost eye-sight. And in the year 1411, that from the five wounds of the crucified figure there flowed forth a stream of blood, whereby various kinds of infirmity were healed[43].

Displeasure indicated by them.

Indications of displeasure, also, as well as of good will, were supposed to be thus supernaturally attested. When Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, in the early part of the thirteenth century, visited an offence committed against him by the Lord Justice with the extremest ecclesiastical vengeance, he caused the crucifixes and images in the cathedral to be taken down and laid upon thorns, as if the passion of the Redeemer were renewed in the per-

[41] GROSE'S *Irish Antiq.*, i. 37. [42] *Ib.*, i. 37.
[43] COLGAN, *Trias Thaumaturga.*

secution of the minister; and his sufferings were supposed to be reiterated in one of the figures, which was exhibited to the beholders with the face inflamed, the eyes shedding tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water[44].

It was from the same feeling of veneration for images, and belief in their potency, that, at a somewhat later period, namely, in 1611, a fabulous story, the sequel of the history of early times, was told of Babbington, bishop of Derry: that he in vain attempted to burn an image of the Virgin Mary, which belonged to the Dominican friary of Coleraine; and that, thereupon, he was instantly seized with a violent illness, and died[45].

Miracles wrought by the agency of saints.

With respect to the miracles attributed to the agency of saints, may be particularly mentioned what ensued, when, in 1108, the great altar of the abbey of Clonmacnois was robbed of many valuable effects. "Whereupon," as related by a Romish historian, "the clergy of the abbey made incessant prayers to God and St. Kieran to enable them to discover the guilty person. Twelve years afterwards, in 1120, the stolen jewels were found in the possession of a Dane of Limerick, who was delivered by the King of Munster to the community of Clonmacnois for execution: when he openly confessed, that he had been at the several ports of Cork, Lismore, and Waterford, and continued some time at each, expecting a passage to another kingdom: that all the other ships left their harbours with fair winds; but as soon as any vessel which he had entered into had set sail, he saw St. Kieran with his

[44] Hoveden, referred to by Ware, *Bishops*, p. 317.
[45] Archdall, p. 84.

staff return it back again; and that the saint continued so to do till he was taken[46].

Among miracles of this class, allusion may be made in general to those related to have been wrought by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, who died in the year 1206; by John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, who died in 1212; and by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1360[47].

Pre-eminence of St. Malachy as a worker of miracles.

But pre-eminent in this respect, as well as in all others calculated to elevate the pretensions of the Romish Church in Ireland, was Archbishop Malachy O'Morgair, who cured a madman with holy water[48]; and by whom the performance of a miracle to impart the benefit of extreme unction to a lady, who was unexpectedly deprived of life before she received it, is thus related by the before-cited "Professor of Divinity in the Royal College of Maynooth."

A lady brought to life, that she might receive extreme unction.

"The lady of a certain knight, who resided near Bangor, being at the point of death, the saint was sent for to prepare her for the awful moment of dissolution. When he arrived at her place of abode, her sickness had somewhat abated, and her friends besought the saint to defer until the morning the discharge of his sacred office. Malachy yielded with reluctance to their request. But the holy man had soon occasion to repent of his condescension; for in a short time after he had retired from her house, he was overtaken by some of the attendants, who proclaimed, by their lamentations, the melancholy intelligence that their mistress was now no more. Overwhelmed with grief and remorse for

[46] MAC GEOGHEGAN, quoted by ARCHDALL, pp. 387, 388.

[47] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 470, 317, 33.

[48] BISHOP TAYLOR'S *Diss. from Popery*, p. 337.

the facility with which he had yielded to the importunity of the lady's friends, the holy bishop returned to her apartment; and raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, 'It is I who have sinned by this delay, and not the poor creature.' Then, standing by the bed of the deceased lady, the afflicted pastor, with tears and sighs, poured forth his prayers to God in her behalf. The remaining part of the night the saint employed in supplicating the Divine mercy, and in conjuring those who were present to watch and pray along with him. At length, towards the break of day, the lady opened her eyes, raised herself in the bed, and reverently saluted the saint. Elated with joy, the good bishop then administered to her the sacrament of extreme unction. The singular favour, which God had shown to her at the intercession of his minister, was prolonged until she had performed the penance, which the saint had enjoined her. As soon as this obligation was complied with, the lady, after receiving with devotion the holy rites of religion, relapsed into her former state of debility, and departed in peace[49].

Catalogue of reliques in Christ Church, Dublin, in the fourteenth century.

Before we quit this enumeration of reliques, images, and miracles, it may be desirable to exhibit a catalogue of the treasures of that kind possessed by the church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. It is taken from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, now in the library of Trinity College: and the Latin original is faithfully represented in the following version.

"These are the venerable and miraculous reliques of the cathedral metropolitan church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin.

[49] Carew's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, pp. 311, 312.

"First, the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified, which is said to have twice uttered words.

"Also the staff of Jesus, which the angel conferred on the Blessed Patrick.

Account of the sort of altar-stone, on which a leper swam from England to Ireland.

"Also the marble altar-stone of St. Patrick, upon which a leper was transported, miraculously swimming from Britain to Ireland."

I pause a little, to explain the vehicle, on which the leper made his miraculous and very memorable passage across the Irish Channel. The original word is *superaltare;* equivalent with which are the phrases, "*Altare Portatile*," "*Altare Viaticum*," and "*Tabula consecrata*." According to these names, it appears to have been "an itinerary, portable altar," made of a "neat stone," as Staveley says, in his *History of Churches*, "insigned with the cross, and duly consecrated; of such a length and breadth as might conveniently hold the holy cup and consecrated host, with an apt frame of wood whereon to set it[50]." Such altars were designed to be carried from place to place, for the celebration of mass, but they were not common; the bishops were cautioned to be very careful and wary in consecrating them; and they were very hardly and rarely granted but by the Pope himself or his penitentiary. The English name was that, by which I have translated it above, as appears from BECON'S *Reliques of Rome*, cited in Dr. WORDSWORTH'S *Ecclesiastical Biography*[51]. "Also, should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time." Further

[50] P. 219. [51] Vol. ii. p. 280.

information, if desired, may be found in Du Cange's *Glossary*, and Dugdale's *Monasticon*, where, however, the friend who has examined them for me informs me that all the documents quoted for the use of the word are English; and probably the particular altar-stone in question, used as it was for a conveyance from Britain to Ireland, was of English fabrication.

The subject, however, may be further illustrated by an Irish authority, which describes very much the some sort of altar, as that to which the foregoing English authorities have directed us. Of the constitutions and canons, made by John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, at a provincial synod, in 1186, the first "prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table, according to the usage of Ireland; and enjoins, that in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had, that in such case a square entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chauntries, or oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size, firmly fixed in the wood[52]."

Catalogue of reliques continued.

We proceed with the catalogue of the Christ Church Reliques:

"Also, the girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Also, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Also, a thorn of the crown of our Lord Jesus

[52] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 316.

Christ. Also, some of the bones of St. Peter and St. Andrew, the Apostles.

"Also, reliques of St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr.

"Also, reliques of St. Clement, Martyr.

"Also, reliques of St. Oswald, Bishop, and of St. Faith, Virgin.

"Also, reliques of St. Brandan, Abbot.

"Also, reliques of St. Wulstan, Bishop. Also, reliques of St. Thomas, Martyr. Also, reliques of St. Edmund the Confessor.

"Also, reliques of St. Lucy, Virgin. Also, reliques of St. Anastatia, Virgin and Martyr. Also, of the stone where the law was given.

"Also, of the wood of the golden gate. Also, of the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Also, of a bone of St. Blase. Also, of the manger of the Lord. Also, of the oil of St. Nicholas.

"Also, of the cloak of the Lord, in which he lay in the manger. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Patrick. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Columba, Abbot. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Brigid, Virgin. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Laurence, Martyr.

"Also, a bone of the bones of St. Oswald, Martyr.

"Also, more reliques from St. Laurence, Archbishop.

"Also, of the reliques of St. Silvester, Pope.

"Also, of the reliques of the eleven thousand virgins.

"Also, of the reliques of St. Pannosa, Virgin and Martyr.

"Also, of the reliques of St. Herbert, Bishop. Also, of the reliques of St. Daunt, Bishop.

"Also, of the sepulchre of Lazarus. Also, of

the reliques of St. Audoen, Bishop and Confessor. Also, of the reliques of St. Benedict, Abbot.

"Also, of the reliques of St. Basil, Bishop. And of St. Germanus, Bishop.

"Also, of the reliques of St. Olave, King.

"Also, other reliques innumerable, of which it were tedious to make special mention."

Section VI.

Superstitions continued. Pilgrimages. Penances. Indulgences. Dramatick representations of Scripture. Assumption of a monastick habit before death. Masses for the dead. Patron Days. Depressed condition of the lay-members of the Church. Need of Reformation.

Pilgrimages:

10. The practice of going on pilgrimages, intimately connected with some of the foregoing superstitions, was observed at the same time to a very great extent and with earnest diligence and zeal.

To Rome;

These were undertaken sometimes to the Continent, as in the instance of the Abbot Imar, who in the year 1134 died on a pilgrimage to Rome[1]; and in that of fifty persons, who went from the diocese of Dublin in 1451, with recommendatory certificates from the archbishop to Pope Nicholas the Fifth, to celebrate the jubilee then kept under the Pope's authority; of which number seven were pressed to death, together with many other pilgrims from all parts of Christendom, besides those who died on their return[2].

To different parts of Ireland;

More commonly such journeys were undertaken from one part to another of Ireland, from various motives dictated by a blind superstition, and with different objects of spiritual or temporal advantage.

[1] Archdall, p. 24.

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 341.

To places chosen by celebrated saints;

Sometimes the attraction was the peculiar sanctity attributed to a particular spot, which had been blessed by the choice of some celebrated saint, as the site of some religious edifice of his foundation: thus, in the twelfth century an opinion generally prevailed, that no person could die in the Isle of Monaincha, be his malady ever so extreme, or his fate ever so urgent, secured as it was in the enjoyment of this privilege, by the merits of its patron saint Colomba, and thence called "*Insula viventium*," the island of the living. This legendary celebrity brought from the remotest parts innumerable pilgrims to expiate their sins at the altar of the saint, and was the occasion of a gainful trade for several centuries[3].

To pieces of handicraft by saints;

Sometimes the special attraction was some piece of handicraft, the supposed workmanship of the saint's own hand; thus, in Cape Clear Island was a pillar of stone, bearing towards the top a cross rudely carved, as tradition reported, by St. Kieran; and greatly venerated by incredible crouds of pilgrims, who assembled around it on the 5th of March, which was his festival[4].

To memorials of antiquity, called by saints' names;

Sometimes a memorial of antiquity, bearing a saint's name, and imagined to be possessed of some peculiar miraculous property, drew together the itinerant multitudes: thus on the day of St. Patrick, the saint's penitential bed, and other similar ancient monuments, fit objects as they were deemed for the devotion of pilgrims, filled with devotees the parish church of Domnach Glinne Tochuir, in Inisoen; while Devenish was rendered alike attractive by the stone coffin, called the bed of St. Molaise, the usual place of his devotions, and celebrated for the relief

[3] ARCHDALL, p. 668. [4] *Ib.*, p. 60.

which it was said to afford to pains in the backs of those who reposed in it; and to women in a state of pregnancy a similar inducement was offered by an assurance, that such as should enter and turn thrice round in the cavity of a rock, near the door of the church of Inismore, called our Lady's Bed, saying at the same time certain prayers, should be safely delivered from the perils of child-birth[5].

To churches, built by workers of miracles;

Sometimes a church or churches built by some distinguished worker of miracles, with other remnants of his devotion whilst alive, gathered together large concourses of his posthumous admirers; thus, multitudes of persons of every age and either sex continually flocked to the valley of Glendaloch; and there, among his seven churches and his numerous crosses of stone, celebrated the festival of their venerable founder, St. Keivin[6].

To places of saints' interment;

Sometimes the place of a saint's interment was the cause of a like assemblage; thus, in the monastery of Begery, where were deposited the mortal remains of St. Ivar, and where his reliques continued to be kept in honourable preservation, crowds were assembled to unite in the litany of St. Ængus, which invoked the departed saint, together with one hundred and fifty of his disciples[7].

To miraculous images;

Sometimes a favourite image, celebrated for its miraculous powers, became equally memorable for the multitudinous pilgrimages, and the costly offerings with which it was honoured. This was the case, in a remarkable degree, with the wonders attributed, and the adoration paid, to an image of the Blessed Virgin preserved in the abbey of Trim; which, in the year 1444, is said to have wrought great miracles; particularly to have restored eyes to

[5] Archdall, pp. 97, 260, 634. [6] *Ib.*, p. 766. [7] *Ib.*, p. 733.

the blind, tongues to the dumb, and limbs to the weak and decrepit. The narrative adds that "in the same year a woman is said to have brought forth cats[8]."

To holy wells:

Holy wells, imagined to enjoy the special patronage and benediction of some tutelary saint, and to be endued with salutary or healing properties, attracted to their miraculous waters annual crowds of infirm and diseased visitants, in pursuit of preternatural health and vigour. These wells were generally dispersed over the country, and the pilgrims who visited them were numerous in proportion; and, as examples, may be mentioned, especially St. Patrick's at Finglass, St. Colomb's at Swords, St. Francis's at Kilkenny, and St. Conald's at Iniskeel; St. Finian's at Erynagh, St. Thomas the Martyr's near Down, St. Kilian's at Fenaugh, and others equally celebrated and frequented; for instance, those of Kilmacduagh, St. Michael's Mount, and Inislounagh[9].

To reliques.

Probably a mere feeling of ignorant and indefinite devotion in favour of some valued relique on some occasions animated the enterprise: as appears to have been the case with those, who resorted on every Holy Thursday to pay their offerings to a piece of the holy cross preserved in the abbey of Tracton; and with the great rebel chief O'Neil, when, in 1579, he made a pilgrimage, as did one of the Desmonds in 1599, to visit a piece of the same original instrument of our blessed Saviour's death, said to be preserved in the abbey of the Holy Cross[10].

Pilgrimages, acts of penance, or for indulgences.

In some cases, again, the pilgrimage was con-

[8] ARCHDALL, p. 577.

[9] MASON'S, *St. Patrick*, p. 49.

ARCHDALL, pp. 216, 100, 375, 119, 129, 409, 292, 301, 663.

[10] ARCHDALL, pp. 79, 660.

nected with acts of penance and mortification for the expiation of sins; and in others was regarded as the price paid for indulgences granted as in remuneration of a meritorious act.

Protected by parliament.

For the protection of persons thus engaged, the interposition of the ruling powers had been solicited and procured. In a petition preferred by Nicholas Dovedale, prebendary of Clonmethan, to parliament, in 1476, it was stated, that "divers persons, aliens, strangers, and denizens, did frequent, in considerable numbers, by way of pilgrimage, the chapel of St. Catherine, the virgin and martyr of Feldstown, which was appropriated and annexed to his prebend, being for the health and safety of their souls, and accomplishment of their petitions and prayers; and upon his complaint that they had been at divers times vexed and molested, on divers pretences; by reason of which they were obliged to lay aside such devotions and pilgrimages; it was thereupon enacted, that the persons and properties of all such pilgrims should, during their pilgrimage, be under the king's protection; nor should the persons of any such be arrested, on any writ or authority whatever, for debt, treason, felony, or trespass, until said pilgrimage be accomplished[11]."

Penances.

11. Penances, whether in connexion with pilgrimages, or otherwise inflicted on the sinner by his ecclesiastical superior, in punishment and expiation of his sins, were among the other characteristicks of the Church at the season under review.

One of the most notorious theatres of this sort of superstitious infliction was St. Patrick's purgatory, on an island of Lough Dearg, in the county of

[11] Stat. Roll, 14 Edw. IV., cited in Mason's *St. Patrick*, p. 54.

Donegal, about which the penitent was compelled to crawl, bare-legged and bare-armed, painfully lacerating his knees and hands as he slowly effected his passage over the sharp stones[12]. Another was the high mountain of Slieve Donard, in the county of Down, to the top of which he was sentenced to climb under the heat of a midsummer sun, and there to offer his devotions to the saint from whom the mountain derives its name[13].

St. Patrick's purgatory.

But of these superstitions the former seems to require more particular notice. It was founded upon a vision, ascribed by Matthew Paris to the fraud or illusion of an Irish soldier in the twelfth century, adopted by a Cistercian monk, and embellished with all his powers of ingenuity; and thence publickly set forth, and impressed upon the minds of the uneducated and credulous natives, with circumstances calculated to work upon their hopes and fears, and thus to bring them under more absolute thraldom to their priests by the influence of stimulating and deceitful imaginations. Christ, as the soldier is reported to have told his vision seen in St. Patrick's purgatory, appeared to St. Patrick, but whether to the primitive apostle of Ireland, or to one who bore the name of his more illustrious predecessor, about the year 850, the legend has not determined; and leading him to a desert place, showed him a deep hole, and instructed him that whoever repented and was armed with true faith, and entering into that pit continued there a night and a day, should, during his abode there, behold the pains of purgatory and of hell, and the joys of heaven, and be thereby purged and cleansed from

[12] ARCHDALL, p. 102; LEDWICH, p. 134.
[13] HARRIS's *County of Down*, p. 121.

all his sins. A church and monastery, founded by the saint; seven chapels or cells in different parts of the island, which is only one hundred and twenty-six yards long and forty-four broad, or about the size of an English acre; about the same number of circular inclosures or conical piles of stones, distinguished by the names of the beds or circles of St. Patrick, St. Abage, St. Molass, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Catherine, and St. Brigid, were the results of this impious invention; above all, the purgatory of St. Patrick, which was a cave sixteen feet and a half long by about two wide; so low, that a tall man could not stand in it upright; so confined, that it could not contain more than nine persons; and so closed, that no light could enter in, except through the doorway, or a small window in one corner. In and round these structures, at stated seasons of the year, for two or three weeks in succession, and from every district of the land, vast multitudes of pilgrims promiscuously crawled: painfully exercising their bodies with penitentiary inflictions, but crowning the tortures of the day with nightly scenes of revelry, intemperance, debauchery, and riot; and exhibiting by their subsequent conduct scant fruits of penitence.

Other places of penance.

There were other favourite spots, where the macerations of self-tormenting were succeeded by the orgies of self-indulgence: such, for example, as the valley of Glendaloch, and the islands of Inniscattery and Inniscaltra: but the small isle of Lough Dearg appears to have been pre-eminent in evil at least in a scandalous notoriety. For much to the discontent and loss of the priests, who throve upon the sufferings and sins of the deluded people, the shameful imposture and enormities of the place

excited, at length, papal displeasure; and by a decree of Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1497, it incurred a sentence of demolition; which, however, was not effectually accomplished, for in the year 1630, the government of Ireland gave orders for its final suppression[14].

Occasional penances.

Such penances as these, that have been now mentioned, were in ordinary course. An example of occasional penance is furnished by the narrative of an assault made on the Earl of Ormonde, in 1434, by the citizens of Dublin, who, at the same time, furiously attacked and broke open the gates of St. Mary's abbey, and carried off the abbot by force, "bearing him up, some by his feet, and others by his hands and arms." A publick penance was in consequence enjoined upon the mayor and citizens to proceed barefoot to the cathedrals of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, and to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, begging pardon for the offences committed by them in their churches. And, in 1492, another treacherous and violent assault was made on another Earl of Ormonde, in St. Patrick's cathedral, by the citizens of Dublin, with circumstances of sacrilegious outrage; which was visited by the Pope's legate with this sentence, that "in detestation of so horrible a fact, and in perpetual memory of the transaction, the mayor of Dublin should go barefoot throughout the city in open procession, before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi's day, which penitent satisfaction was after in every such procession, duly accomplished[15].

12. Indulgences by the Pope have been already

[14] Cox, vol. ii. p. 54.

[15] Mason's *St. Patrick*, pp. 132, 141.

intimated to have been connected with the practice of undertaking pilgrimages. Such indulgences were granted in 1399 and 1401, to all who should visit the monastery of Sligo on certain festivals, and to all who should visit the friary of Drogheda; and, in 1415, to all persons who should visit the friary of Arklow, and give alms to the friars; and, in 1450, to all who should make a pilgrimage to the abbey of Navan, or contribute to repair or adorn it. Other similar privileges were granted in 1400 and 1423, to all persons who should visit the Dominican friary of Galway on particular festivals, and contribute to its repairs; and, in 1426, to all who had contributed to the building of the monastery of Portumna; and, in 1450, to all who should undertake pilgrimages to the abbey of Navan[16].

Papal indulgences in reward of pilgrimages;

Papal indulgences were also given for purposes differing in kind from the preceding. In 1476, Octavian del Palatio, the Pope's nuncio in Ireland and the adjoining isles, granted an indulgence of two months to all inhabitants of this kingdom who should give subsidies towards the propagation of the Christian faith and the Crusades; provided they should visit the Cathedral of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, the chapel of St. Mary near the old bridge, belonging to the preaching friars, and that of St. Thomas, and should there say thrice seven psalms with litanies, or else the Lord's Prayer three score times, with the angel's salutation. The subsidies required were, from archbishops, bishops, earls, and countesses, two marks each; from abbots, barons, and baronesses, one mark and a half; from nobles of inferior quality, doctors and their wives, one mark; and from other persons, half a mark each.

And for other purposes.

[16] Archdall, pp. 638, 760, 559, 274, 275, 295, 559.

All indulgences to other churches were to cease for eight months[17].

And of the same nature appears to be a document in the archives of Christ Church, Dublin, being a later indulgence and plenary pardon of all sins, however enormous, granted by Donald O'Fallon to Richard Skyret, then canon, but afterwards prior, of that cathedral, for contributions to the Crusade. He entitles himself Deputy of the Order of Minors, being an observantine Franciscan, and on the seal is called the Guardian of Youghal. In the year 1485, he was advanced to the see of Derry by the provision of Pope Innocent the Eighth; but it was not in his episcopal capacity that he granted the foregoing indulgence, which was dated in 1482[18].

Episcopal indulgences.

But there were other "indulgences," of which frequent mention is made in the history of this period of the Irish Church, and which require some explanation: for, as Harris observes, "possibly every reader may not know what is meant by these indulgences. Fuller, in his *Worthies of Cambridgeshire*, declares his ignorance of them: 'unless,' says he, 'they signified a promise of a pardon of so many days to such who should go on pilgrimage to such a church, or be contributors to the repairs or building of it.' And this he thinks an over-papal act for a plain bishop. But," continues Harris, "it was usual with the Pope to grant faculties to bishops for this purpose. Thus Maurice de Portu, archbishop of Tuam, in 1506, obtained a faculty from the Pope for granting indulgences to all who should hear his first mass at Tuam, after his return from Rome; but he died on his journey before he had the opportunity of celebrating his first mass. These indul-

[17] MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 139. [18] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 197, 198.

gences were a relaxation of so many days' penance enjoined upon any person who should do such or such an act. This seems to be the true meaning of these indulgences;" on which it may be further remarked, that, "when a bishop took upon him to grant them, the confirmation of the archbishop of the province was necessary for giving them effect[19]." The manner in which this power was exercised, and the nature of the acts to which it was applied, will be better understood from the following exemplification.

Explanation of them.

About the year 1220, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, having founded in his diocese an hospital of the Holy Ghost, granted such indulgences to those who should visit and give alms or largesses to the said hospital, in these words, "Of the penance enjoined to them we relax thirty days;" words which set forth the meaning of the privilege to the effect already explained. The same archbishop granted thirteen days' indulgences to the abbey of Glastonbury, in England[20].

In what manner, and for what acts granted;

By Archbishop of Dublin, 1220;

About 1227, Walter, bishop of Waterford, granted twenty days' indulgences to the abbey of Glastonbury, as many to the church of the Blessed Virgin, ten days to the church of Basseleke, ten days to the chapel of Horty, thirteen days to the church of Torre, twenty days to the church of the Holy Trinity of Godenie, all belonging to the said abbey, and thirteen days to the reliques of it[21].

By Bishop of Waterford, 1227;

About 1233, Jocelin O'Tormaig, bishop of Ardagh, granted to Glastonbury Abbey fifteen days' indulgences, and as many to that of St. Albans[22].

By Bishop of Ardagh, 1233;

In 1237, Christian, bishop of Emly, granted indulgences of twenty days to the promoters of the

By Bishop of Emly, 1237;

[19] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 263.
[20] *Ib.*, p. 320.
[21] *Ib.*, p. 530.
[22] *Ib.*, pp. 251, 252.

building of St. Paul's Church, London. And in 1252, the like grant was given to St. Paul's, by Gilbert, successor of Christian, in the see of Emly.

By Bishop of Killaloe, 1255;

In 1255, Isaac, bishop of Killaloe, made a grant of eight days to the same building.

By Bishop of Connor, 1257;

In 1257, a similar grant of forty days' indulgence was given to the contributors to the building of St. Paul's, by William, of Port Royal, bishop of Connor[23].

By Bishop of Elphin, 1262;

In or about 1262, Thomas Mac Ferall, bishop of Elphin, granted indulgences of fifty days to the chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Temple of London; and forty days more to those, who, out of a motive of devotion, should visit the tomb of Roger, in St. Paul's, in the same city[24].

By Archbishop of Cashel, 1268;

In 1268, David Mac Carwill, archbishop of Cashel, granted forty days' indulgence to St. Paul's, London; and in 1270, the same grant was made for the same purpose, by Thomas Liddell, bishop of Down[25].

By Bishop of Waterford, 1280;

About 1280, Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, granted the church of Glastonbury forty days to the abbey, ten days to those who should visit the reliques, twenty days to those who should visit the cross, ten days to those who should visit the sapphire, (a stone of some virtues there preserved,) twenty days to the church of Torre, twenty days to the hospital, and as many to the church of the Holy Trinity of Godenie, all belonging to the said abbey, amounting, on the whole, to one hundred and forty days[26].

By Bishop of Lismore, 1289.

In 1289, Richard Cor, bishop of Lismore, granted forty days' indulgences to any person who should hear mass from any canon of Christ Church, Dublin;

[23] WARE, pp. 494, 295, 591, 220.
[24] *Ib.*, p. 630.
[25] *Ib.*, pp. 474, 197.
[26] *Ib.*, p. 553.

or should say the Lord's Prayer, or an Ave-Mary for the benefactors of the said church; and Nicholas de Effingham, bishop of Cloyne, made the same grant. And in 1291, the same grant was made severally by Matthew O'Heothy, bishop of Ardagh, and William O'Duffy, bishop of Clonmacnoise[27].

By Bishop of Down, 1414;

In 1414, John Cely, bishop of Down, having erected and consecrated an altar in Christ Church, Dublin, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, granted forty days' indulgences to all the canons who should celebrate mass, and devoutly pray at the said altar[28].

By Archbishop of Armagh, 1417;

Between the years 1417 and 1439, John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, made a grant of forty days' indulgences to any person who should give relief to Moyn Mackennery, a man who had been reduced to poverty; and a similar grant to any one who should contribute to the ransom of Nicholas Chamberlain, who had been taken prisoner by the Irish enemies; and many of the like sort[29].

1442;

In 1442, John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, being highly incensed against the dean and chapter of Raphoe, and having deprived them of their benefices, granted moreover forty days' indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize or dissipate their substance[30].

1443;

In 1443, on the petition of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, granted forty days' indulgences to all persons who should contribute to the providing a great bell for that cathedral, and to making some new windows and other repairs therein[31].

By Archbishop of Dublin, 1453.

In 1453, on the arrival of the melancholy news that Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Emperor Constantine Paleologus slain, Michael Tre-

[27] Ware, pp. 553, 576, 252, 171. [28] *Ib.*, p. 202.
[29] *Ib.*, p. 198. [30] *Ib.*, p. 274. [31] *Ib.*, p. 86.

gury, archbishop of Dublin, proclaimed a fast to be strictly observed throughout his diocese for three days together, and granted indulgences of an hundred years to the observers of it; and he himself went before the clergy in procession to Christ Church, clothed in sackcloth and ashes[32].

Theatrical representations of Scripture events,

13. Dramatick representations of scriptural events of the most serious and solemn kinds were made the subjects of publick exhibition, on the great festivals of the church, as means, it is to be presumed, of combining religious instruction with popular entertainment.

Thus in the year 1506, the awful occurrences of our blessed Saviour's passion were set forth in a play in the Hoggin Green, since called College Green, near Dublin[33]. And the like method was employed for impressing upon the publick mind the subjects of

and of legends,

their superstitious legends. Thus at the same place, in 1523, the life of St. Laurence, one of the canonized objects of Irish veneration, was played for the edification or amusement of the admiring multitude.

and mythological stories.

With subjects of these kinds were sometimes blended others derived from the heathen mythology. Thus in the year 1528, Arland Ussher being then mayor, and Francis Herbert, and John Squire,

Christmas exhibitions by the different trades of Dublin.

bailiffs, the Earl of Ossory, being lord deputy of Ireland, was invited every day in Christmas to a new play; wherein the tailors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the smiths; and the comedy of Ceres, the god-

[32] WARE, p. 341. [33] *Loftus MS.*, Marsh's Library.

dess of corn, by the bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin Green, now called College Green; and on it the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Blessed Trinity, and of All Hallows, caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered[34].

Exhibition on Corpus Christi day.

A similar exhibition is recorded, as accompanying the procession of Corpus Christi day, on which the glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword before them; the corrisees, perhaps the curriers, were to represent Cain and Abel, with an altar and their offering; mariners and vintners, Noah and the persons in his ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters and salmon-takers; the weavers represented Abraham and Isaac with their offering and altar; the smiths represented Pharaoh with his host; the skinners the camel with the children of Israel; the goldsmiths were to find the King of Cullen, (*qu.* the kings of Cologne, that is, the Eastern Magi?) the hoopers were to find the shepherds, with an angel singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo;* Corpus Christi guild was to find Christ in his passion, with the Maries and Angels; the tailors were to find Pilate with his fellowship, and his wife clothed accordingly; the barbers, Annas and Caiaphas; the fishers, the Apostles; the merchants, the Prophets; and the butchers, the tormentors[35].

Proctor's account for entertainments in St. Patrick's.

The same sort of entertainment appears to be intended by the Proctor's account, already referred to, in St. Patrick's cathedral in the year 1509; where an allowance is required of "three shillings and one penny paid to Thomas Mayowe, playing

[34] Robt. Ware, MS. quoted in Warburton's *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 103.
[35] *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 110.

with seven candles, on the feast of the Lord's Nativity, and the Purification, this year; and of four shillings and sevenpence paid to those who played with the great and little Angel, and the Dragon, on the feast of Pentecost; and four shillings and twopence paid for victuals to the same, who played on the days of the same feast, this year[36].

Characters of the drama represented by puppets.

The plays, here spoken of, seem to have been performed by the machinery of puppets, which were made to personate the characters of the drama. And this interpretation is illustrated and confirmed by a curious passage, quoted in WARTON's *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 240, 4to., from LAMBARDE's *Topographical Dictionary*, written about the year 1570. "In the days of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney, in Oxfordshire, to set forth yearly, in manner of a show or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lively hereby to exhibit to the eye the whole action of the resurrection, the priests garnished out certain small puppets, representing the persons of Christ, the watchmen, Mary, and others; amongst the which one bare the part of a waking watchman, who espying Christ to arise, made a continual noise, like to the sound that is caused by the meeting of two sticks. The like toy I myself, being then a child, once saw in Paul's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole, that yet is to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle."

Bishop Bale's attempt to improve these exhibitions.

John Bale, bishop of Ossory, in King Edward the Sixth's reign, endeavoured to improve these dramatick exhibitions of religious subjects; and under

[36] MASON's *St. Patrick's*. App. pp. xxviii. xxix.

his patronage a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, and a comedy of St. John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptising, and of his temptation in the wilderness, were played at Kilkenny, after the manner of some pieces of his composition, which are still extant. But these subjects are manifestly unfit for such representations. The very association has an air of profaneness; and they gradually fell into disuse, and at length became obsolete, under the light diffused by the Reformation.

Assumption of monastick dress before death;

14. To mitigate the terrors of approaching death, and to secure future happiness, recourse was had to several superstitious observances; to one in particular, which, although not so prevalent as to be represented, like pilgrimages, of general adoption, was by no means uncommon even amongst persons of distinction; namely, that by which they attempted to secure a passport to heaven under a borrowed semblance; and, as Milton says:

> ——— To be sure of Paradise,
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominick,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised[37].

By several bishops;

During the period under consideration, two archbishops of Cashel, and three bishops respectively of Raphoe, Derry, and Ross, are named in Sir James Ware's *History*, as having assumed on their deathbeds the Franciscan, Cistercian, or Dominican habit, and being buried in that attire, and in a monastery of the same order[38]; a practice, which is observed by Ware's continuator, Harris, to have been "according to the humour of those times, and thought to be of great consequence;" and which in fact was not con-

[37] *Paradise Lost.* B. iii. v. 478.
[38] Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 475, 478, 274, 291, 588.

fined to ecclesiastical persons, as we are elsewhere informed of a Lord Justice of Ireland, who in 1257 died, and was buried in the monastery of Youghall, in the habit of a Franciscan friar; of Dermot O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who in 1313 had recourse at Ennis to the like passport to happiness, which was adopted in 1343, by Matthew M'Comara, who built the refectory and sacristy of the monastery, and was there buried in the habit of the order; and of Alexander of the Ashgrove, who assumed the same habit in 1348, and was interred in the Franciscan friary of Kilkenny[39].

And distinguished laymen.

Private masses.

15. Private masses, or masses performed by the priest alone, for the benefit of the dead, and in which the living had no participation, were universally prevalent, and had become the source of large revenues to the clergy, by reason of the donations and bequests, given for the perpetual maintenance of these expiatory ceremonies.

Examples founded by Abp. of Armagh.

Examples of these are too abundant for enumeration. Two or three, however, may be briefly noticed: as for instance, that John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, having founded a chapel and chantry, dedicated to St. Anne, in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, early in the fifteenth century, John May, one of his successors, soon afterwards "annexed a large portion of the archiepiscopal tithes to the chapel, in pure alms, for ever, as a compensation for a greater number of priests, to pray perpetually for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors, and of all the benefactors to the same Church[40]."

[39] ARCHDALL's *Monasticon*, pp. 81, 45, 374.
[40] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 86.

And a curious manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a list of the names of the deceased, whose bodies, in the fourteenth century, rested in the dust in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, and in the precinct of the same; with a prayer that God would be propitious to their souls: for which, it goes on to say, "the prior and canons of the same place are bound to pray; and especially once in the year solemnly to celebrate for them exequies and masses, with bells sounded and candles lighted about them." And in Christ Church, Dublin.

After the like manner, in 1244, Luke, archbishop of Dublin, having at the instance of Warin, one of the canons of St. Patrick's, granted a piece of ground for ever to the vicars; the vicars bound themselves to celebrate one mass in the church every day, for the souls of the fathers and mothers of the archbishop and of the said Warin, and likewise for their souls, when they should die; and that on their anniversaries they would celebrate mass in a solemn manner, subject to deprivation of their benefices in the event of non-performance. And in 1364, in consideration of an acre of land granted by King Edward the Third, through his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, the dean and chapter incurred a similar obligation of performing anniversaries for the souls of the king and queen, of the duke and duchess, and of their ancestors and posterity for ever[41]. And in St. Patrick's.

For these formalities a single altar was not sufficient, but in the same church a multitudinous provision was made for their observance. Thus at a great synod, holden in 1157, for the purpose of consecrating the church of Mellifont, at which were Multitude of altars in the same church.

[41] Mason's *St. Patrick*, pp. 108, 124.

present the Archbishop of Armagh, then apostolick legate, and divers other princes and bishops, amongst numerous rich gifts to the abbey was included a chalice of gold for the high altar, and holy furniture for nine other altars in the same church[42].

Mass celebrated at several at the same time.

These masses were frequently celebrated, many in the same church and at the same time. Thus in the church of Galway were the following chapels and altars:—1. The high altar of St. Nicholas, in the choir; 2. The altar of Jesus Christ, in the chapel of Christ Judging; 3. The altar of St. Michael, in the chapel of the Guardian Angels; 4. The altar of St. Mary Major, in the ancient chapel of the Lynches; 5. The altar of the blessed Mary, in the new and great chapel of the Blessed Mary, under the title of the Blessed Mary, mother of God; 6. The altar of St. James; 7. The altar of St. Catherine, in her gilt chapel; 8. The altar of St. John the Baptist, joined to the column of the pulpit; 9. The altar of St. Bridget; 10. The altar of St. Martin; 11. The altar of the Blessed Sacrament, in the chapel dedicated to it; 12. The altar of St. Anne, in her chapel; 13. The altar of St. Patrick, in his chapel, originally dedicated to him; 14. The altar of the Holy Trinity, in its chapel. These fourteen chapels and altars are specified by a modern historian of the town, as a criterion for estimating the magnificence of the church of Galway before the Reformation; and he adds the remark, that in almost all of these the same time was often employed for the celebration of divine service[43].

Comparative re-

15. In this enumeration it may be noticed, that

[42] Archdall, p. 479.

[43] Hardiman's *Hist. of Galway*, p. 246, note.

whilst one chapel and altar were erected in honour of the holy Trinity, and one in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, there were two in honour of the Virgin Mary, one of St. Michael, one of St. James, and one of St. John the Baptist, and almost the entire of the remainder, being nearly a moiety of the whole, were in honour of canonized saints. The proportionate regard shown, during the times in question, to the uncreated and created objects of religious veneration, might be illustrated by this appropriation; and a similar illustration might be drawn from the appropriation of time: for the festival days of the several patron saints were solemnly observed, whereas small regard was paid to the Lord's-day, that being the day selected in several places for the holding of publick markets[44].

Neglect for the Lord's day and patron days.

A failure in the reverence due to this day was evidenced in the year 1541, when the parliament having passed an act declaring Henry the Eighth king of Ireland, the Sunday following was selected for proclaiming him king, in St. Patrick's church, and the next Sunday for "having tournaments and running at the ring with spears, on horseback[45]." Whereas the guilt of the murder of five innocent unoffending persons, on Friday, the 8th of September, 1556, during their occupation in the hay field, "after they had served God according to the day, was coloured by the priests, who caused it to be noised all the country round, that it was by the hand of God these persons were slain, for that they had broken, they said, the great holyday of our Lady's nativity[46]."

Tournaments on a Sunday, in 1541.

[44] Cox, i. 103.

[45] *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 109, from a MS. in the Coll. Library.

[46] Bale's *Vocacyon*.

Condition of the members of the Church in general.

16. It remains to be briefly noticed, that under the circumstances to which we have adverted, the condition of the members of the church in general could not be expected to be, and in reality was not, distinguished by sound religion and useful learning. Revealed truth was inaccessible to them at its source in the Holy Scripture; and in its transmission through the channels of ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and ministerial instruction, it had, for the most part, lost its primitive and essential character; so that the spiritual worship of God, and belief in the Gospel of his blessed Son, and corresponding holiness and purity of life, were well nigh superseded and obliterated by fabulous legends and superstitions, and unedifying observances. Meanwhile with a clergy too commonly illiterate, with scanty means and opportunities of intellectual improvement, and amid the continual agitation of intestine tumults and warfare, illiteracy was the general state both of their chief men and of the people; so that we need hardly wonder at the statement of history that, even in the year 1546, there were men of high rank and station in the country so destitute of the elements of education as to be incapable of writing their names. Their conduct, indeed, during this period exhibited palpable symptoms of brutality and ferocity; and was marked by a contemptuous disregard, not only for ingenuous learning, but for religion, whose abodes and ministers they often desecrated with sacrilegious outrage.

Outrages upon religious edifices.

Of one perfidious Irishman, indeed, an unbaptized marauder, or *corbi* as he was called, because he had never been christened, one M'Adam, or Hugh M'Gilmori, we are informed, who, in 1407,

destroyed forty churches, and was afterwards killed in that of Carrickfergus, his previous ravaging of which, by breaking the windows, and carrying off the iron-bars, had disabled it for affording him protection from assault[47]. But the outrages of this lawless barbarian had their counterparts in the violence of those from whom, professors as they were of the Christian faith, better things might have been hoped and expected.

Irreligious conduct of persons of rank.

Thus the destruction of the inhabitants of the town and abbey of Kildare by a King of Leinster, in 1135, the forcible abstraction of the abbess from her cloister, and her compulsory marriage with one of his own followers[48]: the plunder, in 1171, by a chieftain, named Manus M'Dunleve, of several churches[49]: the conversion of the church of Milick into a stable, by William de Burgh, in 1203, who appears to have committed sacrilege with as little compunction as he ate flesh meat during Lent[50]: the plunder of the abbey of Innisfallen, in 1180, and the slaughter of the clergy in their cemetery by the Macarthys[51]; the destruction of the monastery of Lough Dearg, which, notwithstanding its celebrity and reputed holiness, was reduced to ashes by Bratachas O'Boyle and M'Mahon, in 1207[52]: the assault made by John de Rathcogan, in 1306, upon the Abbot of Crossmalyne, the imprisonment of his person, and the rifling of his monastery[53]: "the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in 1492, in rushing into St. Patrick's church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the

[47] Marleburgh's *Annals*, App. to Camden's *Britannia*.
[48] Archdall, p. 328.
[49] *Ib.*, p. 83.
[50] *Ib.*, p. 294.
[51] *Ib.*, p. 302.
[52] *Ib.*, p. 102.
[53] *Ib.*, p. 501.

images, prostrating the reliques, rasing down altars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreant Saracens than Christian Catholicks[54]:" the attack, in 1392, upon the abbey of St. Thomas, by the mayor of Dublin and the bailiffs, and others of the citizens, armed, "with intent and malice aforethought," "to drag thereout John Serjeant, the abbot, and all his party, or to kill them there;" and their persistance in their evil designs, notwithstanding the interposition of the government, "bringing fire to burn the abbey, destroying several hosts, breaking the windows, surrounding the king's officers, and forcibly rescuing their prisoners[55]:" the burning of the cathedral church of Cashel, in 1503, by the Earl of Kildare, who acknowledged the sacrilegious action, and affirmed, with a solemn oath, that he would not have committed it, had he not supposed that the archbishop himself was in the church[56]: and the murder, in 1513, of Edmund Burke in the monastery of Rathbran, where he had sought protection from the unnatural malice of his brother's sons[57]: these and similar outrages mark the ecclesiastical annals of the country, and leave the brand of barbarism and irreligion on the character of its inhabitants of rank, from which it is hardly to be supposed that the inferior instruments of iniquity could be exempted.

Moral condition of the lower Irish.

Of the moral condition, indeed, of the lower Irish, during the period in question, a sketch has been drawn in recent times by an ecclesiastick of high dignity in the Romish church in Ireland, as cited by Dr. Phelan, in his *History*, p. 128; and by

[54] Hollingshed, cited by Mason, *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 141, Note *h*.

[55] Archdall, p. 194.

[56] M'Geohegan's *Hist.* i. 421.

[57] Archdall, p. 508.

him they are represented as exhibiting ferocity combined with cunning, and astuteness with cruelty, as characterized by individual bravery and collective cowardice, and as generally estranged from honesty and truth. The features of this portrait, it is to be hoped, are exaggerated: but the delineation had probably too near a resemblance to the original, as it may be traced in the occurrences of the times.

General character of the Irish Church.

Upon the whole, whatever pretensions may have been justly advanced by Ireland, in previous ages, to the title of "the Island of Saints," an examination of its subsequent condition shows, that its profession of Christianity had become such as to preclude its continued claim to that appellation; that it had fallen many degrees below the standard of evangelical purity and simplicity, and was weighed down by a burden of corruption and error during the centuries under review; and was abundantly in need of improvement in its profession and practice of religion, in the character of its clergy and people, and in the ordinances of its church, at the era of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH . . . . . 1535—1537.
GEORGE CROMER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1535—1542.
GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1543.

Section I.

Review of the Condition of the Church. Recognition of the King's Supremacy intended. Archbishop Cromer's opposition. Co-operating obstacles. George Browne made Archbishop of Dublin. Ineffectual effort of the King's Commissioners. Parliament of 1537. *Acts relative to the Church.*

Depressed state of the Church of Ireland before the Reformation.

At the era of the Reformation, the Church of Ireland partook of those marks which were inherent in the Church of England also, as well as in the other churches of western Christendom. The true word of God was not preached by her ministers, nor acknowledged by her people, through the general ignorance or prohibition of the Holy Scriptures. Legendary tales maintained an ascendency over the Christian verity. Transubstantiation, wafer-worship, and half-communion; auricular confession, and discretionary absolution; purgatory, pilgrimages, penances, and indulgences; the invocation of saints, and the adoration of images and reliques: all conspiring to derogate from God's honour, and to lay false foundations for man's hope of salvation; were some of the enormities which deformed her creed

and religious practice. The sacraments of Christ were partly withheld, or superstitiously administered: they, as likewise the publick prayers of the Church, were celebrated in a strange tongue: and certain other ecclesiastical ordinances were raised to the dignity of the two sacraments of Christ. Celibacy was enjoined upon her clergy. They, as well as her people, were little distinguished for moral or intellectual improvement. Monastick establishments existed to a great and very detrimental extent. And of those who bore the episcopal office in her communion, her four archbishops and twenty-six bishops, the appointment was conferred, the allegiance claimed, and the rights and privileges circumscribed by a foreign potentate: from whom the metropolitans had submitted to receive their archiepiscopal palls from the middle of the twelfth century, in acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy.

King's supremacy, first step to Reformation.

It was by the abrogation of this supremacy, and the assertion of the sovereign's right to the undivided dominion over all his subjects, as well ecclesiastical as civil, that the first advance was made towards the reformation of religion, the providence of God converting the counsels of the monarch for the maintenance of his own royal prerogative into the means of purifying and renovating his Church. King Henry the Eighth having succeeded in causing his supremacy in the Church of England to be "recognised by the clergy, and authorized by Parliament," was desirous of establishing the like supremacy in the Church of Ireland, "forasmuch as Ireland was depending and belonging justly and rightfully to the imperial crown of England[1]."

Year of our Lord 1537.

[1] Eng. Stat. 26 Henry VIII., c. 1. Irish Stat. 26 Henry VIII., c. 5.

Opposition of Archbishop Cromer.

But his desire met with a powerful opponent in Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who had lately held the highest civil office of Lord Chancellor in the kingdom; and who, still occupying the first ecclesiastical dignity of Primate of all Ireland, exerted the influence derived from his publick stations, aided by the personal qualities, which he is related to have borne, "of great gravity, learning, and a sweet demeanour," in alluring his suffragan bishops and inferior clergy to support the Pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king[2].

Difficulties arising from the general state of the country.

The general condition of the country; the disunion, dissensions, and mutual jealousies which prevailed among different classes of its inhabitants, especially between those of different national origin or parentage; the hereditary antipathy in the descendants of the earlier inhabitants against the sovereign, as not of indigenous extraction, nor a native of the soil; their prevalent disposition to indulge in resistance to his authority, and to seek assistance from foreign powers to support them in their resistance; the remoteness of their situation, which rendered them less accessible to the visitations of the king's power, and less fearful of his indignation; their continual intestine agitations, which had indisposed the mind, and afforded little convenient occasion for speculative inquiries, and for intellectual or spiritual improvement; the absence of any pervious extraordinary impulse for directing the mind to seek for knowledge, and the want of literary institutions for giving efficacy to the impulse if it had existed; the people's habitual subjection to their clergy, and the ignorance of the clergy themselves, and their blind and superstitious devotion to

[2] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 91.

their ecclesiastical superiors; the long and deep-rooted prepossession in favour of one, who had pretended to supreme authority in the church for three or four centuries, and whose character they had been accustomed to venerate as all but divine; and with all this a persuasion of the fact, that the earliest English king, who had claimed dominion in Ireland, derived his claim in the first place from a Papal grant, so that the royal authority, however it may have been afterwards upheld, had been originally, as they were taught to believe, founded on a power which it now sought to displace and supersede: these and the like impediments in the state and prepossessions of the inhabitants co-operated with the zeal of the primate, in obstructing the inroad, which the dominion of the sovereign was attempting to make on that of the Pope.

King of England's claim to the dominion of Ireland.

Upon the difficulties arising from the circumstances of the country it is not proposed to dwell; but as to the sentiment of the English sovereignty being derived from a foreign source, it may be briefly remarked, that the claim of the kings of England to the dominion of Ireland was independent of any Papal authority. Whatever right Pope Adrian may have pretended to possess or to exercise in the bestowal of that kingdom on King Henry the Second, he had by right, as Sir John Davies has remarked, "no more interest in this kingdom than he which offered to Christ all the kingdoms of the earth[3]." And in point of fact, to use the words of Archbishop Ussher, "Whatsoever become of the Pope's idle challenges, the crown of England hath otherwise obtained an undoubted right unto the sovereignty

[3] *Discovery why Ireland was never entirely Subdued*, by Sir J. Davies, p. 15. Edit. 1747.

of this country; partly by conquest, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a social war, partly by the several submissions of the chieftains of the land made afterwards. For 'whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quit from all subjection, to renounce their own right, yet now in these our days, (saith Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *History of the Conquest of Ireland*,) all the princes of Ireland did voluntarily submit, and bind themselves with firm bonds of faith and oath unto Henry the Second, king of England[4].'" With respect, indeed, to the Pope's imaginary right, and the consequent grant to Henry the Second, it has been stated that "the Irish parliament had occasionally acknowledged this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the crown of England[5]." But neither by the statutes of King Edward the Fourth, to which reference is made as the foundation of this statement, nor by any other of the Irish statutes, can I authenticate this position. So that there appears to have been at no time any parliamentary recognition of the hypothesis, which represented the king as the feoffee of the Pope in derogation of the royal supremacy.

When, however, the king had determined to assert and establish his supremacy, in opposition to the Pope's usurped authority, there were not wanting numerous adversaries, and at the head of these was Archbishop Cromer.

Appointment of George Browne to the Archbishoprick of Dublin.

Meanwhile, an opportunity had been afforded for introducing into the Church a counteracting force in the person of a man, not inferior to the primate in moral and intellectual faculties, but whose

[4] Abp. Ussher's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 115.
[5] *History of Ireland*, by Thomas Leland, D.D., vol. ii. p. 160.

mind was happily emancipated from the thraldom of Popery, and awakened to the genuine truths of the Christian faith: a man who has been handed down to posterity as of "a cheerful countenance, in his actions plain and downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people: and who, while he was Provincial of the Augustin Order in England, advised the people to make their application for aid to Christ alone, and for which doctrine he was much taken notice of, and not to the Virgin Mary and other saints[6]."

His character.

George Browne, whose character is thus briefly sketched by Archbishop Ussher, who is commemorated by Sir James Ware, as "the first of the clergy who embraced the Reformation in Ireland," and to whose exertions, seconding his example, the Church of Ireland was mainly indebted, under divine Providence, for the commencement of her restoration to the primitive faith and worship, had been an Augustin friar of London, having received his academical education in the house belonging to his order at Holywell, in Oxford. Having become eminent among his brethren, he was made provincial of that order in England; and afterwards taking his degree of Doctor of Divinity, in some foreign university, he was incorporated in the same at Oxford in 1534, and at Cambridge soon afterwards. In the following March, he was advanced by King Henry the Eighth to the archbishoprick of Dublin, which had been vacant since the preceding July. It is reasonable to

Notice of Archbishop Browne.

Provincial of the Augustin friars in England.

Archbishop of Dublin, March, 1535.

[6] Sir James Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 349, 152. Robt. Ware's *Life of Abp. Browne*, contained in the English edition of Sir James Ware's *Annals*, and inserted between those of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

suppose that the interval had been employed in making choice of a fit person for this elevated station, the arduousness and importance of which were greatly enhanced by the peculiar circumstances of the time. An acquaintance with the writings of Luther, and an attachment to the principles of the Reformation, together with his good personal qualities, recommended him to the king's favour; but his principal patron was the Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell, who, under the peculiar title of the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, administered all the powers annexed to the king's supremacy in England. Thus nominated by the royal authority, having been elected to the see by the chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, and having received the royal assent on the 12th of March, before his consecration, the mandate for which had been issued the day after the royal assent, he was invested by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher and Shaxton, respectively bishops of Rochester and Salisbury, according to an act then lately passed, with the pall and other archiepiscopal ensigns; and on the 23rd of March, writs were issued for restoring to him the temporalties of the see.

Patronized by Lord Cromwell.

1535.

His election and consecration.

Commencement of the Reformation in Ireland.

The arrival of the archbishop in his diocese was the first step taken by the Reformation in Ireland. There is an assertion indeed in Dr. LELAND's *History*[7]. that "the spirit of religious disquisition had forced its way into Ireland with the succession of English settlers. So that in the famous parliament of the tenth year of Henry the Seventh, laws had been revived to prevent the growth of lollardism and

[7] Vol. ii. p. 158.

heresy." But the printed statutes of Henry the Seventh's reign, as well as Dr. Bullingbroke's *Collection of Ecclesiastical Law in Ireland*, which embraces all the statutes affecting the Church, alike fail in supplying any proof of the latter position; except so far as it may be involved in the act, chap. 22, of the tenth year of that king, the year of our Lord 1495, which, following the precedent of an act of 1468, the eighth year of King Edward the Fourth, chap. 1, "ordained all statutes late made within the realm of England, concerning the common and publick weal of the same, to be accepted, used, and executed in Ireland." By this enactment, the English statute of the second of Henry the Fifth, chap. 7, which was directed against "hereticks and lollards," was adopted into the Irish code, in common with all other acts of parliament previously made in England. But amidst the mass of English statutes this act of Henry the Fifth was not specially noticed; nor was any new law established, nor old law revived, whence the growth of "lollardism and heresy" in Ireland may be reasonably inferred; whilst in the earlier narratives of the occurrences in that country, no vestiges appear of the spirit of religious disquisition having forced its way by means of settlers from England, and led to the entertainment of the reformed opinions, until the appearance of the new archbishop in the metropolis of his diocese and of the kingdom.

Difficulties of his situation.

The archbishop soon found his new seat of dignity to be by no means one of repose and inaction, being promptly called upon to take a prominent and resolute part on the question of the supremacy, as well as on other matters which were judged to

need correction in the Church. A body of commissioners was about this time appointed by the king, to confer with the principal persons in the country, for removing the Pope's authority from Ireland, and for reducing that kingdom to a conformity with England in acknowledging the sovereign power of the Crown, whether in things spiritual or temporal. Cromwell, the lord privy seal, who was the principal minister in the conduct of this affair, seems to have anticipated no serious impediment in early arriving at a favourable result. But the difficulties and perils of the undertaking were soon experimentally felt by the archbishop, by whom the insufficiency of the commission, the obstacles which it had to surmount, and the best method of supplying its defect and giving efficacy to the king's intention, were pointed out in a letter to his patron, of September the 6th, 1535, which at the same time sets forth in a striking light the illiteracy of the clergy, and the blind and superstitious zeal of the people[8].

Letter from Abp. Browne to the Lord Cromwell, Sept. 6, 1535.

"My most honoured Lord,

"Your humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal; and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy, with his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people, whosoever should own his highness's supremacy: saying that this isle, as it is in their *Irish Chronicles*, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two

Violent opposition in the province of Armagh.

[8] *Life of Abp. Browne.* Cox, i. 246.

messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome.

A parliament recommended.

"Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness's commission, which your lordship sent us over.

Extreme religious ignorance.

"This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders. And as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this island are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neal will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's orders from the king's highness: for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies."

A Parliament, May, 1537.

In pursuance of the archbishop's advice, a Parliament was holden at Dublin in the spring of the year 1537, under Leonard Lord Gray, the lord deputy. By a statute of the tenth year of King Henry the Seventh, chap. 4, commonly called Poyning's Act, it had been ordained, "that no Parliament should thenceforth be holden in Ireland, till the king's lieutenant and council should first have certified to the king, under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemed should pass in the Parliament; and should have received the king's affirmation of their goodness and expediency, and his licence to summon the Parliament under the great seal of England." But soon after the commencement of the present Parliament, "by the pleasure and content of his

Repeal of Poyning's Act.

majesty," Poyning's Act was repealed; and it was "enacted that this Parliament, and all its acts and ordinances should be valid, provided they should be thought expedient for the king's honour, the increase of his revenue, and the common weal of Ireland[9]."

Confidential communications from the king's ecclesiastical vicegerent most probably made known what measures would be acceptable to the king.

Act for the king's supremacy.

And hereupon a bill was introduced for enacting, "that the king, his heirs and successors, should be the supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland, and should have power and authority, from time to time, to visit, reform, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner, spiritual authority, or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this land of Ireland; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding[10]."

Act of Appeals.

Another bill was introduced for taking away all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes, and referring all such appeals to the crown[11]; and another, specifically "against the authority of the Bishop of Rome;" recounting the various mischiefs, temporal and spiritual, which attended the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome[12], by some called the pope, and the necessity of excluding such foreign pretended

Act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

[9] Irish Stat., 28th Henry VIII., c. 4.
[10] *Ib.*, c. 5. [11] *Ib.*, c. 6. [12] *Ib.*, c. 13.

power, forbidding all persons, on pain of *premunire*, to extol or maintain, by writing or any act, the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome within this realm; giving order to the justices of assize and of peace, to inquire of offences against this act, as of other offences against the king's peace; commanding all archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons, their commissaries, vicars-general, and other their ministers, to make inquiry of such ecclesiastical persons as offend; imposing an oath of supremacy on all ecclesiastical and lay officers; and enacting that an obstinate refusal so to do, be, and be punished as, high treason.

Difficulty of passing these acts.

The passing of these bills, in assertion of the king's supremacy, and in contradiction and to the annihilation of the Pope's, was attended with much difficulty, especially from the daring opposition of the spiritual peers. But the foresight which had dictated the measure was not wanting in energy to enforce it; and the occasion called forth from the Archbishop of Dublin the following speech, distinguished more for its straightforwardness, brevity, and decision, than for deep argument or rhetorical display.

Archbishop Browne's speech.

"My lords and gentry of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland,

"Behold, your obedience to your king is the observing of your Lord and Saviour Christ; for He, that High Priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian. Greater honour then surely is due to your prince, his highness the king, and a Christian one. Rome and her bishops, in the fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to

be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's vicars; and it is much to the Bishop of Rome's shame to deny what their precedent bishops owned. Therefore his highness claims but what he can justify the Bishop Eleutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons; so that I shall, without scrupling, vote his highness King Henry my supreme, over ecclesiastical matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland; and that without guilt of conscience, or sin to God. And he who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness."

Its efficacy.

This speech of the archbishop was well seconded by Justice Brabazon; and whether the assembly was invited by his example, or won by his reasoning, or controlled by his firmness, or startled by his denunciation, the bills overcame all opposition, and were passed into laws. One particular species of opposition, however, was made to give way before a distinct enactment, which requires some words of explanation.

Summons of proctors to attend at Parliaments.

It had been usual for two proctors of every diocese to be summoned to Parliament, "to be there as councillors and assistants to the same, and upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions, much like as the convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every Parliament begun and holden by the king's highness' special licence, as his majesty's judges of his said realm of England, and divers other substantial and learned men, having groundly inquired and examined the root and first establishment of the same, do clearly determine." But these proctors were now alleged to be "of their ambitious minds

and presumption inordinately desiring to have authority, taking upon themselves to be parcels of the body, and claiming that nothing can be enacted at any Parliament without their assent." And this they were thought to do, "not without the procurement and maintenance of some of their superiors, to the only intent that the said proctors for the most part, being now their chaplains, and of mean degree, should be the stop and let, that the devilish abuses and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, nor of themselves, should not come to light or knowledge, that some good and godly reformation thereof might be had and provided[13]."

Their claims to be regarded as members.

The impediments caused by this opposition were set forth in a letter from the Lord Deputy Gray and Justice Brabazon to Lord Cromwell, as given in the correspondence between the governments of England and Ireland[14]; "advertising his lordship, that the Wednesday before Pentecost, being the sixteenth day of this month, the Parliament was prorogued until the 20th day of July next coming, albeit that the Commons and Lords made instant petition that it might have been prorogued until Crastino Animarum. But considering both the obstinacy of the spiritualty used in this session, and having remembered, if the king's highness would send any commissioner hither, we thought it good to have the Parliament open at his coming, to the intent that the wilfulness of the spiritualty being refrained, things for the king's honour and profit, and the common weal of this land, now by them denied to be granted, may then pass accordingly. The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy,

Letter from the Lord Deputy to Lord Cromwell thereupon. May, 1537.

Prorogation of Parliament to July 20.

Obstinacy of the

[13] Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 12.

[14] *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Part iii., p. 437.

proctors of the clergy.

from the beginning of this Parliament, and at this session, both of them, the bishops and abbots, hath been such, that we think we can no less do than advertise your lordship thereof.

"After the assembly of the parliament at this session some bills were passed the Common House, and by the speaker delivered to the high house, to be debated there. The spiritual lords thereupon made a general answer, that they would not come in, nor debate upon any bill, till they knew whether the proctors in the convocation had a voice or not. Whereupon we perceiving that by this means they sought an occasion to deny all things that should be presented unto the upper house, where they were the most in number, and at every other session divers of them either came out, or else within three or four days many of them would ask license to depart; at this time nevertheless appearing, and having like licence continued (of a set course), wholly together, every day, in the parliament house; I, the king's deputy, called to me all the king's learned counsel, to debate with them about their doubt of their proctors; who not only showed unto them the opinions of the learned men of England, together with their own reasons, that the said proctors had no voice in the parliament, but also proved unto them by parliaments holden there, that it should seem by the entries of the rolls, that their denial or assent was not material, but that it was written under divers acts, 'procuratores cleri non consenserunt,' yet were the same acts good and effectual in law."

Opposition of the spiritual lords.

Proctors shown to have no claim to vote.

Some imperfect sentences follow in the letter, which afterwards continues and concludes the subject thus:—

"Whereupon, considering their obstinacy, we thought good to prorogue the parliament for this time; and against the next session provide a remedy for them. And therefore, my lord, it were well done that some mean be devised whereby they may be brought to remember their duties better. Except the mean may be found that these proctors may be put from voice in the parliament, there shall but few things pass for the king's profit. For hitherto, since this parliament, have they shewed themselves in nothing conformable. We think that no reasonable man would judge them to have such pre-eminence in a parliament, that though the king, the lords, and the commons, assent to an act, the proctors in the Convocation House, though they were but seven or eight in number, as sometime they be here no more, shall stay the same at their pleasure, be the matter never so good, honest, and reasonable. But it doth well appear that it is a crafty cast, devised betwixt their masters, the bishops, and them. It is good that we have against the next session a declaration from thence, under the king's great seal of England, of this question, whether the proctors have a voice in the parliament, or not? and that every act, passed without their assents, is nevertheless good and effectual."

Continuation of the Lord Deputy's letter.

Necessity for checking the proctors.

Means proposed for so doing.

In pursuance of this letter, amongst the other acts "drawn and delivered to commissioners under the great seal of England," in July following, "to be conveyed to Ireland, and passed there by parliament, which shall be holden at the being there of the said commissioners," there was provided "an act to determine the authority of the proctors of the convocation, which take upon them now to direct the whole parliament." It was thereupon enacted,

Act passed for quelling the ecclesiastical opposition.

that "the proctors should not be deemed or taken, from the first day of the present parliament, as parcels or members of the same, but only as counsellors and assistants; and that they should give no voice, nor should their assent be requisite or necessary to any act[15]." And thus a fatal blow was inflicted on that ecclesiastical opposition, which otherwise, in the persons of these representatives of the clergy, and under the management and dictation of their spiritual rulers, might have been effectual in defeating the proposed alterations, and in perpetuating the abuses and ascendency of the papacy.

Proctors declared not members of parliament.

In the same parliament several other acts were passed, which had reference to ecclesiastical property, and materially affected the church and the clergy.

Act for first fruits.

The act for first fruits, taking for its precedent a similar act in England, enacted that all persons, nominated to any ecclesiastical preferment, should pay to the king the profits for one year, to whomsoever the foundation, patronage, or gift belong[16].

First-fruits of religious houses.

Another vested in him the first-fruits of abbeys, priories, and hospitals: a previous act having provided for the suppression of thirteen religious houses by name; for the assurance of pensions to the abbots during their respective lives, and for the enjoyment of the possessions by the patentees, to whom the king should have granted them[17].

Pensions to abbots.

Twentieth part of benefices.

Another ordained, that the twentieth part of the profit of all spiritual promotions be paid yearly to the king for ever: an enactment so well pleasing to the king, that he sent a particular letter of thanks to the lords spiritual for the grant[18].

[15] Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 12. [16] *Ib.*, c. 8.
[17] *Ib.*, c. 16 and 26. [18] *Ib.*, c. 14.

Prohibition of Peter-pence, Papal dispensations, &c.

Another prohibited the payment of Peter-pence, pensions, and other impositions, to the bishop or see of Rome, and the procuring of dispensations, licences, and faculties from thence; and authorized the granting of them by commissioners appointed by the king, in the same manner as by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England[19].

English order, habit, and language.

By another act of the same parliament, for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," spiritual promotions were directed to be given "only to such as could speak English, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had." And an oath was to be administered to "such as take orders, and to such as are instituted to any benefice, that he would endeavour to learn and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule; and to bid the beads in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach; and to keep or cause to be kept within his parish a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the same land is accustomably used to be taken[20]:" an engagement this which, by persons grossly ignorant of the purport of the statute in general, as well as of this specifick enactment, has been invidiously and injuriously misinterpreted into an obligation incurred by every parochial incumbent, of providing at his own cost a general gratuitous education for all the poor children of his parish!

[19] Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 19.
[20] *Ib.*, c. 15.

SECTION II.

Difficulty of carrying the foregoing Acts of Parliament into execution. Archbishop of Dublin's endeavours to remove false objects of worship. King's Correspondence with him. Inquest of Commissioners into the State of the Kingdom. Impediments opposed to the Archbishop's exertions by the Lord Deputy. Necessity of fresh support from England.

Foregoing acts opposed by the Popish party and the primate.

IT has been judged convenient to notice together these several acts relating to ecclesiastical persons, as they were all passed in the same parliament of 1537, which passed the acts of Supremacy, and of prohibition of the Pope's usurped authority. Reverting, however, to these most important acts we must observe, that although the efforts for enacting them triumphed over powerful resistance, still in the execution of them no small difficulty remained.

And this indeed was to be expected. For long-standing prepossessions, whether personal or national, though they have not their foundation in reason, are not quickly to be eradicated; and, however little could reasonably be pleaded for an Italian bishop's claim to pre-eminence and power in the British isles, the idea of submission to his usurped authority was not more preposterous than it was inveterate. Thus a Popish party, opposed to the rightful prerogative of the sovereign, recognised as it now expressly was and strengthened by the law of the land, still persevered in its resistance; and at the head of that party was the primate, who, if he did not venture to act in open defiance of this two-fold authority, yet forbore to exert his influence in confirming and extending it; and was sedulous rather

and active in giving what secret countenance and patronage he dared to the opposition.

Archbishop of Dublin exerts himself to abolish images and reliques;

To such opposition an additional stimulus was doubtless given by the endeavours, made at the same time by the Archbishop of Dublin, for abolishing the false objects of Romish worship from the churches within his jurisdiction. His two cathedrals in particular, as there has been already occasion to observe[1], abounded with these symbols of corruption. In the church of the Holy Trinity, or Christ's Church, the reliques and statutes were innumerable; and in the walls of St. Patrick's a multitude of niches had been furnished by the superstition of the times with images of saints. These endeavours were about coincident in time with similar proceedings carried on under the royal authority in England; and the archbishop acted under the like authority, which had been recently acknowledged in Ireland by the late statutes, having received instructions from the Lord Cromwell to that effect[2]. But in executing these instructions he was met with opposition, not only from the primate, but from those who were next in authority to himself within his own diocese; namely, the prior of the church of the Holy Trinity, Robert Castele, *alias* Payneswick, and Edward Bassenet, dean of St. Patrick, who were tempted by the emoluments accruing from those superstitious objects of veneration to resist the king and the archbishop, and to seek support in their resistance from the Pope[3].

Resisted by the chief dignitaries.

Unaccountable displeasure of

This conduct of Archbishop Browne does not prepare us for finding him about this time the

[1] Above, pp. 70, 77. [2] Cox, i. 256.
[3] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 148.

the king against the archbishop. 1537.

object of a solemn expostulation for neglect of the king's interest and of his own duty, and of a consequent menace of removal from his dignity, in a letter addressed to him by the king. On the contrary, when we have regard to his previous behaviour, as well as to the vagueness of the charges, and the uncertain and obscure evidence on which they are alleged, we may probably not err in ascribing them to the disingenuous artifice of some secret enemy, working upon the irritable, suspicious, and capricious temper of the arbitrary sovereign. The letter, however, which is transcribed from the State Papers, correspondence between the English and Irish governments, part III. page 465, is as follows, having been written the 31st of July, 1537.

"*To the Archbishop of Dublin.*

Letter from King Henry to the Archbishop of Dublin.

July 31, 1537.

"Right reverend Father in God, trusty and well-beloved,

"We greet you well. Signifying unto you, that whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye shewed an appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs, as much as in you lay, and might appear to be to our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue still in that your good purpose; yet nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry advertisements and ways be informed, the good opinion that we had conceived of you is, in manner, utterly frustrate. For neither do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people there in the word of God, nor frame yourself to stand us in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs; such is your lightness in behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in

Expression of the king's disappointment.

we and *us*, in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself, therefore, with this gentle advertisement: and do first your duty towards God in the due execution of your office; do then your duty towards us, in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither, from time to time, of the state of the same: and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion.

The king threatens to remove him.

"If this will not serve to induce you to it, but that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness that ye cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound, in all the points before touched, to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able, for the not doing thereof, to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to prefer you, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceived of you, appertaineth."

King's letter to the Bishop of Meath.

A letter, in many respects similar, was at the same time written by the king to Staples, bishop of Meath. It states that the king had advanced him to his bishoprick, on account of his zeal in preaching the pure word of God. It charges him with slackness and negligence, but not with affecting princely appellations: and contains no further threat, than that, "if he does not ensue this advertisment, the king will look upon him for his remissness, as shall appertain."

In what manner Bishop Staples received this reproof does not appear: but the following answer from Archbishop Browne is copied from the 512th page of the volume above cited.

Archbishop of Dublin's answer. September, 1537.

"May it please your most excellent highness to be advertised, that the 11th of September I received your most

gracious letters, bearing date at your majesty's manor of Sunninghill the last day of July: which perused did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body for fear of incurring your majesty's displeasures. And where your majesty writeth unto me, I have not endeavoured myself in setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, avoiding all superstition used against the honour of the same, I may signify unto your highness, of verity, that for my small abode here, there hath not these many years any of my predecessors so much exercised in declaring to the people the only Gospel of Christ, persuading and inducing the hearers unto the true meaning of the same, utterly despising the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, being a thing not a little rooted amongst the inhabitants here.

Justifies himself from neglect in preaching.

"Touching the second article in your grace's letter, concerning your majesty's affairs here, I refer me to judgment of the most part of your highness's council here, how in that behalf I have used myself, being the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth part and first-fruits; setting forth, what in me lay, the like first-fruits of all monasteries, being before not motioned. But given it is to this land miserable, of behaviour or gesture soever men be, to have malignors: yea, and those that be of such subtle nature, that of others good proceedings themselves can find means to win the praises, which, if their doings were apparent, God knoweth right unworthy; that I beseech God send once amongst us more charity.

Asserts his activity in the king's service.

"Concerning the third and last article of your grace's letters, that I should use writing *we* and *us*, I trust it hath not been seen in me, unless it were at such times as I, with my two chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, directed our humble letter unto your highness, subscribed with all our names, concerning the accomplishment of your grace's letters, to the said chapters and me addressed, for electing the Dean of St. Patrick's: which if I did, most humbly beseech your highness to take it in good part, for assuredly it was by remissness of the writer, and great oblivion of my foreseeing the same; submitting my negligence unto your grace, upon my demeanours hereafter.

Explains his use of the plural pronouns.

"Finally, certifying your majesty, that I received your grace's other letters, at this season to me addressed, in the behalf of Edward Vaughan, the queen's grace's servant, the contents whereof I have fully accomplished. Beseeching your highness, of your most accustomed goodness, to accept this my rude letter; answerable, even as I were personally doing my duty, proaching on knees before your majesty; declaring the certainty of all the premises with knowledging my ignorancies, desiring of God, that hour or minute I should prefix myself to declare the Gospel of Christ after any other sort, than of my part most unworthy have heretofore done before your majesty, in rebuking the papistical power, or in any other point concerning the advancement of your grace's affairs should not be prompt to set forth benignly, that the ground should open and swallow me. Certain sacramentaries there be here, which indeed I have spoken against, perceiving well that I have been the more maligned at; beseeching the blessed Trinity to give them better grace, and that your grace may see redress, as, when it shall be your determinated pleasure, your majesty may. So knoweth God, who preserve your excellent highness in your regality, long to persevere. From your grace's city of Dublin, the 27th day of September.

Humbly professes his duty.

"Your grace's obedient subject,

(*Signed.*) "George Dublin̄."

(*Superscribed.*)

"To the king's majesty, his most dread sovereign lord, be these delivered."

The archbishop wrote a letter to the same effect to Lord Cromwell, but no further result of the imputations brought against him is on record.

At the same time the commissioners, who had been appointed to inquire into the state of the kingdom, proceeded on their journey, and pursued its object, by holding inquests relative to the several counties and towns that they visited. A summary result of those inquests, taken from the State-Paper

Inquest of the commissioners into the state of the kingdom.

Office, is given in the correspondence between the two governments[4]. Whence it is shown, that besides numerous complaints against the laity, some were preferred also against the clergy. Undue fees were exacted by the bishops and their officials for the probate of wills, and for judgment in matrimonial and other causes. Various priests were charged with extortion in the fees demanded for baptisms, for weddings, for the purification of women, and for burials. Some are accused for taking portion canon, which is explained, in one parish, to have been the taking, on a man's death, of his best array, arms, sword, and knife; and the same, even on the death of a wife during her husband's life: in another parish, to have been the taking from the husband, on his wife's death, of the fifth penny, if his goods were under twenty shillings; and five shillings, if above that amount: and in a third parish, the taking of one penny three farthings in the shilling. Some parsons, abbots, and priors, were charged with not singing mass, though they took the profits of their benefices: and the jury of Clonmell charged several of the regular priests in that part with keeping lemans or harlots, and having wives and children.

Complaints against the clergy.

Portion canon, explained.

But, reverting to the position of Archbishop Browne, it may be remarked, that, although he had incurred the censure of the king for some imaginary neglect of duty, he seems to have thought that he had himself more real cause of remonstrance with the government, for want of the requisite encouragement to give efficacy to his exertions in his most difficult and invidious office. He was evidently impressed with a deep sense of the arduousness of his task, and the necessity of powerful co-operation:

Archbishop of Dublin's cause for dissatisfaction with the government.

[4] Part iii. p. 510, note.

a strong testimony to which is borne by the following letter to Lord Cromwell, dated January the 8th, 1538; and copied from the Lambeth library into the State Papers[5].

His letter to the Lord Cromwell, Jan. 8, 1538.

"Right honourable, and my singular good lord, my bounden duty premised.

"It may please your lordship to be advertised, that within the parties of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore, yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin, and province of the same, where the king's power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent highness, through your good lordship's preferment, to make me, under his grace, a spiritual officer, and chief over the clergy; yet, that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortations, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, sithence my coming over, once to preach the word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet, before that our most dread sovereign was declared to be, as he ever was indeed, supreme head over the Church committed unto his princely care, they that then could and would, very often even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old sort and fashion, will now not once open their lips in any pulpit, for the manifestation of the same, but in corners, and such company as them liketh, they can full earnestly utter their opinions; and so much as in them lyeth, hinder and pluck back amongst the people the labour that I do take in that behalf. And yet they be borne against me, and especially the observants, which be worst of all others; for I can neither make them swear, ne yet preach amongst us, so little regard they my authority. And that cometh, so far as I can judge, of the extreme handling that my lord deputy hath used towards me, what by often imprisonment, and also expelling me my own house, keeping there no hospitality at all. And so contemptuously he vilipendeth me, that I take God to record, I had, but that hope com-

His complaint of the perverseness of the clergy.

His ill-treatment by the Lord Deputy.

[5] Vol. ii., p. 539.

forteth me, rather forsake all, than abide so many ignominious reproaches.

"But if your lordship would, for the good love and mind that you bear unto the mere and sincere doctrine of God's word, and also unto the advancement and setting forward of our most excellent prince's just title, send either unto master treasurer, the chief justice, the master of the rolls, or any two of them, whom I think meet for that purpose, such a strait commandment over me and all other ecclesiastical persons, as I perceive the king's grace hath sent of late into England to the sheriffs of every shire; I would, God willing, so execute my own office, and prick other forwards, that be underneath me, by the authority thereof, that his grace and your lordship should well allow my faithful heart and diligent service. For until that such a thing, or more vehement, come amongst us, it is but vain to look after any amendment here, but always expectation of the former abuses. And to prove the same, there is never an archbishop nor bishop but myself, made by the king, but he is repelled, even now, by provision. Again, for all that ever I could do, might I not make them once, but as I send my own servants to do it, to cancel out of the canon of the mass, or other books, the name of the Bishop of Rome; whereby your lordship may perceive that my authority is little regarded.

Prevalence of popish influence.

"I have advertised your lordship divers times, what inconvenience might fall for lack of dispensations; for in that point they be compelled to sue to Rome. Wherefore I think good, that with all celerity and speed it were necessary that we had dispensations, a vicar-general, and a master of the faculties.

A vicar-general recommended.

"There is of late come into Ireland from Rome a pardon, much consonant to that pardon granted by Julius the Second, in time of the wars between the French king and him; and that was, that they that would enjoy it, should fast Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, next after they heard first of it, and on the Sunday consequently ensuing to receive the communion. And many, as it is reported, have received the same. But if so traditorous a fact, and like flagitious iniquities, should pass, neither justly exa-

Arrival of a pardon from Rome.

mined nor condignly punished, being committed while the king's grace's high commissioners be here, seeing these men so ready and prompt to admit the Bishop of Rome's letters, and so sturdy and flinty against our prince's power; what will men think? I cannot in my conscience, considering my oath and allegiance, let such enormities escape, but make just relation, that the king's majesty may have sure knowledge how unfaithful a sort he hath in this land; and namely, the spiritualty, which seduceth the rest. The living God knoweth my heart, who ever prosper your lordship with immortal felicity.—Amen. From the king's city of Dublin, the 8th day of January.

"Your lordship's at commandment,

(*Signed.*) "George Dublin."

(*Superscribed.*)

"To the right honourable and his most especial good lord, the Lord Privy Seal, be these letters delivered."

Inspection of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary. 1538.

Early in the year 1538, Cowley, the king's solicitor, and White, "exercising the office of justice of his highness' liberty of the county of Wexford," inspected the said county, and also the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary; and "by virtue of the king's commission taxed and made an extent of the value of the twentieth part, and the first-fruits, of all benefices in the said counties, and returned the same into the king's chancery in Ireland."

Justice White's letter to Lord Cromwell.

In a letter to the Lord Privy Seal[6], White gives a report of their proceedings, and introduces an account of a sermon which he had heard at Waterford from one Dr. Sall, a gray friar, who had inveighed against "the breaking or putting down of churches, and making them prophane places, as they do nowadays in divers places;" and had in consequence been apprehended by the mayor of the city, and sent to the Lord Deputy and council, and by them impri-

[6] *State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 562.

soned in the castle of Dublin. "So as now," observes the narrator, "what for fear they have to preach their old traditions, and the little or no good will they have to preach the verity, all is put to silence. Yet, thanks be to God," he adds, "his king's majesty hath one Catholick city, and one champion, the Lord Butler, in the land, that dare repugn against the detestable abusions of so sundry sects, as this miserable land is in manner overflowed withal, whose pharisaical ceremonies and hypocrisy, of so long time continued here, hath not only trained and brought the people, in manner, wholly from the knowledge of God, but also in an evil and erroneous opinion of the king's most noble grace, and of all those that, under his majesty, be the setters forth of the true word of God, and repugnators against those abuses[7]."

Commendation of the Lord Butler.

The family of Butler, which was settled in England under the Norman William, had accompanied Henry the Second to Ireland in 1172. Pierce, earl of Ormonde and Ossory, was at the head of the family at this time; and the Lord Butler, here mentioned with such honour, was the son of the Earl of Ossory. He was himself treasurer of Ireland, and admiral of the kingdom. It is matter of no common interest to read the testimony of such a nobleman, as conveyed under his own hand in a letter to the king, concerning the necessity of the religious instruction, in order to the civil improvement, of Ireland; and it is not unpleasing to speculate on the impression, which may have been made on the king's mind by Lord Butler's ingenuous commendation of one, on whom the king had been induced to look with disapprobation.

His family and parentage.

[7] *State Papers*, as above p. 563.

Letter from Lord James Butler to the king.

"My most humble duty premised to your most excellent majesty. It may please the same to be advertised, that your grace's commissioners here have consulted with my lord, my father, me, and others of your majesty's privy council here, coveting the subversion and extinguishing of abusions and enormities used here; and finally have devised certain rules and orders, whereby your highness's laws and good civility may be planted and established, to the increase of your majesty's honour and profit, and the common weal of your grace's subjects, which proceedeth in good sort, trusting consequently to have good success. To the furthering whereof I shall endeavour me to do my diligence, as your grace's commissioners here may more amply express to your highness.

"And, undoubtedly, I think nothing more necessary to induce the people to good civility, than sincerely and truly to set forth the word of God to the people here, as hath by your most excellent highness been dilated and pronounced within your grace's realm of England, as a lanthorn to all other good Christian princes to use the same; whereby they might see and perceive the long fraudulent traditions, and detestable abusions, of the papistical sect and pharisaical sort, of the which there be too many of high degrees here; and the good people to be led by true doctrine to the very infallible light of truth. And for my part, I, as one professed of Christ's religion, shall not omit for any fear, persecution, or other respect, to further and set forth the same effectually, to the uttermost of my power, according my bounden duty to Christ, and under him to your majesty; wherein the Archbishop of Dublin hath, by many predications, very fruitful now of late dilated, more than ever I heard in your grace's land, of the truth and plainness worthy high thanks.

Preaching the word of God necessary to the civil improvement of the people.

Commendation of the Abp. of Dublin.

"Beseeching Almighty God to continue your most excellent majesty long in felicity. Written at your highness's city of Dublin, the last day of March.

"Your most humble and bounden

"Subject and servant,

(*Superscribed.*) (*Signed.*) "James Butler."

"To our Sovereign Lord the King's most excellent Majesty."

In his correspondence with the Lord Privy Seal, between two and three months antecedent to the date of Lord Butler's letter to the king, the archbishop had disclosed his views of his singular position. Similar feelings manifestly dictated the following letter, written by him on the 8th of April, 1538, to the Lord Cromwell, showing his strong conviction of the obstacles which beset him from his opponents, and of the necessity of additional support from England, and of more active co-operation from the Irish government[8].

Archbishop Browne's sense of his singular position.

Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin to the Lord Cromwell. April, 1538.

"Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,

"I acknowledge my bounden duty to your lordship's good-will to me, next to my Saviour Christ's, for the place I now possess. I pray God to give me his grace, to execute the same to his glory, and his highness's honour, with your lordship's instructions.

Character of the Popish clergy and people.

"The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing: most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy; as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country; these sorts, though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders. George, my brother of Armagh, doth under-hand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute his highness's orders in his diocese.

"I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings, till I do know your lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first. The Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin took off the common people from the true worship; but the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full, and a chide

His prayer for support from England.

[8] *Life of Abp. Browne.*

to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome, to be encouraged; and, if it be not hindered, before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long, before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, *The Blacksmith's Son.*

Apprehension of interference from Rome.

"The Duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh and the clergy, desired to assist them, not to suffer his highness to alter church-rates here in Ireland. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person; for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke, for it is so talked here, and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favour for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; and so have got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore my hopes are lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. God keep your lordship from your enemies here and in England[9]."

Section III.

Pope's encouragement to resist the King's claims. Bull of Excommunication. Removal of Images from Churches. Image worship encouraged by Lord Deputy. Archbishop Browne's diligence in preaching. Form of Beads or Prayers. Resistance of the Clergy. Visitation by the Privy Council. Archbishop Browne's purpose of visiting remote parts of the country.

Pope's bull of excommunication.

The anticipated encouragement from the Pope, in opposition to the king's claim on the allegiance of the people, was not long in coming; and it came after that manner, according to which it has ever been the presumptuous policy of the papal power, to protect an usurpation the most unjust and tyran-

[9] *Life of Abp. Browne.*

nical by the most profane and bitter imprecations. The information was conveyed by the archbishop to the Lord Cromwell, the ensuing May, in the following letter:—

Letter from Archbishop Browne to the Lord Cromwell. May, 1538.

"Right honourable,

"My duty premised: it may please your lordship to be advertised, sithence my last, there has come to Armagh and his clergy, a private commission from the Bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious highness's people, here in this nation, to own his royal supremacy; and joining a curse to all them and theirs, who shall not within forty days confess to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they have done amiss in so doing. The substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus:—

Popish vow of obedience.

"'I, A.B., from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church, or to the regality of St. Peter.

"'I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the mother church of Rome.

"'I do likewise promise to confer, defend, and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome, and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

"'I further vow to oppugn all hereticks, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands, contrary to the mother church of Rome; and in case any such to be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can possess.

"'I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical

powers, of no force, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or any other son of the mother Church of Rome.

"'I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil, above the authority of the mother Church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists help, &c.'

"His highness the viceroy of this nation, is of little or no power with the old natives; therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the *old natives have been craving foreign powers*, to assist and rule them. And now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if anything will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a false prophet; yet your good lordship must pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your lordship as a warning[1]."

Practice of the Irish to seek aid from foreign powers.

This bull of excommunication from the Pope was intended not to be a mere *brutum fulmen*, but to be the harbinger of more open and determined hostility against the king and his liege subjects, who dared to resist the aggressions of the papal tyranny. About Midsummer a Franciscan friar, named Thady Birne, was apprehended; and, having been put into the pillory, was confined in prison, until the king's order should arrive for his transmission to England. But terrified by the report that he was to be put to death, he committed suicide on the 24th of July in the

Apprehension of a Franciscan friar.

[1] Cox's *Hist.*, i., 257, 258.

castle of Dublin; and amongst other papers, was found in his possession the following letter to O'Neal, dated at Rome April the 28th, 1538, exciting him to rebellion in the names of the Pope and cardinals, and under the signature of the bishop of Metz.

Letter to O'Neal from the Bishop of Metz. April, 1538.

"My son O'Neal,

"Thou and thy fathers are all along faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His Holiness Paul, now Pope, and the council of the holy fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining, of one St. Laserianus, an Irish Bishop of Cashel, wherein he saith, that the mother Church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholick faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness' enemies; for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also. Therefore the council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a sacred island; being certified, whilst the mother Church hath a son of worth as yourself, and those that shall succour you and join therein, that she will never fall; but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate.

Charge to suppress heresy.

"Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the [care of the] Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the heavenly host of heaven.—Amen.

"EPISCOPUS METENSIS[2]."

O'Neal declares himself champion of the papacy. 1539.

This and the like solicitations to rebellion and treason, in behalf of the Bishop and Church of Rome, were not lost upon O'Neal, who early in the following year, declared himself the champion of the papacy; or upon others of the Irish leaders, to whom they appear to have been addressed, and who, engaging in a confederacy, took the field, and committed great devastations, till they were defeated by the foresight and valour of the Lord Deputy and Sir William

[2] WARE'S *Life of Abp. Browne.* COX'S *Hist.*, i., 258.

Brereton. But, instead of dwelling on these transactions, our business rather is to relate that, notwithstanding all opposition both from within and from without, the reformation of the Church was slowly but progressively advancing, and thus giving an earnest and opening the way of further improvements.

Images and reliques removed from churches.

In particular, the Archbishop of Dublin at length succeeded in the accomplishment of his design of removing the monuments of superstition from his two cathedrals, and from the rest of the churches in his diocese: and especially the miraculous staff of St. Patrick, which had been plundered from the cathedral of Armagh, and presented to that of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, in 1180, and had since been treasured up as one of its most valuable reliques, was publickly committed to the flames and burnt; and the images in general were displaced, and in their room were substituted the creed, the Lord's-prayer, and the ten commandments, decently framed and ornamented[3]. About the same time these objects of idolatrous worship elsewhere were generally defaced or removed, after the example which had been set in England. Thus an image of our blessed Saviour on the cross, in the abbey of Ballybogan, in the diocese of Meath, which had been held in great veneration, was publickly destroyed by fire[4]; and the same fate befell the equally venerated image of the blessed Virgin, in the abbey of the canons regular, at Trim, in the same diocese; and the oblations and treasures, which many superstitious votaries had offered there, were at the same time taken and carried away.

But in these latter instances, whatever may have been the archbishop's good will on the occasion, he

[3] Ware's *Bishops*.

[4] Archdall, p. 515.

appears to have had no concern in the transaction. He had been accused, indeed, of such an intention early in the year in which it occurred; but had defended himself against the charge in a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, dated the 20th of June, 1538:

Letter from Archbishop Browne to Lord Cromwell on the occasion. June, 1528.

—"For that I endeavour myself, and also cause others of my clergy, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and to set forth the king's causes, there goeth a common bruit among the Irishmen, that I intend to pluck down our Lady of Trim, with other places of pilgrimages, as the Holy Cross, and such like; which, indeed, I never attempted, although my conscience would right well serve me to oppress such idols. But undoubted they be the adversaries of God's word, which have kindled the same, thinking it will be to my reproach, that I pray God amend them; fearing, that all those of this country, being now there, which feign themselves outwardly to be the maintainers of the Gospel, it is not inwardly conceived in their hearts[5]."

The Lord Deputy in favour of image-worship.

But, however this be, in any attempt, which had for its object the removal of idolatry from the country, no assistance was rendered by the Lord Deputy. For, although in an incursion into the north, he had burned the cathedral church of Down, and converted it into a stable[6], and defaced the monuments of the Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columba[7]; and rifled the abbey of Ballyclare, and left neither chalice, cross, nor bell in it[8]; and seized and confiscated the ornaments of the church of Galway on an incursion into the west[9]; and committed many

[5] *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 35.
[6] Loftus MS. Marsh's Library.
[7] Ware's *Annals*.
[8] Cox, i. 265.
[9] Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 239.

other acts of sacrilege for which he was afterwards brought to trial; nevertheless he was a favourer and practiser of image-worship, and generally well-disposed to the Popish corruptions. "This last week," says Lord Butler, in a letter to Lord Cromwell, the 26th of August, 1538[10], "the vicar of Chester, sitting at my Lord Deputy's board, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, with others of the king's council, and I, there present, said openly before us all, that the king's majesty had commanded that images should be set up again, and honoured, and worshipped, as much as ever they were; and we held us all in silence in my Lord Deputy's presence, to see what he would say thereto. He held his peace, and said nothing: and then my Lord of Dublin, the Master of the Rolls, and I, said, among other things, that, if he were in any other place, out of my Lord Deputy's presence, we would put him fast by the heels, and that he had deserved grievous punishment. His lordship kept his tongue, and said nothing all the while. Surely he hath a special zeal to the Papists. My lord of Dublin promised me, at my departure out of Dublin, to put the said vicar in a castle."

Lord Butler's letter to Lord Cromwell, August 26, 1538.

Report of the king's order in favour of image-worship.

And in a letter of October the 20th, from Thomas Allen to Lord Cromwell, we read[11], "Here was a bishop and a friar put in the castle of Dublin for their high and notorious offences against the king's majesty; and at the last sessions were brought to Trim, to have been indicted, arraigned, and suffered accordingly. Yet our masters of the law, and all other, (in good faith, except my Lord Treasurer, and very few besides,) be such papists, hypocrites,

Letter rom Thomas Allen to Lord Cromwell.

[10] *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 95.
[11] *Ib.*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 103.

and worshippers of idols, that they were not indicted: whereat my Lord of Dublin, Mr. Treasurer, and the Master of the Rolls, were very angry. Howbeit they could not remedy it. They three would not come in the chapel, where the idol of Trim stood, to the intent they would not occasion the people: notwithstanding my Lord Deputy, very devoutly kneeling before her, heard three or four masses."

The Lord Deputy an idolater.

Archbishop Browne's diligence in preaching.

Another method for promoting the Reformation, practised by the archbishop, was the diligent preaching of the Gospel, in which he employed himself assiduously; but under what obstacles and hindrances may be partly collected from the following extract of a letter, addressed the 5th of April, 1538, to Lord Cromwell, by Thomas Agard[12]: "Here as yet the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men's hearts, what with that monster, the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents, in especial the false and crafty bloodsuckers, the Observants, as they will be called most holiest, so that there remains more virtue in one of their coats and knotted girdles, than ever was in Christ and his passion. It is hard, my good lord, for any poor man to speak against their abusions here. For, except it be the Archbishop of Dublin, which doth here in preaching set forth God's word, with due obedience to their prince, and my good Lord Butler, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more which are of small reputations, here is else none, from the highest, may abide the hearing of it, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal; and in especial, they that here rule all, that be the temporal lawyers, which have the king's fee."

Thomas Agard's letter to Lord Cromwell, April, 1538.

Encouragement given to the Pope's adherents.

[12] *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. 570.

Form of prayers put out by Archbishop Browne.

Another method used by the archbishop was that of putting forth, as Ordinary, under his seal, a certificate of the lawful supremacy of the king, and of the nullity of the Pope's supremacy, under the title of "The Form of the Beads," or prayers, to be addressed by all the clergy to the people, directing them what they should pray for.

Churches of England and Ireland identified.

"Ye shall pray for the universal Catholick Church, both quick and dead; and especially for the Church of England and Ireland." The phrase is not in the plural "churches," but in the singular "church;" and it occurs five times more in the course of the instrument. First the Form calls upon the people to "pray for the king, supreme head in earth, immediate under God, of the said Church." It sets forth, that "the unlawful jurisdiction, long usurped by the Bishop of Rome, then called Pope, is now by God's law, by authority of parliament, and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England and Ireland." It alleges the like acknowledgment of the king's supremacy: and accordingly it declares that "every true Christian subject of this land ought, not only to acknowledge and obediently recognise the king's highness to be supreme head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland, but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the same, and to show unto them, how that the said Bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped not only upon God, but also upon our princes." It declares this to be true, not only of the speaker's knowledge, but "that the same is certified unto me

Duty of acknowledging the king's supremacy.

from the might of my ordinary, the Archbishop of Dublin, under his seal, which I have here ready to show you."

Exhortation to deface the Bishop of Rome from primers and other books;

"Therefore," continues the Form, "I exhort you all, that ye deface him, the said Bishop of Rome, in all your primers, and other books, where he is named Pope; and that ye shall have from henceforth no confidence nor trust in him, nor in his bulls, or letters of pardons, which beforetime with his juggling casts of binding and loosing, he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefore forgiveness of your sins, where of truth no man can forgive sins, but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder-claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you: but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us, when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly, that He is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that He died for our sins, and so forth, as it is contained in the Credo; and that through Him, and by Him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, *a pena et culpa*, according to his promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture."

And to put all trust in our Saviour.

Prayer for the different orders of men;

The Form then directs prayer for Prince Edward, for the king's issue, for the bishops, for all the clergy, "and namely for all them that preach the Word of God purely and sincerely:" then for the nobility, in especial for the Lord Deputy and the king's most honourable council, for the mayor of the city, and his brethren, with all the commonalty of the same; or for the parishioners of the parish, and generally for all the temporalty: lastly, "for the souls that be departed out of this world in the faith

of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sleep in rest and peace, that they may rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life. For these, and for grace, every man say a Paternoster and an Ave."

And for the departed in the faith of Christ.

But this provision of the Ordinary did not receive the obedience of all his clergy. One example to the contrary is furnished by a letter of the 8th of May[13], wherein he advertises the Lord Privy Seal, that—

Disobedience of some of the clergy.

"On the first Sunday in May, being with us the translation of St. Owen, in whose church a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humfrey, of whose nature and condition I have partly declared unto your lordship heretofore, the very occasioner and author of the vilipension and contempt that I am in, besides discord and debate sown between me and my friends; this man singing high mass, as that day, because that he is there parson, at the time when that the beads is customably red, after the form and manner as I have devised, and set them forth for all curates; he himself thought scorn to read them. Wherefore his parish priest, according unto his oath, went up into the pulpit, and there began to read them unto the people. He had unnethes red a three or four lines, but the parson began the preface, and the quire sang, in so much that the beads were unbidden. And certain of the parish presented it unto me.

Letter from the Archbishop to Lord Cromwell, May 8.

A contumacious prebendary.

"Then I considered this man, first, how that he did himself stick to swear unto the king, and also moved other the same; seeing him also contemning my articles, devised for the furtherance of God's word, and the advancement of our sovereign's title of supremacy, being one of my chief church, promoted also within the city so nearhand me; I could no less do, but committed him unto ward, till I hear further of the king's pleasure. They be in a manner all at the same point with me. There is an twenty-eight of them, and amongst them all there is not three learned of them, nor yet scarce one that favoureth God's word. Your lordship might do a good deed to have a little thing

Severe measures judged necessary towards the impugners of the king's supremacy.

[13] *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 6.

put in practice with them, and that is *de non idoneis removendis:* else it is but vain for me, or any other, to take pains in our prince's causes."

The latter part of the letter is on a different subject, but still having relation to, and illustrating the state of, the church:—

Mischief of auricular confession.

"On the first day of this term there was a letter brought unto me, intercipate, which should have been conveyed from the Father of Trim unto another of the same coat, which I have sent unto your lordship; wherein you may perceive their towardness, and yet great men in these parts may evil spare them for their auricular confession: for they may be bold to utter unto them treason and other. If they lacked them, I suppose they should lack much boldness to do evil. Where they rule, God and the king cannot justly reign. As knoweth God, unto whom I commit your lordship perpetually.

"Your lordship's,

(*Signed.*) "GEORGE DUBLINS.

(*Superscribed.*)

"To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my Lord Private Seal." ["In haste."

The case of the disobedient clergyman, and its sequel, are thus pursued in another letter from the archbishop to Lord Cromwell, of the 20th of May[14]:—

Archbishop Browne's letter to Lord Cromwell, May 20.

"It may please your lordship to be advertised, that in my last letter, directed unto your lordship, I signified unto the same, that for his pervicacity and negligence I committed one Humfrey, a prebendary of St. Patrick's, unto ward, till time that I knew further the king's pleasure in correcting of such obstinate and sturdy papists; thinking that in so doing I should have been aided and assisted by my Lord Deputy and the council. Howbeit, spite of my beard, yea, and to my great rebuke, whiles that I was at an house of Observants, to swear them, and also to extinct that name, naming them Conventuals, my Lord Deputy

[14] As above, p. 147.

hath set him at liberty. (So doth his lordship aid me in my prince's causes.) I think the simplest holy-water clerk is better esteemed than I am. I beseech your lordship in the way of charity, either cause my authority to take effect, or else let me return home again unto the cloister. When that I was at the worst, I was in better case than I am now, what with my Lord Deputy, the Bishop of Meath, and the pecuniose Prior of Kilmainham (Rawson.) God send remedy, who ever have your lordship in his safe tuition. At Dublin, the 20th of May.

Opposition made to him by the Lord Deputy.

"Your lordship may give credit unto this bearer, for he is my chaplain. I have committed now of late into ward the Bishop of Meath's suffragan, which in his sermon prayed, first for the Bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and at last for the king's grace, saying:—'I pray God, he never depart this world, until that he hath made amends.' What shall a man think of the bishop that hath such a suffragan? Howbeit, I doubt not but that he shall be discharged; ask, and nought believe.

Difference between the Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Meath.

(*Signed.*) "Georgius Dublin."

(*Superscribed.*)

"To the Right Honourable and my most singular good Lord, the Lord Private Seal."

The allusion made in the foregoing letter to Staples, bishop of Meath, arose from an unhappy difference which prevailed between the archbishop and him, caused by certain sermons which they had delivered in the preceding Lent, and in which each was said to have maligned the other, on the evidence of insufficient, perhaps slanderous, witnesses, of whom Humfrey was one. Much crimination and recrimination followed, and hard words were used on both sides, little creditable in truth to the Christian profession, or the dignified station of either. In the end, articles, drawn up by each party, were sent to the Lord Privy Seal; but the dispute seems to have been adjusted between them

Its adjustment.

by his interposition, without pronouncing on its merits.

Visitation of four counties by the Privy Council, December, 1538;

On the 12th of December, 1538, the council of Ireland, but without the Lord Deputy, with whom they were on terms of mutual dissatisfaction and distrust, addressed to the Lord Privy Seal a letter, in answer to a communication recently received from him. The answer was signed by Allen, the lord chancellor; the Archbishop of Dublin; the Bishop of Meath; T. Rawson, prior of Kilmainham; Brabazon, vice-treasurer; Justice Aylmer; and three other members of the council: wherein they say,—"Touching your lordship's advertisement for the setting forth of the word of God, abolishing of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and extinguishing of idolatry, we have well begun therein already, and to our power shall persevere with all industry and diligence. Beseeching your lordship, from time to time, to ascertain us of such devices, as shall be there executed for that purpose, to the intent the same may take like effect here." And in pursuance of this assurance, the Lord Chancellor, Brabazon, and Aylmer, accompanied by the archbishop, repaired, in the vacant time about Christmas, into "the four shires above the Barrow," namely, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, for the several ecclesiastical purposes above enumerated, as well as for "the keeping of sessions, and redress of the people's complaints." An ample detail of all their proceedings is given to the Lord Privy Seal, in rather a voluminous letter from Clonmell, January the 18th, 1539; to be found, as well as the preceding, in the *State Papers*, vol. iii., part 3, pp. 108—116. Omitting the civil affairs which employed

detailed in a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, Jan. 18, 1539.

them, I extract the following account of their operations, as connected with the Church.

They resorted first to Carlagh, where the Lord James Butler kept his Christmas: and being there very well entertained, from thence they went to Kilkenny, where they were no less entertained by the Earl of Ormonde. There, on New Year's Day, the Archbishop of Dublin preached the word of God, having very good audience, publishing the king's said injunctions, and the king's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Articles of Faith, and Ten Commandments, in English: divers papers whereof they delivered to the bishop, and other prelates of the diocese, commanding them to do the like through all their jurisdictions.

Preaching of Archbishop Browne at Kilkenny;

The Saturday following they repaired to Ross. There, the morn after, the archbishop preached: which done, that night they went to Wexford, where the archbishop preached on the Epiphany Day, having a great audience, publishing the said injunctions, and doing all things there as they did at Kilkenny.

At Ross;

At Wexford;

The Saturday following the Epiphany they came to Waterford, where the mayor and his brethren, during their abode, both well entertained them, and used themselves obediently, in conforming themselves to their orders and directions. There the Sunday my Lord of Dublin preached, having a very great audience; where, also, they published the king's said injunctions, and the residue of his pleasure likewise, as they did in Kilkenny, Ross, and Wexford. There four felons were executed, accompanied with another thief, a friar; whom, among the residue, they commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows, for a mirror to all other his brethren to live truly.

At Waterford;

At Clonmell.

At the writing of the letter they were at Clonmell, where, on the Sunday, the Archbishop of Dublin was to preach, likewise as he did in other places before mentioned, in the presence of all the bishops of Munster; "who, upon our commandment," it is observed, "be repaired hither for the most part already; and, or they depart, they shall be sworn to the supremacy of the king, and against the Bishop of Rome."

The letter concludes with a desire, "that it may please his lordship, by his next letters, to give thanks to my Lord of Dublin for his pains and diligence he hath used in this journey with us, in the setting forth of the word of God." And in another letter of February the 8th, written after they returned to Dublin, and signed by the archbishop, as well as his three companions, it is reported:—"At Clonmell was with us two archbishops and eight bishops, in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the king's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience, took the oath mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, both touching the king's succession and supremacy, before me, the king's chancellor; and divers others there present did the like."

Oath of supremacy taken by two archbishops and eight bishops.

Archbishop Browne's complaint of the Lord Deputy, for seizing his house and furniture.

A letter from the Archbishop to the Lord Privy Seal, about a week after the preceding, complains that, during his absence in the parts of Munster, "the Lord Deputy had repaired to Dublin, and there entered, not only into his place of Saint Pulcars, but also did take, and was still using, such his household stuff, as his said house was furnished withal, not only to his great hindrance, but also, on

his part, the debilitating of the word of God, which grieved him full sore. Nevertheless he did what he might in accomplishing his duty; trusting that Lord Cromwell, when opportunity of time should serve, would obtain the king's grace's letters to the said deputy, for the restorance of his said house."

Much of this letter is occupied in commendation of the Lord Chancellor Allen, and in complaints of the Lord Deputy. But what is more important to our subject is the concluding paragraph, in which he says, "At such season as your lordship's pleasure shall be to send hither authority *ad causas ecclesiasticas*, God willing, I intend to travel the country as far as any English is to be understanded; and where as I may not be understanded, I have provided a suffragan, named Doctor Nangle, bishop of Clonfert, who is not only well learned, but also a right honest man, and undoubtedly will set forth as well the word of God as our prince's causes, in the Irish tongue, to the discharge, I trust, of my conscience. Which said bishop was promoted to the said benefice, by the king's majesty and you; and, by commandment of the king's highness, and your good lordship, by me consecrated; although as now he is expulsed, and a Rome runner, who came in by provision, supported in the same by one M'William, a naughty traitorous person, governor of those parts, to whom the said Doctor Nangle, my suffragan, showed the king's broad seal, for justifying of his authority, which the said M'William little esteemed, but threw it away and vilipended the same. Notwithstanding that, my lord deputy will see no redress, for that his lordship is so affectioned to the said M'William, although his lordship had the king's highness letters in the favour of my said suffragan.

His purpose of visiting remote districts, with a suffragan.

Expulsion of Bishop Nangle.

The Lord Deputy's patronage of Popish bishops.

His deposition of a bishop.

Nevertheless his lordship did a greater enterprise than that, in Obrenes country. He there deposed a bishop, which was likewise promoted by the king's highness; which bishop was at Clonmell at our last journey, and there, in presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Master Sub-Treasurer, and me, declared unto us the truth thereof. And, for as much as we could perceive, he was a right fatherly person; and he, that the Lord Deputy hath now promoted to the same, is a gray friar, one of the holy confessors of the late Garrantynes, even as rank a traditor as ever they were."

What was the issue of the intention above declared, does not appear; nor what was the result of the remonstrance in favour of Bishop Nangle.

Conjecture as to the deposed bishop.

The deposed bishop was possibly Dominick Tirrey, who had been raised to the See of Cork and Cloyne, by the king's mandate in 1538, and was a favourer of the Reformation. Sir James Ware, however, does not notice his deposition, nor any papal interference with him so early as 1538, though he speaks of the Pope's appointment of a Franciscan friar in 1540, which, however, Bishop Tirrey successfully resisted[15].

[15] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 564.

Section IV.

Dissolution of Monasteries. Ineffectual recommendation for some to be continued. Twenty-four of the higher class suppressed. Letters patents, ordering inquiry concerning Images and Reliques, and other monastick property. Provision for Parish Churches deprived of Divine Service. King of England declared by Parliament King, instead of Lord, of Ireland. Effect of King's supremacy in nomination to Bishopricks. Provision for improvement of Religion. Death of Archbishop Cromer. Dowdall appointed by the King to succeed him. Death of King Henry the Eighth. Effect of his reign on the Irish Church.

Dissolution of monasteries.

Meanwhile the dissolution of the monasteries, which had been commenced at an earlier period, was vigorously prosecuted, and effected to a large extent.

Its commencement,

During his occupancy of the see of Dublin, about the year 1528, Archbishop Alan had been one of Cardinal Wolsey's instruments in procuring the dissolution of forty of the lesser monasteries[1]. Subsequently other abbeys and religious houses had been suppressed, and their property given to other persons by the king's letters patent, or vested in the crown by Act of Parliament, the provision of a yearly pension being made for their respective chief governors[2].

and progress.

Thus in the Loftus MS., Marsh's Library, under 1536, it is stated, that "This year the religious houses and monasteries in Ireland were granted to the king, by the authority of parliament, to the number of three hundred and seventy: the yearly value whereof amounted to 32,000*l.*, and their

[1] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 347.
[2] Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 16.

moveables were rated at 100,000*l.*" However this be, it is certain that, in 1537, as appears from a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell, from the Lord Deputy, and Brabazon the Vice Treasurer[3], by virtue of a commission under the great seal of England, and according to the king's pleasure, the Irish government had then lately suppressed eight abbeys, named in the commission, and had effected the assurance to the king of the lands and possessions formerly appertaining to them. And, in 1538, a report was made of a commission for the suppression of all abbeys, which called forth a recommendation from the Lord Deputy and council, that "six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule in such sort and order, as the king's grace should will them: which are named St. Mary Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of white monks; Christ's Church, a house of canons, situate in the midst of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace Dieu, in the county of Dublin; Connal, in the county of Kildare; Kenlys and Gerepont, in the county of Kilkenny. For in those houses commonly, and other such like, in default of common inns, which are not in this land, the king's deputy, and all other his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen, and others resorting to the king's deputy in their quarters, is and hath been most commonly lodged at the cost of the said houses. Also in them young men and children, both gentlemen children, and other, both of mankind and womenkind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue, and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses; that is to say, the womenkind of the whole Englishry of this

Commissions for their suppression. 1537.

1538.

Ineffectual recommendation for the preservation of some religious houses.

Their alleged advantages.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 438.

land, for the more part, in the said nunnery, and the mankind in the other said houses. And in the said house of St. Mary Abbey hath been the common resort of all such of reputation, as have repaired hither out of England. And in Christ's Church, parliaments, councils, and the common resort, in term time, for definitions of matters by judges and learned men, is, for the most part, used. . . . . For which causes, and others moved and reasoned amongst the council, it was thought, the king's most gracious pleasure standing therewith, more for the common weal of this land, and the king's honour and profit, that the said six houses, changing their habit and rules, after such sort as shall please the king's majesty, should stand, than the profits that should to the king's grace grow by their suppression[4]."

Petition from St. Mary's Abbey.

A petition to the same effect, relative to their own house, was sent to the Lord Privy Seal by the abbot and convent of St. Mary, pleading, amongst other things, that "verily they were but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses, for the king's honour: keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans[5]."

But no concession appears to have been made to this recommendation and petition. Accordingly, we find most of the superiors of the houses just enumerated in the list of those abbots and priors, who upon assurance of pensions during their respective lives, as provided by the late Act of Parliament, began now to surrender their religious houses to the king. The number of those surrendered was very great; and it would be tedious to particularise them: but,

General surrender of monasteries.

[4] *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 130. [5] *Ib.*, p. 142.

Twenty-four of the higher order suppressed.

1539.

besides others of inferior note, a catalogue is here annexed of no less than twenty-four monasteries of a higher class, which are recorded to have been suppressed in 1539; and of which the fourteen abbots and ten priors were lords of parliament, and entitled to a seat and suffrage amongst the spiritual peers[6]. On this occasion, the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, were converted and changed, as expressed by the charter, into a dean and chapter; the new foundation, which has been since known by the name of Christ Church, being confirmed by the king in possession of the ancient estates and immunities[7].

The following is a list of the governors of religious houses, whose abbeys and priories were suppressed, as above stated.

The Abbots of

Mellifont,
St. Thomas' Abbey, near Dublin,
St. Mary Abbey, near Dublin,
Baltinglass,
Jeripont,
Tintern, in the county of Wexford,
Douske,
Tracton, in the county of Cork,
Dunbrody,
Mage, *alias* Nenai, in the county of Limerick,
Wony, *alias* Wethney, same county,
Rossglass, *alias* Monastereven,
Bectif,
Rathto, in the county of Kerry,

The Priors of

St. John of Jerusalem,
Christ's Church, Dublin,
St. Peter's, near Trim,
Conal,
Kells, in Ossory, Kenlis,
St. Patrick's, in Down,
All Saints', near Dublin,
Athassel,
Killagh,
St. Mary, in Louth.

[6] Cox, *Hist.*, i. 260.

[7] WARE'S *Annals*. ARCHDALL'S *Monas.* p. 169.

Orders to which these abbeys and priories belonged.

Of the abbeys here named, all belonged to the Cistercian order, except that of St. Thomas, near Dublin, and that of Rathto, or Rattoo, which belonged respectively to the orders of St. Victor, and of Aroacia. All the ten priories belonged to the regular canons of St. Augustin, except that of St. John of Jerusalem; those of Christ's Church and All Saints', Dublin, which belonged to the regular canons of Aroacia: and that of St. Patrick, Down, which belonged to the Benedictines.

Compulsory means sometimes resorted to.

If, however, a voluntary surrender of a monastery was refused, compulsory means appear to have been enforced against the recusant. Thus, when Manus O'Fihily, the last abbot of St. Mary's, Thurles, would not surrender, he was carried a prisoner to Dublin, where he suffered a long confinement[8].

Dissolution not universal.

Still an entire dissolution of these establishments was not effected at the present time. For so we are informed by Sir John Davies, who, in his account of Ireland, written in the reign of King James the First, remarks, that "the abbaies and religious houses in Tirone, Tirconnell, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the 33rd year of King Henry the Eighth, were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but were continually possest by the religious persons, until his majesty, that now is, came to the crown[9]."

Letters patents for an investigation concerning images and reliques. Feb. 1539.

On the 3rd of February, in the 30th year of the king, being the year of our Lord 1539, letters patents under the privy seal were issued to William Brabazon, sub-treasurer of Ireland, together with John Aleyn, chancellor; George, archbishop of Dublin; Robert Cowley, master of the rolls; and Thomas Cusak, Esq., appointing, amongst other things, "that

[8] Grose's *Irish Antiq.*, ii. 85.

[9] Edit. 1747, p. 253.

they should investigate, inquire, and search out, where, within the said land of Ireland, there were any notable images or reliques, at which the simple people of the said lord the king were wont superstitiously to meet together; and wandering as on pilgrimage, to walk and stray about them, or otherwise to kiss, lick, or honour them, contrary to the honour of God; and that they should break in pieces, deform, and bear away the same: and thus with all things pertaining, annexed, and adjoined thereto, they should utterly abolish them, so that no fooleries of this kind might thenceforth for ever be in use in the said land or dominion of the aforesaid lord the king[10]."

The commission also directed, with respect to such monasteries and religious houses, as were willingly surrendered into the hands of the king, and thereupon dissolved, that the commissioners should take for the king's use and possession all goods, moveable things, and chattels, lands, and revenues thereof; and sell and alienate the same, except gold and silver plate, jewels, principal ornaments, lead, and bells; and from the proceeds, and also from the revenues of the said monasteries and houses, if the goods and moveables thereof were insufficient, should pay all just debts, and all other reasonable charges, incidental to the said monasteries or religious houses. It also gave authority to the commissioners, to allow the chief governors and heads of the said houses such portion of the things aforesaid, as might be fitting for their rank, and appear convenient in the commissioners' discretion. And it directed them to provide for the sufficient and secure keeping of the jewels and other move-

[10] *Publick Records of Ireland*, 1810—1815. Pl. VI. No. 3.

ables in their custody, to the use and behoof of the said lord the king.

Roll in Record Office, Dublin.

In the Record Office, Custom-house Buildings, Dublin, is preserved a roll, which contains the foregoing commission, and, subjoined to it, the account rendered by the commissioners of the execution of their trust. By the kindness of Mr. Hardinge, the gentleman who has the official charge of this unpublished document, I have been very obligingly furnished with a translation of it, and am thus enabled to state the following particulars of the commissioners' inquiry.

Commissioners' account contained in the roll.

The roll contains three distinct accounts, made by Sir William Brabazon, in pursuance of the commission directed to him and the other commissioners.

Price of property in monasteries, cathedral and parish churches.

The first account gives a detail of the sum of 326*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*, returned by the commissioners in form following: "for the price of divers pieces of gold and silver in mass and bullion, and also of certain precious stones set in gold and silver, and of silver ornaments and other things upon divers images, pictures, and reliques, in the late monasteries, priories, cathedral and parish churches, and other places, within said land of Ireland under-written lately existing, broken and destroyed, and by said commissioners, by virtue of the commission of the lord the king aforesaid, into the hands of the lord the king taken, and appraised, and by the before-recited title sold." Of the thirty-five articles, which comprise this account, about six or seven are specified as the price of property belonging to religious houses, amounting to about 130*l.*; three, of property belonging to the cathedral churches of St. Patrick, Dublin, of Leoghlin, and of Ferns, amounting to 38*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*;

and the remainder amounting to about 160*l.*, as the price of property belonging to parish churches and chapels. One article, without naming any place, specifies 20*l.*, as being "the price of 1,000 lbs. weight of wax, manufactured into candles, tapers, images, and pictures."

Property in abbeys, priories, and hospitals.

The same account also details by name thirty-nine monasteries, abbeys, priories, and hospitals, out of which arose a sum of 1710*l.* 2*s.*, "the price of divers vases, jewels, and ornaments of gold and silver, and bells, and the utensils and household stuff of superstitious buildings, and other goods and chattels." Whilst some of the articles here enumerated did not exceed a few pounds, and were as low even as three, two, or one, others were of considerable magnitude: for example, the price of the property found in the monastery of Mellyfounte was 141*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*; in the monastery of Kells was 191*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; in the abbey of the Blessed Virgin at Trim was 186*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, besides 40*l.*, accounted for in the preceding list; and in the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, was 385*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, besides 21*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* also before accounted for.

Property in friaries.

The same account further details by name thirty-seven houses of brothers or friars, out of which arose a sum of 487*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.*, being the price of property similar to the foregoing, and varying in the several houses, from 1*l.* in the house of the Carmelites at Kildare, to 57*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* in that of the Dominicans at Kilkenny.

Total amount.

The sum total of this first account was 2544*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.* A second and a third account follow, consisting of the like particulars, to the amount respectively of 35*l.* 11*s.* and 130*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*: in all, 2709*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*

This is the whole amount of the property seized, as returned by the commissioners, who however give no detail of the property, nor communicate any information of its nature, other than by the general terms above reported: except that, in the first list, an account is rendered of 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, "for the price of divers silver or holy crosses, in the late abbeys of Kilcooley and Innislannagh;" and elsewhere notice is taken of sundry bells, appertaining to the different monasteries, which were committed to the custody of various persons, named in the account, who were to render an account of the same. Amongst these the following entry occurs:—"Nor do they" (the said accountants) "render any price for a bell, to the late house of brothers of Clane, at the time of the dissolution, appertaining, inasmuch as said bell came into the hands of Lord Leonard Gray, late deputy of the lord the king of his land of Ireland aforesaid, so that no produce in respect thereof came to the hands of said accountants, as they say upon their oaths."

No detail of the property.

A detail of the property might have presented us with some curious information concerning those "notable images and reliques," the objects of the "superstitious reverence of the simple people of the lord the king," the investigation of which was one special object of the commission. These no doubt were numerous. But it is most probable, that very few of the former were of any more valuable material than wood, stone, or composition; in which case they were broken in pieces, and destroyed by the express orders of the king's commission: if of gold or silver, they would likewise be broken and defaced, and then sold as "gold and silver in mass." As to the reliques, they also would probably be

Images and reliques not specified in detail.

How disposed of.

destroyed: or, if valuable, be disposed of in the same manner as the images.

It should be observed, that the commission, of which the above account has been given, appears to have been issued in pursuance of the act of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, chap. 16; which, whilst it invested the possessions of the monasteries therein recited in the king for the publick use, enacted also, that "the king's highness should have and enjoy to his own proper use all such ornaments, jewels, goods, cattails, and debts, which appertaineth or belongeth to any of the chief governors of the said monasteries or religious houses, in the right of the said monasteries or religious houses." And the foregoing report of the commissioners is a return of an inventory and sale of the chattels, reserved by this Act of Parliament for "the king's own proper use" specially: the reason of the commissioners taking upon themselves so to sell being expressed in the account, namely, "the great need of the king in his wars with the Earl of Desmond and others," and the sale being made with the consent of the privy council.

It should be observed, also, that the account includes the ornaments and other possessions, not only of the monasteries dissolved under the aforesaid act of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, but of those likewise dissolved under the act of the 33rd, chap. 5: consequently it embraces a general collection of such chattels of most, if not of all, of the monasteries, and appears therefore to be a complete account, so far as regards the ornaments and other things, of which an exception was made in favour of the king.

Provision for

The dissolution of several religious houses, to

which parish churches had been appropriated, having caused an interruption in the service of the cures, which had been served by members of the community, whereto they had been appropriated, in 1542 an act was passed for empowering the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chief Justice, and other persons of high official and legal stations, to erect and incorporate a vicarage in each of the several parish churches, which had been appropriated to religious houses dissolved, having no vicar endowed[11]: a provision, which eventually proved very incommensurate with the evil. Meanwhile, in 1540, a commission had been issued, for granting annual stipends to the monks of the suppressed abbeys[12].

parish churches connected with them.

In the same year, 1542, an act was passed, that the King of England should in future bear the name of king, instead of lord, of Ireland, which had been previously his title[13]: an act, which, whilst it was especially pleasing to the king, was welcomed also with singular demonstrations of joy in Dublin, as one of great publick advantage. And "its publication was celebrated with memorable solemnity in St. Patrick's cathedral the following Sunday, in the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and others of the nobility, in their parliament robes, and of several of the bishops and clergy, where a solemn mass was performed by the Archbishop of Dublin; and after the mass, the act was proclaimed in presence of the assembly, and *Te Deum* sung with great joy and gladness to all men. The same Sunday, great bonfires were made in the

Kings of England declared Kings of Ireland. 1542.

Proclamation of the act in St. Patrick's.

Public rejoicings on the occasion.

[11] Irish Stat., 33 Hen. VIII. c. 14. [12] Ware's *Annals*, p. 103.
[13] Irish Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

city, wine set in the streets, great feasting in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns[14]." To give more cause for rejoicing, the Lord Deputy and council thought it good, that all prisoners, not confined for debt, or for any very heinous crime, should be set at liberty. And the king himself issued a proclamation for a general pardon.

The cause of them.

The cause of this exultation was, that, though it was manifest, as the act declares, that the Kings of England had, by the name of Lords of Ireland, possessed all manner of "kingly jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, and authority royal, belonging or appertaining to the royal estate and majesty of a king;" yet occasion had been taken upon this difference of names to found a supposed difference of authority, and to seduce the inhabitants of this portion of the king's dominions from showing that obedience to his person and laws, which was according to their allegiance and bounden duties.

Motives to this act.

This recognition of the supreme dominion of the king by his royal title had been recommended to the king's commissioners in 1537, by Allen, master of the rolls, as recorded in the State Papers[15], on the special ground, that "Irishmen of long continuance have supposed the royal estate of this land to consist in the Bishop of Rome for the time being, and the lordship of the Kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said bishop, than to our sovereign lord." The same consideration had been urged upon the Lord Deputy Saintleger, both personally and in writing, by Staples, bishop of Meath, in 1538, "as

[14] Cox, i. 270. *History of Dublin*, i. 193.
[15] Vol. ii. part iii. p. 480.

doubting not, in short time, to have all Ireland then sworn to due obedience, the lack whereof, in my opinion, doth much hinder their duties to be done[16]." And Sir Anthony Saintleger being now lord deputy, for Lord Gray had been recalled early in 1540, the same recommendation was submitted by him and the council to the king's consideration the same year, as a recognition, to which all the nobility and other inhabitants of the land would agree, and which would cause those of the Irishry more gladly to obey his majesty, on account of their foolish opinion, that the Bishop of Rome should be King of Ireland.

Instructions attending its proclamation in Munster. July, 1542.

The act was accordingly passed, to the great satisfaction of the kingdom. The proclamation of it in every shire of Ireland was one of its enactments. But in Munster particularly, the proclamation of it was accompanied by certain special ordinances, founded on the avowed state of general incivilization, lawlessness, and insubordination, prevalent in that part of the kingdom; and bearing melancholy testimony to the depressed condition of religion, and to the necessity of instant improvement: for such is the obvious inference from such instructions as these, "That bishops may exercise their jurisdiction in their diocese, according to the law of God and the canons;" "that laymen nor boys be not admitted to ecclesiastical preferments, and that such as be in already, shall be immediately deprived;" and "that all those who have dignities or benefices ecclesiastical, shall take orders and reside[17]."

King's supremacy shown in appointment to vacant bishopricks.

The legal establishment of the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was now operating in a very

[16] *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 30.

[17] Cox, i. 270.

important department, and producing a sensible effect on the appointment to vacant bishopricks.

Before this period, such appointments had been of late made by papal nomination, the temporalties of the see being restored to the new bishop by the king's writ. But now the appointment proceeded from the crown; and if, as appears in a few cases, it is referred to a provision or provisional bull of the Pope, the nomination was rendered valid by the confirmation of the king, consequent on "the oath of allegiance being taken," or "homage being done," or "submission being made and fealty sworn" to the king by the individual nominated[18].

From 1536 to 1547.

Thus in the interval of ten or eleven years, which elapsed between the enactment of the king's supremacy in 1536, and his demise in 1547, of about thirteen vacancies, which are recorded as having occurred in sees where Sir James Ware has ascertained the succession, the appointments to Clonmacnoise in 1539, to Down and Connor, and to Clonfert, in 1541, and to Clogher in 1542, appear to have been made "by provision of Pope Paul the Third," and to have been confirmed by King Henry the Eighth, on submission being formally plighted: agreeably to which, in his letter from Greenwich, October 8th, 1542, the king expresses his will in this manner concerning Clogher; "Ye shall understand that we have taken the submission of the Bishop of Clogher, and caused our council to receive of him his bulls and his oath here, which he yielded unto us, and we have given also unto him a new grant of the same, and 40*l.* in money[19]." On the other hand, the appointments to Tuam, to Cork and Cloyne, and to Clonfert, in 1536,

Circumstances of appointments by the Pope,

and by the king.

[18] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 174, 187, 205, 642.

[19] *Rot. Can.*, 32, 33, Hen. VIII.

to Kildare in 1540, to Ardagh in 1541, to Armagh and to Emly in 1543, to Elphin in 1544, and to Killaloe in 1546, were primarily and entirely of the king's nomination and donation.

Particularly as to the cases of Emly and Elphin: in the letter from Greenwich, October 8th, 1542, the king directs to elect and consecrate Æneas O'Hifernan, "and to take his oath and homage according to the minute, which you shall receive herewith; which oath, our pleasure is, that all bishops, to be hereafter made in that our realm of Ireland, shall make unto us." The oath follows upon the roll[20]. And with respect to Elphin, the king, Henry VIII., sent his *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of that cathedral, to choose Conatius O'Shyagal bishop. But they refusing to comply with the king's mandate, he directed a writ to Christopher, archbishop of Tuam, to admit, institute, consecrate, and invest him therein, March 23, 1545[21], pursuant to letters under the privy seal to the Lord Deputy Saintleger, Westminster, July 1, 1544, "willing that by virtue thereof, as well you our said deputy shall make, or cause to be made, in our name, all such writings, as in such case be requisite, for the assurance of the said Conatius O'Shyagal to the same bishoprick, and also to take his oath according to our laws in that behalf ordained."

Oath of bishops on consecration.

In certain instances, indeed, there were rival appointments by the Pope, as for example, to Cork and Cloyne in 1536, to Clonfert in the same year, to Kildare in 1540, and to Armagh in 1542; but these were rejected and rendered null by the king's authority, and the bishops of the royal nomination were seated in their respective sees with the exception of

Result of rival appointments by the Pope.

[20] *Rot. de Annis*, 32, 33, Hen. VIII. [21] *Ib.*, 36, Hen. VIII.

Remarkable exception of Clonfert.

Clonfert, "where the king's majesty preferred one Dr. Nangle to the bishoprick, but one Rowland Burke purchased bulls from the Bishop of Rome, whereby he expulsed the king's presentee. Whereupon, as I heard say," observes Robert Cowley in a letter to Lord Cromwell, "the king's highness wrote to the Lord Deputy to prosecute the provisor, and to see the king's presentee restored to his possession. Nothing was executed of the king's pleasure in that behalf, whereby general recourse is daily to Rome by religious men of Irish nation and papisticals; so that where, in time past, they repaired to the king's highness, to obtain his grace's determination, they go immediately to Rome, and obtain what they pursue, so that there be now lately five bishops in Ireland by the Bishop of Rome's authority, besides abbots and priors. And never so much suit from Ireland as now to Rome, all by permission and sufferance, without any prosecuting."

However, with respect to this particular case of Clonfert, Burke, who had been advanced to the see by the Pope's bull, afterwards submitted and swore fealty to the king, and obtained the royal assent in October, 1541, the Pope's bull having been first cancelled. With respect to the other bishops by the Pope's authority, if appointed since the act for the king's supremacy, they must have been those already enumerated, of Clonmacnois, Down and Connor, and Clogher, as having subsequently made submission and taken the oath to the king.

Of two or three other sees, which were vacant during the before-mentioned period, between 1536 and 1547, but in which the circumstances of the succession have not been distinctly recorded, it is to be presumed with a high degree of probability, that the

appointment was made exclusively by the king, as to Ferns in 1539, and to Ross in 1544. Kilmore is the only see which can be positively alleged as forming an exception to the general rule; of which Harris has stated it to be "observable that lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country it had been much neglected by the crown of England; and that even after the Reformation, the bishops of it succeeded either by usurpation or by papal authority[22]." And from this there was no deviation till 1585, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Peculiar condition of the diocese of Kilmore.

Meanwhile a convincing example of the practical effect of the transfer of the supremacy from the Pope to the king, and of the consequent subsitution of the royal instead of the papal patronage, is furnished by the life of a certain individual. In 1521, on a vacancy in the see of Limerick, King Henry the Eighth felt great anxiety, and laboured earnestly, in stead of the deceased prelate, to introduce Walter Wellesley or Wesley, for whom he entertained a high regard. But the king's favourite was rejected, and another person promoted by the Pope. Ten years after, namely, in 1531, Wellesley obtained the See of Kildare by the provision of the Pope, Clement the Eighth, at the instance of the king, who again exerted himself for his advancement. On Bishop Wellesley's death in 1540, by the like provision of the Pope, a successor was nominated; and as he survived only a few days, a second received the Pope's nomination. But the king, having been now declared supreme head of the Church of Ireland, rejected the nomination; and a successor of his own choice, William Miagh, was

Remarkable case of rejection of the Pope's nominee.

[22] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 230.

consecrated, and maintained undisturbed possession of the see[23].

Remittance by the king of a debt from Archbishop Browne.

In 1542, the king having made a grant of certain lands, which in great part belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin, but which the archbishop was contented liberally to release to his majesty, the Lord Deputy and Council prayed the king to remit to him a debt of 280*l.*, "in respect of his said conformity, and that he hath, sithence his repair into this your realm, sustained great charges in your highness' service, and came very poor to his said promotion, having no manner dilapidations of the goods of his predecessor; whereby he shall not only be the more able to serve your majesty, and be well requited for his said conformity, but also bind him, according to his most bounden duty, to pray to Almighty God for the long preservation of your most royal estate; otherwise we think the man shall not be able to pay your majesty, and live in any honourable estate[24]."

The king grants the favour sought for the Archbishop.

The king granted the prayer in the archbishop's favour: "not doubting but he will the better apply his charge and office, and provide that there may be some good preachers to instruct and teach the people in those parts. Willing, therefore, you, our deputy and council, that you have a special regard also to this point; and as you may provide that they may learn by good and catholick teaching, and the ministration of justice, to know God's laws and ours together; which shall daily more and more frame and confirm them in honest living and due obedience, to their own benefits, and the universal good of the country[25]."

[23] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 510, 389.
[24] *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 390. [25] *Ib.*, p. 396.

In the same year[26], the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland applied to the Privy Council in England for their assistance in checking an abuse which was prevalent among the Irish clergy. "Being advertised that some beneficed persons have resort thither, intending to sue for licences of non-residence, contrary to the laws of this realm, which, if they should obtain, were great hindrance to the common weal here; we shall, therefore, beseech your good lordships to move the king's majesty to stay such suits for licenses of non-residence."

Assistance sought for checking the clergy's non-residence. 1542.

In the same year[27], among "certain devices for the reformation of Ireland," by John Travers, together with others for its civil improvement, we find the following directed to its spiritual good. "Whereas the inhabitants of this realm, for the more part, have of long time, and yet hitherto be, ignorant of the true doctrine of Christ, for lack of preaching the same, which hath caused them to neglect due obedience to God and the king,; it shall be, for the remedy hereof, necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin, my Lord of Meath, and such others as favour the Gospel, do instruct the Irish bishops of this realm; causing them to relinquish and renounce all popish or papistical doctrine, and to set forth sincerely, within each of their dioceses, the true word of God."

Plan for disseminating Christian truth by the bishops. 1542.

In the same year[28], the king wrote to the Lord Deputy and council. "We think it meet, that seeing we have passed here the act for the continency of priests, you should in like manner follow, and do the same there; or, at the least, upon consideration of the state of the country, cause such a reasonable

Acts for the continency of priests.

[26] *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 418. [27] *Ib.*, p. 431.
[28] *Ib.*, p. 423.

book to be devised and sent hither for that purpose, as may be to God's pleasure in the avoiding of that sin, and to the advancement of the honest name and fame of our clergy of that realm." By the English statute of 31 Henry VIII., c. 14, the incontinency of priests was made felony; but by chapter 10 of the next session, this statute, on account of its severity, was repealed for the first and second offences; and the crime was, in the first instance, made punishable with loss of goods, and, if the offender had more than one benefice, with the forfeiture of the revenues of all but one; the second offence subjected him to the forfeiture of all his revenues; and the third to perpetual imprisonment.

Plan for converting Christ's Church into a free school. August, 1542.

The Lord Deputy had devised a scheme, which he communicated in a letter from himself and the council to the king, August the 27th, 1542, for having the perpetual residence of a council in Dublin; and as a house for their residence and their entertainment, he proposed to appropriate Christ's Church, which had formerly been a house of regular canons, and was lately converted into a cathedral with a dean and chapter, but which he thought might be spared for that purpose, as less well endowed, and less meet to be preserved and maintained, than the other cathedral of St. Patrick. Out of the revenues thus appropriated, a free-school also was to be founded, "whereof there is great lack in this land, having never a one within the same:" and for maintenance of the church of Christ's Church the parishioners of three or four small churches, nigh adjoining, were to be annexed to the parish of Christ's Church, and their own churches turned to some other use, and provision to be thus made for

preserving and maintaining the building, and for the necessary supply of ministers. The plan was again brought forward by the Lord Deputy, and pressed upon the king's attention, in a communication of June the 4th, 1543.

Plan again pressed, June, 1543.

The king, in his answer, admitted "the device to have a good appearance," and that "some fruit and benefit might thereby ensue to the realm;" and he expressed his pleasure to have a more particular declaration of the revenues, and of their intended employment: that he might resolve and determine the matter, as he should think most expedient.

King not unfavourable to it;

Further deliberation, however, changed the sentiments of the Lord Deputy. The revenues on investigation proved to be less than had been imagined. Christ's Church was "the metropolitan church, in whose name or title much of the archbishop's lands was annexed to the see." The mayor also and commons of the city, having heard "that the same was moved to be changed from the name of a college and to be made a parish church, and that there were no more colleges of the king's new erection within the whole realm, and that their city would be totally defaced and disparaged," made earnest suit that the said Christ Church might stand as it then was. The result was a change in the purpose of the government, and thus Christ Church retained its character of a cathedral. The whole particulars may be found in the correspondence between the two governments; *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., pp. 414, 468, 484, 489.

Its failure.

The 15th of March, 1543, died Archbishop Cromer. Regard being had to the impediments

Death of Primate Cromer, March 15, 1543.

offered by him to the king's measures, it was to be expected that a man of different principles would be selected to succeed him in the primacy; and accordingly that a successor would be sent from England, as on the vacancy of the archbishoprick of Dublin, eight years before; or that Archbishop Browne, who had so diligently and efficiently filled that vacancy, would be advanced to the superior dignity of Primate of all Ireland; or that the station would be conferred on some other of the actual prelates, such as Staples, bishop of Meath, or Miagh of Kildare, or Sanders of Leighlin, or Tirrey of Cork and Cloyne, who are on record as favourers and promoters of the Reformation, and of whom Bishop Staples, in particular, seems to have been distinguished for his zeal and activity in the promotion of true religion, and to have enjoyed the king's good opinion and favour, being employed in several commissions issued at different times by the crown for ecclesiastical purposes.

Surmises as to his successor.

But whether the principles of the future primate had not yet been disclosed, which indeed is hardly probable; or that the animating force, which actuated the king in the exercise of his ecclesiastical patronage, had been removed by the fall of Cromwell; or that the king himself, having succeeded in accomplishing his projects for his own aggrandizement, cared not for the spiritual improvement of the Church, and abandoned the cause of the Reformation, of which he had given indications, not in England only, by his conduct about "The Six Articles," but in Ireland by bestowing a special mark of favour and confidence on Archbishop Cromer, in his appointment, together with the Lord of Louth, as arbitrator

Motives to the new appointment.

of such controversies as might arise in Ulster, on certain subjects specified in the edict[29]; a very different nomination to the primacy now took place.

Baron of Delvin's son recommended. 1541.

Another person had been recommended for the station in 1541, the son of a nobleman, the Lord Delvin, who had been Lord Deputy fourteen years before, possibly in anticipation of an earlier vacancy: for in an answer of the king to the letters of the Lord Deputy and council, dated the 21st of February, in that year, we find, "Where you desire to have a son of the late Baron of Delvins preferred to the archbishoprick of Armachan; we do consider the said bishoprick to be there a great and principal dignity, and therefore before we shall determine our pleasure in it, we would be glad to have the party sent hither, that we might both see him, and further know, how he is qualified for such an office: whereupon we shall more certainly signify our pleasure unto you in that behalf[30]."

Promise of the archbishoprick to George Dowdall. 1542.

In the following year, however, 1542, things were changed. For in another letter from the king we read, "We have granted, at your request, to Parson Doudall, both a pension of 20*l.* sterling, till he shall be promoted by us to a benefice exceeding that sum, or enjoy the bishoprick of Armacon, which we have also granted unto him, when it shall first and next be vacant[31]." This grant had been made on Dowdall's voluntary surrender of the Crouched Friary of Ardee, of which he was the prior[32]. Accordingly, George Dowdall, a native of the county of Louth, and official to his predecessor Archbishop Cromer,

[29] Ware's *Annals*, Hen. VIII., p. 106.
[30] *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 299. [31] *Ib.*, p. 429.
[32] Archdall, p. 447.

His nomination,

succeeded to the primacy, by the interest of the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger[33], who had also procured for him the guardianship of the spiritualties of the archbishoprick during the vacancy, in which interval a synod had been held of the clergy of the diocese; and by the king's mandate[34], bearing date the 28th of November, 1543, he was in the early part of the following December consecrated by Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, and other assistant bishops: the mandate for his confirmation and consecration having been directed to Edward, bishop of Meath; Cornelius bishop of Raphoe; Eugenius, bishop of Down and Connor; Edmund bishop of Kilmore; Hugh, bishop of Clogher; Florence, bishop of Clonmacnois; Richard, bishop of Ardagh; and Thady, suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin.

1543;

And consecration.

Question concerning one of Abp. Dowdall's consecrators.

Who this "Thady, suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin," may have been, is by no means certain. The other seven, named in the mandate, were suffragans to the Archbishop of Armagh, in the sense of diocesan bishops, under that metropolitan. But in the province of Dublin there was, at that time, no bishop of the name of Thady. It is true, that on the death of Wellesley, bishop of Kildare, in 1540, a Franciscan friar was, by the Pope's provision, declared bishop on the 16th of July, but died in a few days. "Whereupon," as Sir James Ware states[35], "on the 15th of November following, Thady Reynolds, doctor of the civil and canon law, was by the like provision nominated. But the king, (being now declared supreme head of the Church of Ireland,) rejected this election, and advanced William Miagh to the bishoprick, and afterwards called him into his

[33] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 91.

[34] Rolls, 36 Hen. VIII.

[35] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 390.

privy council of Ireland." In endeavouring to ascertain who was the individual mentioned in the king's mandate, I have been struck by this identity of name: and it has occurred to me, as a possible, but hardly as a probable, case, that in drawing up the instrument a confusion may have arisen between the names of him who had been nominated to the see, and of him who actually occupied it.

Suffragan bishops in Ireland.

It appears, however, more probable, that Thady was suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin, in the sense of an assistant. The English statute of 26 Henry VIII. chap. 14, had "enacted that every archbishop and bishop of this realm, (of England,) and elsewhere within the king's dominions, being disposed to have any suffragan, shall name two persons to the king, who shall choose one." The preamble speaks of such suffragans, as "having been accustomed to be had within this realm;" and Dr. Bullingbroke, in his *Ecclesiastical Law of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 189, remarks upon this, that "These were the same with the ancient chorepiscopi, or bishops of the country; so called by way of distinction from the proper bishops of the city or see. And they were very common," he adds, "in England; taking their titles from places 'in partibus infidelium,' or from places in which, though there were fixed sees, and they had been ordained to them, they could not remain with safety; and upon this account we find several Irish bishops, from time to time, received and acting as suffragans, under English bishops."

Example of one under the Archbishop of Dublin;

After this manner, it appears from a letter of Archbishop Browne, quoted above, page 153, that, to assist him in preaching to the Irish natives, he had "provided a suffragan, named Dr. Nangle, bishop of

Clonfert," who had been "expulsed" from his own diocese by a lawless governor of those parts, countenanced by the then Lord Deputy, Lord Gray. Of this Bishop Nangle, the archbishop afterwards repeatedly speaks as "his suffragan." It should seem, therefore, by no means improbable that he may have subsequently had the assistance of another "suffragan," besides or instead of Nangle, and that this Thady may have been the man; and this probability is increased by evidence furnished by Sir James Ware's report, that a Bishop of Ardagh, who succeeded to his see in 1553, had been "before a suffragan to Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh[36]." This question has been examined somewhat more than on its own account it might deserve, if it did not appear to throw some light upon the administration of ecclesiastical offices at this period by means of suffragan bishops. As to the nomination of this individual, in the mandate for the consecration of the new archbishop, together with seven bishops of the province of Armagh, and the non-insertion of the name of the Archbishop of Dublin, whilst that of his suffragan was inserted, the case under both aspects is remarkable, but any inquiry in search of explanation could be answered only by conjecture.

And under the Archbishop of Armagh.

To revert then to the Archbishop of Armagh; his consecration was solemnized in obedience to the mandate, by the Bishop of Meath, as the consecrating bishop, with the assistance of some of the other prelates named in the commission. Archbishop Dowdall is related to have been a man of gravity and learning, and a very assiduous preacher, but withal a most zealous advocate for popery: notwithstanding which, he was contented to accept his

Archbishop Dowdall's character.

[36] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 255.

advancement from the king; and could never succeed in obtaining a provision from Pope Paul the Third, who had conferred the archbishoprick on Robert Waucop, by others called Venantius, a Scot, who assisted at the Council of Trent, from 1545 to 1547; and is transmitted by history with the glory or the shame, of having, about two years before, been the first to introduce the Jesuits into Ireland, with the favour and countenance of the Pope[37]; and the observing reader, as is well remarked by Cox, in his history, written in 1689, "will easily perceive the dismal and horrible effects of that mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland, even to this day[38]."

His unsteadiness or want of principle.

The conduct of Archbishop Dowdall, first in accepting the primacy from the king, notwithstanding his attachment to the papacy, and then in seeking a nomination from the Pope, notwithstanding his acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, leaves him with a character which it were difficult to vindicate from the charge of instability, if not of disregard and dereliction of principle, unless indeed in accordance with the rules of morals which his rival, the titular primate, had lately introduced into the kingdom, as means of undermining the simplicity and godly sincerity of the Gospel.

For the present, however, the new primate seems not to have had much opportunity of manifesting his Popish predilections by any act directly hostile and offensive to the advocates of the reformed religion; and the only measure attributed to him at this period is, that in a synod holden by him in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, June 20, 1545, it was appointed and ordained, "that the festival of St. Richard, archbishop of Armagh, should be cele-

Provincial synod, June, 1545.

[37] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 93. Cox's *Hist.*, i. 272. [38] *Ibid.*

brated with nine lessons yearly, *in crastino Johannis et Pauli*[39], that is, the day following the 26th of June.

Canonization of Richard Fitzralph.

The canonization of the celebrated primate, Richard Fitzralph, under the designation of "St. Richard of Armagh," seems to have been the act of Dowdall himself: for when, in consequence of the miracles attributed to Fitzralph after his death, Pope Boniface the Ninth had issued a commission to certain prelates for holding an inquiry concerning their truth, the whole matter was permitted to vanish away in silence under the commission[40].

Thus by recognising the saintship of his illustrious predecessor, and by appointing a rule for celebrating his festival, Archbishop Dowdall gave a convincing testimony of his own religious predilections; but he appears to have had no occasion for placing himself in an attitude of resistance to the Reformation, as no fresh efforts were made for its advancement in the Church of Ireland till after the year 1546, when the death of King Henry made way for that youth of blessed memory, his son and successor, King Edward the Sixth.

Commission for the resignation of St. Patrick's.

One of the last acts of King Henry the Eighth with respect to the Church of Ireland, was a commission for the resignation of the opulent cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, and the taking of the lands and possessions from the dean and chapter. The chapter at first refused, but soon after they yielded; and in January, 1547, the month in which the king died, the resignation was made by the dean, Edward Basnet, and the chapter. But these possessions, having been given to the Exchequer, were restored by Queen Mary to the Church, in 1554[41].

Death of the king, January, 28, 1547.

[39] *Reg. Dowdall*, p. 39. [40] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 83.
[41] Ware's *Annals*.

Before, however, we take a final leave of King Henry's reign, a compendious reference to some of its principal transactions, which have been already passing before us, may be useful as supplying us with a general view at this epoch of the Irish Church.

Recapitulation of chief transactions affecting the Church of Ireland in King Henry's reign.

The establishment of the king's supremacy upon the ruin of the Pope's was of infinite importance toward future religious improvement, inasmuch as it released the Church from the shackles which bound her, hand and foot, to the burden of the Romish corruptions, and must have precluded her from making any progress in the discovery and profession of the truth. Thus far benefit accrued from this most momentous action of King Henry's reign, though little perhaps with his good will, at least toward the close of it: for had he been desirous of effecting a reformation from Popish error, he never would have placed such a primate as he actually did at the head of the Irish Church.

The supremacy.

Nor was it at all a symptom of good will, that when he relieved the Church from the impediment of the monastick institutions, he forbore to provide thereby for the religious education of her people, as well as to bestow upon her any secular benefit, and left her incapacitated for necessary activity, and beset by difficulties, which were in a great degree created or augmented by the disappropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues for his own gratification and the enrichment of his favourites, and the consignment of them for ever to the hands of lay possessors. The appropriation to himself of the first-fruits and annual portions of the value of benefices was another injury which he inflicted on the Church.

Dissolution of monasteries.

Still a progressive improvement in spiritual relations was slowly, but perceptibly, making way.

Abolition of idolatry.

In many places, especially in the metropolis of the kingdom, idolatry had been to a great extent abolished: and the symbols and objects of idolatry had been superseded in the churches by the foundation, the means, and the sanctions of a purified worship, which were expressed in the admission of an English translation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as proper embellishments of their walls, and as parts of the divine service celebrated within them.

Proper principle of publick worship set forth.

The Form of Prayer, introduced by the archbishop into his diocese of Dublin, valuable in itself, was especially useful in setting forth and exemplifying the principle of Common Prayer, to be conducted in the language of the people, and liberated from anti-Scriptural innovations; although a further appplication of the principle was needed in adapting such a form to the circumstances of the Irish population, and in renouncing the superstitious rites of the mass, and the invocation of the Virgin Mary.

I am not aware whether the English translation of the Bible had been hitherto introduced into Ireland: probably, indeed, it had not; though on that subject may arise a question, to which there will be occasion to advert in the succeeding reign. But it

Preaching of the Word of God.

is plain that the preaching of the Word of God, as distinguished from Romish corruptions, especially with respect to the proper object of religious trust and worship, and to the merits of our blessed Redeemer as the only ground of Christian hope, had been practised with earnestness by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, and some other bishops and clergy, notwithstanding the obsti-

nacy and perverseness, or the infatuation and recklessness, of the majority: and that it had been preached not inefficaciously appears, not only from the support given to the archbishop in Dublin, but from the numerous assemblies which attended his sermons at Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Clonmell.

Questions as to its extent.

Whether the two archbishops, of Cashel and Tuam, and the eight other southern bishops who attended at the last town, were themselves imprest with a conviction of the truth of the Archbishop of Dublin's preaching, as was the case with Tirrey, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Nangle, bishop of Clonfert: whether, on their return to their respective dioceses, they took measures, and with what success, for spreading the truth among their clergy and their people: whether they distributed the copies of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English, which had been committed to them for that purpose: and whether by such means, and in pursuance of the statute for the establishment of parochial schools, under the superintendence and direction of the clergy, any religious instruction was conveyed to the spiritual edification of the rising generation: we have, I apprehend, little opportunity of information. Nor are we informed, what was the issue of Archbishop Browne's intention of preaching the Gospel in the remote parts of the kingdom; and of employing the aid of a suffragan, capable of addressing the people in Irish, where the English language was not understood. In his own immediate charge he was undoubtedly assiduous: and together with his, are transmitted with honourable distinction, as advocates and promoters of the Reformation, the names of two bishops of his pro-

vince, Sanders of Leighlin, and Miagh of Kildare. In the province of Armagh, Staples, bishop of Meath, is the only known exception to the episcopal adherents to the Papacy, acting under the influence of the admonitions and example of the two successive primates, Cromer and Dowdall.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH . . 1547—1553.
GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1551.
GEORGE BROWNE, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1551—1553.

SECTION I.

Slow progress of Reformation in Ireland. Divided sentiments of the Clergy. Exercise of Ecclesiastical patronage. Order for introducing the English Liturgy. Viceroy convenes the Bishops and Clergy. Order resisted by Primate Dowdall: approved by Archbishop Browne: carried into effect in Dublin. Sir Anthony Saintleger recalled, and Sir James Crofts appointed Lord Deputy. Liturgy the first book printed in Dublin.

Reformation not much advanced in the first years of King Edward.

THE first years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth appear to have produced little effect in the religious improvement of the Church of Ireland. In fact we are at a loss for satisfactory documentary evidence on the subject, and must be content with what few particulars we can glean for our information. Thus in the LOFTUS MS., Marsh's Library, it is stated, that, "in the year 1549, the mass was put down, and divine service was performed in English." But more than this I do not find any account of such an alteration; and the occurrences, which will presently be noticed, appear hardly consistent with the statement.

Questionable statement concerning divine service.

No parliaments at this time in Ireland.

No parliament was called during this period; and no efforts are recorded to have been made, either by the English or the Irish government, notwithstanding the zeal and diligence with which the Reformation was promoted in England, and the effectual means employed there in its behalf. That England, the more powerful kingdom, and the seat of the imperial government, should take the lead in framing an ecclesiastical system, which should be the future rule of the two churches, was indeed natural and reasonable; and it was probably deemed the safest, the surest, and the wisest course, to make good the cause of the Reformation by the requisite provisions in that country, where it met with a ready compliance and support from the popular sentiment, before fresh experiments were tried in Ireland, where they were less likely to be acceptable either to the clergy or people.

Attachment of the bishops and clergy to Popery.

The majority, indeed, of the bishops, as well as of the inferior clergy, were decidedly attached to the Popish creed and practice, under the patronage of Primate Dowdall. To wean them from their prepossessions, and to use them as instruments for propagating the Reformed faith among their fellow-countrymen, would have been a most desirable consummation. But, much as it was to be desired, it was as little to be expected. For they were wrought on by a powerful influence, both at home and from abroad; and, although there may have been among them some men of learning and intellectual improvement, they may be thought to have been generally ignorant and illiterate; whilst of the fond superstition, to which some of them were devoted, a particular example[1] is related in a Bishop

[1] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 291.

of Derry, who died and was buried at the very period of which we are now speaking, in the habit of a Francisian friar, as a passport to heaven. Other examples of the same idle fancy are recorded of other bishops of the Irish Church, as occurring at no distant dates, by Sir James Ware; who, or rather his continuator Harris, remarks it to have been "according to the humour of those times, and to have been thought to be of much consequence[2]." 1550.

With respect to the less numerous class of prelates, who are known to have been favourable to the Reformation, from them exertions in its favour were to be expected, and may be presumed to have been made. But even as to the first and principal of these, the Archbishop of Dublin, although convincing evidence, in the course of the preceding reign, has been adduced, of his disposition to avail himself of every practicable opportunity for disseminating the truth of the Gospel, and for calling in other preachers to his aid, still his exertions must have been, for the most part, limited within his own sphere of ecclesiastical duty, his own diocese and province: whilst in the cases of the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and other suffragans, their sphere must have been still more reduced; so that, whatever may have been the effect of their efforts within their own respective charges, they can hardly have been capable of producing a general change in the religious sentiments of the kingdom, and great need existed for a supply of additional ministers anxious for the suppression of the Popish corruptions, and for the advancement of pure and undefiled religion. Limited powers of the Protestant bishops.

In the meantime, however, the royal authority was directed to this end in the exercise of ecclesias- Exercise of ecclesiastical patronage.

[2] See above, p. 97.

tical patronage; and the appointment to bishopricks, as they became vacant, gave proof of the actual superiority of the crown over the Papal pretensions, and was an earnest of more in future. Cox, indeed, has remarked, that "the Reformation made at this time small progress in Ireland, since the same year, 1550, produced bishops of each sort; for on the 10th of May, Arthur Macgenis was, by provision of the Pope, constituted Bishop of Dromore, and confirmed therein by the king; and Thomas Lancaster, a Protestant, was, on the 3rd day of September, made Bishop of Kildare[3]." But this appears to be incomplete as to the facts, and erroneous as to the inference.

Error of Cox corrected.

For, in the first place, however Macgenis may have been constituted Bishop of Dromore, he was "confirmed by the king," as Ware adds, "upon taking the oath of allegiance[4];" and it is to be moreover remarked, on the authority of the Rolls[5], that "on the 10th of May, 1550, he had a pardon granted to him, under the great seal, for having received the Pope's bull, and for other misdemeanours;" whereas Lancaster was consecrated to the bishoprick of Kildare by the absolute commission of the king. Secondly, at or soon after the same time, six other appointments are on record, as having been made by the king, and carried by his authority into effect: whereas I find no other example of a bishop about this time being appointed by a Papal provision. This is a more complete statement of facts. And thus we may perceive a proof of the progress of the Reformation, so far as relates to the maintenance and extension of the king's

[3] *History of Ireland*, i. 283. [4] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 264.
[5] Rolls, 6 Edw. VI.

supremacy, and to the exercise of it on behalf of men favourable to the improvement of the Church; for in the appointments to which I have just alluded, of seven bishops to vacant sees, by King Edward the Sixth, in 1550 and the two following years, namely, to Kildare, Leighlin, Limerick, Waterford and Lismore, Elphin, and Ossory, as well as to the archbishoprick of Armagh, five at least of the number, for instance, the Bishops Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, and Bale of Ossory, and finally Archbishop Goodacre, will hereafter fall under notice as friends and supporters of the Reformation.

Appointment of Protestant bishops.

In connexion, however, with these episcopal promotions, a case may be here mentioned, the explanation of which is not obvious. In March, 1551, the archbishoprick of Cashel was vacated by the death of Archbishop Butler, who had occupied the see twenty-three years. It was naturally to be expected that a successor would be at once appointed, as in other cases of vacancy; but, in fact, although King Edward survived till July, 1553, the place was not supplied till after his demise. Thus for an interval of more than two years, this archiepiscopal see continued without an occupant; and the Church and the kingdom lost that benefit in the cause of the Reformation, which might have ensued from the appointment of an advocate of that measure to one of the highest ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland. During the vacancy of the see, four of the prelates just mentioned, one of them a suffragan of Cashel, were appointed by the crown and consecrated. What was the cause of this omission? Could not there be found a person qualified and willing to undertake the charge?

Vacancy in the archbishoprick of Cashel not supplied.

Our knowledge of the non-appointment is derived from Ware; but he neither attempts to account for it, nor indeed makes any comment on the fact. The choice of a fit person to fill the see of Armagh, which was vacant about the same time, was, as we shall hereafter see, a matter of great difficulty.

Order for introducing the English liturgy into Ireland. 1551.

But in noticing these episcopal appointments, we are partly anticipating occurrences, which followed the important measure that now demands our attention. By authority of the late king, the Holy Scriptures had been translated into English, and copies placed in all the parish churches of that kingdom, for the general instruction of the people by means of their vernacular language. And, immediately after the accession of King Edward the Sixth, a form of Common Prayer in the same language had been undertaken and composed; ratified by Parliament and convocation the 15th of January, 1549; and thereupon brought into use in all the parish churches. The latter of those improvements was now, after a delay of two years, not perhaps very easy to be accounted for, proposed to be made in Ireland; and on the 6th of February, 1551, an order was addressed to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, for introducing the same liturgy into all the churches of Ireland[6].

Question whether the English Bible was introduced by King Henry the Eighth into Ireland.

This order seems to say, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures had been introduced by King Henry's authority into Ireland at a former period: for it recounts the evils which his subjects had sustained "in both his realms of England and Ireland," under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome; and it specifies, as a remedy for these evils, the transla-

[6] *Life of Archbishop Browne*, 13. Cox's *Hist.* i. 283.

tion of the Holy Scriptures, which the same king had "thought most fit and convenient to be placed in all parish churches within his dominions for his faithful subjects," in Ireland therefore, it is to be presumed, as well as in England. This presumption is further countenanced by the substance of the order: for whilst, on the one hand, it gives no directions concerning the procuring of copies of the Holy Scriptures, which, unless previously ordered, was to be expected on such an occasion; it does, on the other hand, direct the new Liturgy to be used in all the churches of Ireland; and as one of the provisions of the Liturgy is the reading of lessons from Holy Scripture, the direction seems to pre-suppose the existence of books whence to read them. It does not appear, however, from other documents, that any injunction or provision of this kind had been made in the former reign with respect to Ireland, nor any thing indeed beyond "the king's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Articles of Faith, and Ten Commandments in English[7]:" and such instructions concerning the Bible, as have fallen under my notice in this respect, speak of England only[8].

Statement that the English Liturgy was a translation.

Another expression is remarkable in this order, namely, that the king had "caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church to be translated" into English: an expression which imports, not the construction of a new Liturgy, but the translation of an old one; and which was probably introduced for the purpose of refraining, as much as possible, from doing violence to the prejudices and feelings of those for whose use the Liturgy was intended. Certainly

[7] Above, p. 151.

[8] Burnet's *Hist. Records*, vol. i. part ii. p. 377.

the assertion could not be in strictness made, that this Liturgy was a translation of "the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church" into the English language: for the Liturgy, as now put forth, had not existence in any other language; and though many of the prayers had previously existed, their retention much redounding to the credit of the Reformers in piety, sober-mindedness, and wisdom, yet in numerous instances they were purified and amended, they were accompanied with additional compositions, and wore a different form and structure as a whole. But advantage seems to have been taken of the identity, so far as it existed, in the hope of avoiding alarm or offence in the people of Ireland, and of conciliating their good will.

The order was as follows[9]:—

Copy of the order.

"Edward, by the grace of God, &c.

"Whereas our gracious father, King Henry the Eighth, of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in, how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations by their indulgences and pardons for gain, purposely to cherish all ill vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c.: He, our gracious father, King Henry, of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning: therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept the light of the Gospel from his people, he thought it most fit and convenient, for the preservation of their souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated

Recounts the vices occasioned by the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome.

Consequent dissolution of monasteries,

And translation of the Scriptures.

[9] Cox, i. 288.

printed, and placed in all parish-churches within his dominions, for his faithful subjects to increase their knowledge of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We therefore, for the general benefit of our well-beloved subjects' understandings, whenever assembled and met together in the said several parish churches, either to pray or hear prayers read, that they may the better join therein in unity, hearts and voice, have caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the church to be translated into our mother-tongue of this realm of England, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same for that purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Knight, our viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.

Translation of the Liturgy into English.

"Given at our manor of Greenwich, the 6th of February, in the fifth year of our reign.

"E. R.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Knight, our chief governor of our kingdom of Ireland."

The first step taken by the viceroy on receiving this order, and before he proceeded to notify it by a general proclamation, was to call together an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, and of the clergy of Ireland, on the 1st of March, 1551: and to acquaint them with his majesty's order, as also with the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had acceded to the order. And he thereupon told them, that "it was his majesty's will and pleasure, consenting unto their serious considerations and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed."

Assembly of the clergy.

March 1, 1551.

Opposition of Archbishop Dowdall.

To this communication of the Lord Deputy an answer was returned by the primate, Archbishop Dowdall, who promptly availed himself of the opportunity, the first which seems to have occurred, in a general meeting of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom, since his elevation, for oppugning the royal authority, and testifying his zeal for the Pope, and discrediting the proposed improvement in religious worship. He accordingly expressed himself in strong terms opposed to the provision caused by the king to be made, and now set forth by his authority: he contended against the Liturgy, that it might not be read or sung in the church: and he accompanied his opposition with the contemptuous reflection, substituting the word "mass" for "service," "Then shall every illiterate fellow read mass."

The order supported by the Lord Deputy.

The Primate's reflection was readily met by the Lord Deputy, who made a judicious and sufficient reply; briefly alleging where the charge of illiteracy properly rested, and propounding one incontrovertible argument in favour of a form of prayer in the vernacular tongue, as mutually intelligible both to the minister and to the people. "No," said he, "your grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priests will then understand what they pray for."

The Primate has recourse to menaces.

The primate seems to have felt the force of the appeal, for he did not attempt to refute it; but adopting a course which is no unusual substitute for argument with those who are sensible of the weakness of their cause, he had recourse to the language

of menace and intimidation, and bade the viceroy "beware of the clergy's curse." And indeed, in so doing, he was only following the instruction and example of his acknowledged lord and master, the Bishop of Rome, in his commission to his subjects in King Henry the Eighth's reign, and was adopting the usual practice of the papal authorities on similar occasions.

The Lord Deputy slights the menace.

The cautionary charge, however, was lost on the viceroy. "I fear no strange curse," said he, "so long as I have the blessing of that Church which I believe to be the true one."

Altercation concerning the Church of Rome.

"Can there be a truer Church," the archbishop thereupon demanded, "than the church of St. Peter, the mother Church of Rome?"

"I thought," returned the Lord Deputy, "we had all been of the Church of Christ: for he calls all true believers in him his Church, and himself the head thereof."

The archbishop again demanded, "And is not St. Peter's church the Church of Christ?"

To which the Lord Deputy calmly replied, "St. Peter was a member of Christ's Church; but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof."

The Primate and his party leave the assembly.

Thus ceased this very remarkable altercation. For the primate, indignant, as it should seem, at the counteraction offered to his resistance of the proposed measure, and to his zeal for the papal church, and the pretended successor of St. Peter, thereupon rose up and left the assembly, accompanied by several, perhaps all, of the bishops within his jurisdiction who were present, except the Bishop of Meath, who continued behind, together with the other clergy who remained.

Order received by Archbishop Browne.

The viceroy then took the order, and held it forth to the Archbishop of Dublin, who stood up, and received it with these words: "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king[10]."

Concurrence of other bishops.

Several of the more moderate bishops and clergy adhered to Archbishop Browne; among whom were Staples, bishop of Meath; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin; and Coyn, bishop of Limerick. If there were any other bishops, their names have not been recorded.

Bishop Staples.

Of these, Staples, who was an Englishman, and had been educated at Cambridge, and had afterwards become one of the canons of Cardinal Wolsey's new foundation in Oxford, was promoted to his bishoprick twenty years before, during the Pope's usurpation. But he appears to have been early instrumental and active in promoting the changes in religion; and had been placed in several offices of trust by King Henry, and latterly been called to the Privy Council, and made Judge of the Faculties, by the reigning sovereign[11]. The Bishops Lancaster and Travers had been recently promoted to their sees, namely, in 1550, both being married men[12]; and were probably selected for their respective stations from regard to their approval of the Reformation. Bishop Coyn had occupied his see near thirty years, having been promoted in 1522 by the Pope, in opposition to the

Bishops Lancaster and Travers.

Bishop Coyn.

[10] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 350. [11] *Ib.*, p. 152.
[12] *Ib.*, p. 390, 461.

king, who was earnest in his endeavour to place Walter Wellesley, a favourite of his own, in the vacant bishoprick[13], as before related. What may have been his opinion on the changes now in agitation does not appear; nor what other prelates took part with those who joined the Archbishop of Dublin in acceding to the king's order. Soon afterwards age and infirmity caused Bishop Coyn to resign his see, in which he was succeeded by William Casey, an advocate of the Reformation.

Order carried into effect. Easter day, 1551.

The result of this assembly was a proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy for carrying the order into effect, and the consequent celebration of divine worship according to the English Liturgy on Easter Day, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in the presence of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the mayor and bailiffs of the city, when the archbishop preached a sermon on the eighteenth verse of the 119th Psalm, "Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law."

Archbishop of Dublin's sermon.

In this sermon, which has been transmitted to us, with commendation not unmerited[14], he set forth the injuriousness of the Church of Rome in not permitting the use of the Holy Scriptures in any other tongue but the Latin; and the blindness, the folly, and the artifices of her image-worship. But the most memorable feature of it is that sort of prophetick spirit with which he describes the future emissaries of Rome, "false prophets, that shall deceive you with false doctrines, whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies; speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome; these shall be a rigid people, full of fury and envy." The conduct of those fana-

His anticipation of Romish emissaries in disguise;

[13] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 510. [14] Cox, i. 290.

ticks and hypocrites, who soon after attempted to subvert the Anglican church, will probably be here present to the reader's mind.

His description of the Jesuits;

And again: "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many; who are much after the scribes and pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathen, an heathenist; with atheists, an atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; and with the reformers, a reformade; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, *there was no God.*

of their influence,

These shall spread over the whole world; shall be admitted into the council of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God to justify his law

and their fall.

shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them, so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon the earth; and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit[15]."

Recall of Sir Anthony St. Leger.

In the whole of the foregoing transactions, the conduct of the Lord Deputy appears unexceptionable. Shortly afterwards, however, he was recalled: and his removal has been attributed to some repre-

[15] WARE'S *Life of Archbishop Browne.*

sentations made in his disfavour by the archbishop, though the precise cause or nature of the want of harmony between them has not been satisfactorily specified. Ware, in his *Annals*[16], says, "The archbishop accused him of treason; what the article alleged against him was, I cannot tell; but he was recalled, and, in all probability cleared himself; for in the reign of Queen Mary, he was again preferred to this government." It is the more recent statement of Cox, "Whether the Lord Deputy were not zealous in propagating the Reformation, or what other differences there were between him and the archbishop, I cannot find; but it is certain, the archbishop sent complaints against him into England, and thereupon he was recalled[17]."

Alleged difference between him and the archbishop.

Admitting the fact to have been as here stated, the solution may possibly be found in the earnestness with which the archbishop was desirous of carrying on the work of the Reformation, in accordance with the views now prevailing in England, with the king and his advisers; and a want of corresponding energy on the part of Sir Anthony St. Leger, in forwarding the same views; for, although he put in action the king's order, as we have seen, he may have been reluctant to proceed forward in urging it on the observance of those who were unwilling to obey it, such as the primate and the popish party. The fact of his being reinstated in his situation of viceroy by Queen Mary in the succeeding reign, when the archbishop was deprived of his see for his attachment to the Reformation, may give countenance to the surmise that Sir Anthony St. Leger was not altogether decided in his religious principles, or at least was not resolute in exercising his authority for the execution

Various accounts of the cause of his recall.

[16] P. 123. [17] Cox, i. 291.

of the king's order. It is remarkable, however, that soon after his re-appointment by Queen Mary, he was again displaced, in consequence, as was supposed, of a charge against him, that he had ridiculed the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation.

Probably not caused by any dissatisfaction.

But the cause of his being recalled at this time by King Edward may have been altogether misapprehended. For, without intimating any dissatisfaction as the cause of it, Strype simply says, "It was thought fit to send for home Sir Anthony St. Leger, the king's chief officer in Ireland; the king declaring by letters, that he intended to make use of him, and to employ him nearer home." And a little below he adds an extract from the king's Warrant Book, "A letter to Sir Anthony St. Leger, to repair home to the king's presence; and that before his departure, he see Sir James Crofts placed there. . . . Four-and-twenty letters were also sent, all of one effect, declaring that, for divers considerations, the king minded to occupy Sir Anthony St. Leger about certain his necessary businesses here at home. Therefore presently sendeth, to supply the office of deputy there, Sir James Crofts, as by his letters patent to them shall more plainly appear[18]."

Appointment of Sir James Crofts. April, 1551.

However this may have been, Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, was appointed to the government of Ireland by letters patent, the 29th of April, 1551; and soon afterwards arrived, bringing with him instructions for himself and the council, amongst which those that relate to ecclesiastical affairs are the following: "1. To propagate the worship of God in the English tongue; and the service to be translated into Irish in those places which need it. 2. To prevent the sale of

[18] *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, vol. ii., b. ii., c. 3, p. 264.

bells, church goods, chantry lands, &c., and to inventory them[19]."

The latter of these instructions was intended to check official or private peculation, which, under the semblance of promoting the Reformation, or under shelter of the confusion that attended it, had been directed against objects of superstition, and withal against other things, perfectly inoffensive and unobjectionable; and that in the way of plunder, and for the personal emolument of the perpetrators. An example of the sort of enormity here intended, is supposed to have occurred about this time, when the English garrison of Athlone, or more probably some lawless spoilers from a distance, pillaged the celebrated abbey and church of Clonmacnoise, to a most scandalous extent; so that, "as the *Annals of Dunnagall*," quoted by Ware, relate, "they took away the bells, destroyed the images and altars, not sparing the church books nor the window-glass." This outrage, however, did not take place until the following year; and it was, in all probability, less against such acts of lawless and barbarous violence, than against the abuse or pretence of official authority that this instruction was directed.

Instruction concerning the sale of Church property.

The former of the two instructions was in furtherance of the king's order promulgated by Sir Anthony St. Leger; charging the new vice-regal government with the duty of carrying into effect that order for the introduction of the English liturgy into the churches of Ireland; but at the same time applying the principle of the order, in a modified form, to cases in which it could not be strictly employed as originally propounded. For the principle that both the minister and the people should

Instruction concerning the worship of God in English.

[19] Cox, i. 290.

Direction for an Irish translation of the liturgy.

understand the prayers in which they mutually joined, required no less that the liturgy should be used in the Irish language, in parish churches where the Irish only was understood, than it did that in parish churches, where the English was the vernacular language, it should be used in English. And, however the time may have been hoped to arrive, when the English tongue should have become the common language of the people of both realms, it was for the present a wise ordinance, that divine service, according to the authorized form of prayer, should be provided for in the native Irish tongue in places where the circumstances of the case made it needful. Such an ordinance was, indeed, necessary for the advancement of the Reformation, and the spiritual improvement of the people, in those parts of the kingdom where the English language was not known; nor could those parts have profited by the recent introduction and increased propagation of the liturgy, if the celebration of it had been restricted to that language. It would have been well, had this purpose been as promptly and vigorously executed as it was happily and prudently projected. The short duration of the reign of King Edward probably prevented its execution. Meanwhile this instruction may serve, in some degree, as an answer to the remark of Bishop Burnet; who having stated, under this date, that "the Reformation made but a small progress in that kingdom," adds, "it was received among the English, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the Irish[20]."

Book of Common Prayer, first book printed in Dublin. 1551.

The arrival of the new viceroy in Dublin coincided with an occurrence of great interest to the man of letters and the typographer, as well as to the

[20] *Hist. of the Reformation*, part II. b. i. p. 379.

churchman: namely, the appearance of the first book printed in Dublin, being an edition of the recently established liturgy. The title-page of the volume describes it as *The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England. Dublinicæ, in officina Humfredi Poweli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Domini,* M.D.LI. It professes to be "printed at the commandment of the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight of the Order, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Council of the same." At the end of the volume is a prayer for the Lord Deputy, mentioning by name "Sir James Croft, now governour over this realm, under our most dread and sovereign Lord, Edward the Sixth." A handsome copy of this book is preserved in its fittest repository, the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and it is doubted by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, the learned under-librarian, and one of the junior fellows of the college, whether there be another in existence.

Section II.

Correspondence between the Lord Deputy and the Primate. Conference between them. Primacy taken from Archbishop Dowdall, and conferred on Archbishop Browne. Withdrawal of Archbishop Dowdall from the kingdom. Appointment of Goodacre to the Archbishoprick of Armagh, and of Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory. Circumstances of their consecration. State of religious instruction. Activity of Bishop Bale. Death of Archbishop Goodacre. Death of King Edward VI. State of the Church.

The Lord Deputy seeks a conference with Archbishop Dowdall.

The new viceroy, Sir James Crofts, has the character of having been "a zealous Protestant[1];" and agree-

[1] Cox, i. 291.

ably to that character, as well as in dutiful discharge of the trust reposed in him by his sovereign, he lost no time on his arrival in endeavouring to persuade the primate into submission to the king's order concerning the liturgy. Having, therefore, been sworn
1551. into office on the 23rd of May, he wrote an earnest letter to Archbishop Dowdall, on the 16th of June, inviting him to a conference with the other prelates; and sending his letter, in testimony of respect, by the principal of the primate's suffragans, Staples, bishop of Meath. This letter, and the primate's answer follow, copies of them being preserved among the HARRIS MSS., in the Royal Dublin Society's Library, vol. iv. p. 472.

Letter from Lord Deputy to the Primate.

Sir James Crofts, lord deputy, to George Dowdall, bishop of Armagh:—

"Reverend Sir,

"We understand you are a reverend father of the Church, and do know full well that you are not ignorant of the obedience due unto kings and princes; for the chief of bishops, namely, Christ, the bishop of our souls, shewed you the way by his tribute given unto Cæsar, the same being formerly confessed and acknowledged to be so due by the bishops of Rome themselves; therefore if your Lordship will appoint a place where I may conveniently have the happiness of appeasing wrath between the fathers of the Church and your grace, I shall think my labour well spent to make a brotherly love therein, as I profess myself to be a Christian. Yet as I am employed under my most gracious sovereign lord, within this his majesty's realm, I needed not have sought this request; but fearing we shall have an order ere long to alter church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which I would prevent if possible, therefore out of my hearty affections unto your paternal gravity and dignity, I have written by the chief of the bishops under your jurisdiction, (viz.) the Bishop of Meath, by whom we entreat your grace's answer. From his

majesty's castle of Dublin, June 6th, 1552." (Apparently a mistake in the MS. for June 16th, 1551.)

(*Signed.*) "James Crofts."

(*Superscribed*).

"To the Reverend Father in God, George, archbishop of Armagh, at St. Mary's Abbey, by Dublin."

The Archbishop of Armagh's answer to the Lord Deputy.

"Right Honourable,

"Your kind and hearty overtures came unto me unexpected. I fear it is in vain for me to converse with an obstinate number of churchmen, and in vain for your lordship to suppose the difference between us can be so soon appeased, as our judgments, opinions, and consciences are different; yet do accept of your honour's friendly proffers. I shall rejoice to see your lordship, and would have waited on you in person: but having withdrawn myself for a long space during your predecessor's government, and for a while since, it is not so meet for me to appear at your lordship's palace. This, I hope, is a sufficient reason from

Primate's answer to the Lord Deputy.

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"George Armachanus."

"To the Right Honourable Sir James Crofts, Knight, his Majesty's Viceroy of Ireland[2]."

In pursuance of this negotiation, the proposed conference took place the following day, in the great hall of St. Mary's Abbey, where the primate had for some time resided in a state of dignified or sullen seclusion, and where the Lord Deputy condescended to his humour, and attended him, accompanied by the Bishop of Meath, and Lancaster, bishop of Kildare. In the debate which ensued, the particulars of which are extant in a manuscript of the British Museum[3], the principal interlocutors were the Pri-

Conference of the Lord Deputy and Bishop of Meath, with the primate.

[2] Harris's MSS., Royal Dublin Society, vol. iv. p. 472.

[3] *Tract. Variantes Hibernicas Spectantes.* Cod. Clarendon. xx.

Their respectful demeanour towards him.

mate and the Bishop of Meath, and occasionally the Lord Deputy. And although neither party gave way to the sentiments of his opponent, and no profitable result accrued from the discussion, it is gratifying to notice the viceroy's demeanour of respectful courteousness towards the dignified ecclesiastick, whose opinions he disapproved; and how the suffragan bishop, whilst he frankly controverted and effectually repelled the positions of his metropolitan, accosted him with the most becoming inoffensiveness, temperance, and reverence of language and of manner.

The conference was opened by this question from the archbishop:

"My lord, why is your honour so for my compliance with these clergymen, who are fallen from the mother Church?"

Lord Deputy. "Because, reverend father, I would fain unite you and them, if possible."

Objection to the substitution of the liturgy for the mass.

Archbishop. "How can that be expected, when you have demolished the mass, to bring in another service of England's making?"

Lord Deputy. "Most reverend father, I make no doubt but here be those, who will answer your grace, which behoofs them best to answer in this case, as it belongs to their function."

Bishop of Meath. "My lord says well, as your grace was talking of the mass, and of the antiquities of it."

Archbishop. "Is it not ancienter than the liturgy, now established without the consent of the mother Church?"

Vindication of the liturgy.

Bishop of Meath. "No, may it please your grace: for the liturgy, established by our gracious King Edward and his English clergy, is but the mass reformed and cleansed from idolatry."

Archbishop. "We shall fly too high, we suppose, if we continue in this strain. I could wish you would hearken unto reason, and so be united."

Bishop of Meath. "That is my prayer, reverend sir, if you will come to it."

Archbishop. "The way then to be in unity is not to alter the mass." The mass unaltered the only way to unity.

Bishop of Meath. "There is no Church, upon the face of the whole earth, hath altered the mass more oftener than the Church of Rome: which hath been the reason, that causeth the rationaller sort of men to desire the liturgy to be established in a known tongue, that they may know what additions have been added, and what they pray for."

Archbishop. "Was not the mass from the Apostles' days? how can it be proved, that the Church of Rome hath altered it?"

Bishop of Meath. "It is easily proved by our records of England. For Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, in the fourth century after Christ, gave the first introit of the mass, which the clergy was to use for preparation; even the psalm, '*Judica me Deus*, &c.;' Rome not owning the word mass till then." Frequent alterations in the mass.

Archbishop. "Yes, long before that time: for there was a mass called St. Ambrose's mass."

Bishop of Meath. "St. Ambrose was before Cœlestinus: but the two prayers, which the Church of Rome had foisted and added unto St. Ambrose's works, are not in his general works: which hath caused a wise and a learned man lately to write, that those two prayers were forged, and not to be really St. Ambrose's." A forgery added to St. Ambrose's works.

Archbishop. "What writer dares write, or doth say so?"

Bishop of Meath. "Erasmus, a man who may well be compared to either of us, or the standers by. Nay, my lord, no disparagement if I say so to yourself: for he was a wise and a judicious man, otherwise I would not have been so bold, as to parallel your lordship with him." Authority of Erasmus;

Lord Deputy. "As for Erasmus's parts, would I were such another: for his parts may parallel him a companion for a prince."

Archbishop. "Pray, my lord, do not hinder our discourse; for I have a question or two to ask Mr. Staples."

Lord Deputy. "By all means, reverend father, proceed."

Archbishop. "Is Erasmus's writings more powerful than the precepts of the mother Church?"

Compared with that of the Church of Rome.

Bishop of Meath. "Not more than the holy Catholick one, yet more than the Church of Rome, as that Church hath run into several errors since St. Ambrose's days."

Archbishop. "How hath the Church erred since St. Ambrose's days? Take heed lest you be not excommunicated."

Church of Rome errs in praying to the Blessed Virgin as to a goddess;

Bishop of Meath. "I have excommunicated myself already from thence. Therefore with Erasmus I shall aver, that the prayers in St. Ambrose's mass, especially that to the Blessed Virgin Mary, appears not to be in his ancient works: for he had more of the truth and of God's Spirit in him, than our latter bishops of Rome ever had, as to pray to the Blessed Virgin, as if she had been a goddess."

Archbishop. "Was she not called 'blessed;' and did she not prophesy of herself, when she was to bear our Saviour Jesus Christ, that she would be called by all men 'blessed?'"

Not exclusively called "Blessed."

Bishop of Meath. "Yes, she did so. But others be called 'blessed,' even by Christ himself. In his first sermon, made by him in the mount, 'blessed,' saith he, 'be the meek, be the merciful, be the pure of heart: blessed be those persecuted for righteousness' sake, and those that hunger and thirst after the same:' and he blessed the low-minded sort, of which few or none of the Bishops of Rome can be said to be called since Constantine's reign. Christ also to all those, who shall partake of his heavenly kingdom, will likewise say unto them, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, &c.'"

Archbishop. "Why, pray, is it not probable, that St. Ambrose desired the Blessed Virgin's mediation for him, as she is the mother of Christ? Are not children commanded by God's commandments to reverence and obey their parents? therefore, as he is a man, why may he not be subject?"

Christ the only mediator.

Bishop of Meath. "St. Ambrose knew better, that he ought to apply to Jesus, the sole and only mediator between him and God; and that, as Christ is man, he is the mediator. If the Blessed Virgin, therefore, can command her

son in heaven to mediate, then St. Ambrose would have made her a goddess, or a coadjutor with God, who is himself omnipotent. And lastly, if we make her a mediator as well as Christ, we do not only suspect Christ's insufficiency, but mistrust God's ordinances, thinking ourselves not sure by his promises to us and our forefathers, that Christ should be our mediator."

Archbishop to the Lord Deputy. "My lord, I signified to your honour, that all was in vain, when two parties should meet of a contrary opinion; and that your lordship's pains therein would be lost, for which I am heartily sorry."

Lord Deputy. "The sorrow is mine, that your grace cannot be convinced."

Oath of Popish bishops at consecration

Archbishop. "Did your lordship but know the oaths we bishops do take at our consecrations, signed under our hands, you would not blame my steadfastness. This oath, Mr. Staples, you took with others, before you were permitted to be consecrated. Consider hereon yourself, and blame not me for persisting as I do."

Bishop of Meath. "My Lord Deputy, I am not ashamed to declare the oath, and to confess my error in so swearing thereunto. Yet I hold it safer for my conscience to break the same, than to observe the same. For when your lordship sees the copy thereof, and seriously considers, you will say it is hard for that clergyman, so swearing, to be a true subject to his king if he observe the same: for that was the oath, which our gracious king's royal father caused to be demolished, for to set up another, now called the oath of supremacy, to make the clergy the surer to his royal person, his heirs, and successors."

Abolished by oath of supremacy.

"Then," as the manuscript narrative concludes the account, "the Lord Deputy rose and took leave; so likewise did the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, who waited on his lordship."

Archbishop Dowdall deprived of the primacy;

A contest for precedence had for some centuries been agitated between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each claiming it in right of his see: but latterly it had been enjoyed with little or no opposi-

tion by the Archbishop of Armagh, who was distinguished by the title of Primate of all Ireland, from the Archbishop of Dublin, who styled himself only Primate of Ireland, after the manner used for distinguishing in the like respect the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in England. But in consequence of the parts respectively taken by the two archbishops on the recent occasion; in testimony of disapprobation of the obstinate opposition made by Archbishop Dowdall to the Reformation, and specially to the introduction of the liturgy; and in acknowledgment of the zeal, resolution, and extraordinary services of Archbishop Browne; by an act of the 20th of October, 1551, the king and council of England deprived the former of the primacy of all Ireland, and by letters patent conferred the title on the latter and his successors, and annexed it to the see of Dublin for ever: a transfer of dignity, which seems to explain an ambiguous expression in the Lord Deputy's letter, where he represents himself as "fearing they should have an order ere long to alter Church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which," he adds, "I would prevent if possible." What occurred further on this question in the succeeding reigns, until it was finally settled by decree of King Charles the First, may be noticed on the fitting occasions.

Which was conferred on Archbishop Browne. Oct. 1551.

Withdrawal of Archbishop Dowdall from the kingdom;

At present it remains to be related, that Archbishop Dowdall, being deprived of the primacy, withdrew beyond the seas: or, as stated by the Loftus MS. *Collection of Annals relating to Ireland*, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, that he "fled the realm[4]." "I do not find," says Harris[5], "that he was stripped of his

[4] 3. 2. 7. Year 1553. Ware's *Bishops*, p. 317.
[5] P. 157.

bishoprick: but his high stomach could not digest this affront. He went into voluntary banishment, and lived an exile for a time in foreign parts, during the remainder of the reign of King Edward the Sixth." This banishment of his is alluded to by him in his epitaph, where he attributes it to the banishment of the holy faith:

> *Exul sacra fides patriæ me finibus egit.*
> The sacred faith exiled me from my country drove.

Differently represented, as a punishment.

The self-imposed banishment of the archbishop, being a withdrawal of himself from his official station, and a dereliction of his official duties, seems to have been regarded by the government as a virtual resignation of his office. Or, on the hypothesis, noticed by Sir James Ware's son, in his *Life of Archbishop Browne*, that Dowdall was really banished, a removal from his station by the king may have formed part of his punishment, according to what, in the opinion of the last cited writer, "was then held lawful;" and according to the power, which the late King Henry the Eighth professed to belong to him, and threatened to exercise against the then Archbishop of Dublin, who had incurred his displeasure. In either case the archbishoprick of Armagh was considered vacant; and measures were accordingly taken for providing a successor.

Care taken in the appointment of a successor to the archbishoprick.

It was thought convenient that this place, as well as the vacant bishoprick of Ossory, recently made so by the death of its former occupant, should be filled by divines from England, for the purpose, no doubt, of supplying them with known advocates of the Reformation. And with this view, Archbishop Cranmer was consulted, that so, "by the influence of very wise and learned men, and good

[6] P. 157.

preachers, the Gospel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But because," says Strype, "it was foreseen to be difficult to procure any Englishmen, so endowed, to go over thither, therefore Secretary Cecil, being then with the king in his progress, sent a letter to the archbishop, to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four, and said, 'he knew many others in England, that would be meet persons for those places, but very few that would be gladly persuaded to go thither:' for it seems the English were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added, concerning those four which he had named, 'that he thought they, being ordinarily called, for conscience sake would not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto them, wheresoever it should please the king's majesty to bestow them.' He recommended, likewise, a fifth person for this promotion, a wise and well-learned man; but he doubted whether he would be persuaded to take it upon him."

Four persons named by Archbishop Cranmer.

Of these four, the archbishop judged Whitehead the fittest for the archbishoprick of Armagh, giving him this character, "that he was endued with good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politick wisdom." And of his fitness and high character, as well as of Cranmer's anxiety to supply the Irish archbishoprick with a worthy occupant, a proof is added by the fact, which is stated by Dr. Wordsworth to have been related afterwards: namely, that, "on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Whitehead was solicited to accept the see of Canterbury, but refused[7]." Next to Whitehead in fitness,

His preference of Whitehead.

[7] *Ecclesiastical Biography*, i. 112, note.

Cranmer judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation, "That he was merry and witty withal, Nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum: and in the lively preaching of him and his word, declared such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation."

Turner, selected by the king, refused.

The king concluded upon Turner. But he, on the preferment being proposed to him, and pressed upon him, by the archbishop, showed the utmost repugnance to accept it. And the objections which he made, and the arguments with which they were met, as related by the above-named ecclesiastical historian, are worthy of being here reported, as showing the impressions at that time made on English minds by the supposed condition of Ireland.

Sentiments of the English concerning Ireland.

"He urged to the archbishop, that, if he went thither, he should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls: for the people understood no English." The archbishop, on the other hand, endeavoured to answer all his objections, though evidently himself very imperfectly informed on the subject. He told him, "They did understand English in Ireland; though, whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he advised him to learn the Irish tongue: which with diligence, he told him, he might do in a year or two; and that there would this advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doctrine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland."

Appointment of Goodacre.

Turner, however, was resolute in his refusal. And in the end the charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the fifth person named by the archbishop, and represented as "a wise and well-learned man," but

of whom Cranmer doubted "whether he would be persuaded to undertake the charge." He had been vicar of Shadfleet in the Isle of Wight, and chaplain to Bishop Poynet, of Winchester. Strype supposes him to have been at first chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth: at least he had been long known to her. And about the year 1548, or 1549, she had procured for him a licence to preach from the Protector, to whom she bore this testimony in his favour:

Character of him by the Lady Elizabeth.

"That he had been long time known unto her, to be as well of honest conversation and sober living, as of sufficient learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the Word of God. The advancement whereof she so desired, that she wished there were many such to set forth God's glory. She therefore desired Cecil, who was in attendance upon the Protector, and to whom she wrote, that as heretofore at her request he had obtained licence to preach for divers other honest men, so he would recommend this man's case unto my lord, and therewith procure for him the like licence, as to the other had been granted."

Appointment of Bale to Ossory.

Whilst Goodacre was thus appointed to the archbishoprick of Armagh, Bale was fixed on for the bishoprick of Ossory, by the special selection and designation of the king himself. And that they might find the better countenance and authority in the exercise of their functions, the privy council wrote two letters to the Lord Deputy and council of Ireland: the one dated October 27, in commendation of the bishop elect of Ossory; and the other dated November 4, in commendation of the bishop elect of Armachan[8].

Letters commendatory from the council of England.

[8] STRYPE'S *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 392—401. Oxford, 1812.

Soon after his arrival in Ireland, the archbishop elect was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 2nd of February, 1553, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare, and of Down and Connor. And together with him was consecrated his friend and brother chaplain, the celebrated John Bale.

Consecration of Archbishop Goodacre, Feb. 2, 1553;

Bale, a native of Suffolk, had been educated, first in the Carmelites' convent at Norwich, and afterwards at Jesus' College, Cambridge; at which time, according to his own confession, "ignorance and blindness had wholly possessed him;" till by the instrumentality, not of a monk or a priest, but of a temporal lord, the Lord Wentworth, he betook himself to the source of all true knowledge, the written word of God; and thus was converted from the error of his ways, and shook off the yoke of his former superstitious profession, and, as he expresses it, "to throw off all marks of the beast, and according to the divine precept," (1 Cor. vii. 9,) he married a faithful wife, who proved his inseparable companion and co-partner in all his following troubles and exilements.

And Bishop Bale.

His account of his former life.

He had been thrown into prison, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, first by Lee, archbishop of York, and afterwards by Stokesly, bishop of London, for preaching against the Romish religion: especially the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images. In one of his books, speaking concerning the practisers of these Popish superstitions, he added, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times, I have been one of them myself." Thus his own experience qualified him to bear testimony to the true character of these enormities: nor less to the unchaste, licentious, and shameful practices, used

Incidents of his early life.

too commonly in the monastick life, into one order of which he had been initiated. When imprisoned for this testimony, he escaped from his persecutors, by supplicating the protection of the Lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general. But, on Cromwell's death, he had thought it not safe for him to abide longer in the country, and had withdrawn himself into Lower Germany, where he lived eight years, avoiding the persecution which arose in the latter part of King Henry's reign on account of the Six Articles. Thence, on the succession of King Edward, he returned to England: and having resided for some time in the family of Poynet, bishop of Winchester, whose chaplain he was, and then at his parsonage of Bishop's Stoke, near Southampton, he was shortly after promoted, on the king's own motion, and without the solicitation of any other person, to the bishoprick of Ossory, whither he proceeded immediately, freely at the king's own charge, and now received consecration.

Circumstances of his consecration.

His consecration was not effected without opposition from the popishly-inclined clergy[9]: and it was attended by some circumstances, which whilst they exemplify the determined character of Bale, give some information as to certain practices then existing in the Church of Ireland. It should seem that the consecration of the Irish bishops had hitherto been solemnised according to the Pontifical and unreformed rites, for the First Book of Common Prayer, there used by the king's order, contained no form of ordination or consecration. But in England, in the year 1552, a new form of ordination had been introduced, constructed on the principles of Scripture and primitive antiquity, and stripped of all

Use of the English form.

[9] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 415.

those superadded ceremonies, which in later times had been introduced with a view of giving more pomp to the celebration. This form, which was the only one now used in England, had been annexed to the Act of Parliament, which authorized the Second Book of Common Prayer of King Edward the Sixth[10]: it had not, however, been brought into action in Ireland by the laws of the kingdom, nor was it authorised there by Act of Parliament until the second year of Queen Elizabeth: nor does it appear that any order from the king had been sent to Ireland for the use of his Second Book, to which this ordinal was annexed. It is said that, at the instance of Lockwood, dean of Christ's Church, the Archbishop of Dublin intended to use the old Pontifical on this occasion; that the Lord Chancellor, a Protestant, concurred; and that Goodacre was easily persuaded to it: Bishop Burnet adds, "the two others, Irishmen, who were now to be consecrated;" but this is a mistake, for there were no others besides Goodacre and Bale: possibly he means the two assistant bishops: and on the proposal being made to use the English form, the dean very earnestly protested against its use, alleging, "that it would be an occasion of tumult, as well as that it wanted authority by the Irish laws." But a contrary sentiment was maintained by others, especially by the Bishop-elect of Ossory, who contended, that "if England and Ireland be under one king, they are both bound to the obedience of one law under him," and who absolutely refused to be consecrated by the old Pontifical. In the end he was supported by the Lord Chancellor, who was also one of the Lords Justices, and the archbishop consented to

Different opinions about it.

[10] Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 321.

solemnize the consecration by the English form, which he had at first declined, apparently because it did not stand upon the same footing of the king's order as the Liturgy which he had received: and so the consecration was celebrated, "there being no tumult among the people, and every man, saving the priests, being well contented [11]."

Question concerning the ministration of the Holy Communion.

Another alteration was made on the same occasion in one of the rites of the church, in consequence of the resistance of the new bishop, who refuted all opposition, by declaring that they might "set their hearts at rest, for he came to the church of Ossory to execute nothing, but according to the rules of the Book of Common Prayer." The holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper being about to be administered, "he refused to communicate in the wafer or printed bread, but caused a white manchet to be set on the altar [12]." In explanation of this statement, it will be convenient for the reader to be apprised of an article of the Rubrick, appended to "the ministration of the Holy Communion," in the Liturgy, which, as we have seen, the king had ordered to be observed in all the churches of Ireland. "For avoiding of all matters and occasions of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was before, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces; and every one shall be divided into two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed."

[11] *Vocacyon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, in *Harleian Misc.* vol. vi. BURNET'S *Hist. of Reform.*, part. ii. b. i. 379.

[12] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 417.

The distinction here mentioned is precisely that which Bale intended, between "the wafer or printed bread," and "the white manchet," or small loaf, "bread without all manner of print," which another Rubrick of the same liturgy also directed to be "set forth upon the altar." King Edward's second book is less particular; but says, "it shall suffice that the bread is such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat-bread that conveniently may be gotten." Both directions, however, were introduced for the purpose of laying down a rule, which should distinguish the reformed from the Popish mode of ministering the Holy Communion. And it is difficult to understand, how the consecrating Archbishop of Dublin, any more than the Bishop-elect of Ossory, can have been consenting to the use of the Popish mode.

Bale's conduct agreeable to the Rubrick in the Liturgy.

I am not aware that we possess means of much information as to the manner in which individual bishops and other clergymen exerted themselves in promoting the truths of the Reformation, or in which their exertions were received and turned to account by those for whose instruction they were made. If zeal and diligence existed in the instructors, their language for the most part did not qualify them for conveying instruction to the popular mind. And indeed it is to be feared, that there was a very meagre supply of such instruction as the circumstances of the country made peculiarly requisite.

Defects in giving popular instruction in religion.

This is stated in a letter of the 8th of May, 1552, from Thomas Cusacke, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to the Duke of Northumberland; wherein he delivers his opinion, "that the poor and simple people be as soon brought to good order as to evil,

Letter from the Lord Chancellor to the Duke of Northumberland. May, 1552.

if they were taught accordingly; for hard it is for such men to know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching through all the year, to edify the poor ignorant to know his duty. So as, if these poor people were taught to know their duties, and brought up as other subjects be, it is like that they would be good subjects, whereas now they show theirselves obedient through honest exhortation, and most part for fear." And he afterwards says, that "preachers should be appointed amongst them, to tell them their duties towards God and their king, that they may know what they ought to do. And as for preaching," he again complains, "we have none, which is our lack: without which the ignorant can have no knowledge, and which were very needful to be redressed[13]."

Bishop Bale's activity in support of the Reformation.

In the case, however, of the new Bishop of Ossory, so far at least as his ignorance of the Irish language did not incapacitate him, that energy which was to be expected from a man of his ardent temperament, of his zeal, assiduity, activity, and devotion to the reformed faith, in opposition to the Romish errors, and which he had already long and repeatedly manifested, was put forth in its full force, and not without effect, on his transplantation to the Church of Ireland. For immediately after his consecration, he betook himself to Kilkenny, the place of his cathedral church, and his episcopal residence; and engaged in preaching the Gospel, in which practice he constantly persevered, notwithstanding the opposition and contradiction which assailed him from the greater part of his prebendaries, and from the advocates of the Papacy in general.

[13] MSS. T. C. D. F. 3, 16, p. 70.

The principles, indeed, and practices of the Reformation appear to have taken very faint hold of the minds of the people at this period: and, even where the provisions of the English liturgy were avowedly adopted, they were corrupted by an intermixture of Romish superstitions. The holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was "used like a Popish mass, with the old apish toys of anti-Christ, in bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings; the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached, nor yet spoken of." On his arrival from England at Waterford, Bale had been forcibly impressed by the appearance of these remnants of the old idolatry, as well as by the "prodigious howlings and patterings" with which they wailed over the dead, as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these "sorrowful sorceries." His appearance soon afterwards in Dublin, and that of his friend and former associate the Archbishop of Armagh elect, are stated by him to have been cordially welcomed in the metropolis: where "much of the people," he observes, "did greatly rejoice of our coming thither, thinking by our preachings the Pope's superstitions would diminish, and the true Christian religion increase[14]."

Principles of the Reformation mixed with Popish corruptions.

Remnants of Popery in Divine service.

Thus instigated on the one hand by horror of the enormities which he had witnessed, and cheered on the other by the friends of the reformed doctrines, Bishop Bale, immediately after his consecration, went forward to his charge.

Subjects of Bale's preaching.

"My first proceedings," he says, "in that doing

[14] Bale's *Vocacyon*, printed in the *Harleian Miscellanies*, vol. vi. pp. 411, 412.

were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation: to acknowledge and believe, that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship: to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church; and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number.

Not aided by his clergy.

Opposed by the Popish priests.

"I preached the Gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God: I maintained the political order by doctrine, and moved the Commons always to obey their magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests: for that I had said among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added that their office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chaunting, piping, and singing."

His animadversions on their licentiousness;

Together with the foregoing cause of displeasure which he gave the priests, was connected the freedom wherewith he animadverted on the licentiousness of their lives. "Much were the priests offended also, for that I had in my preachings willed them to

have wives of their own, and to leave the unshamefaced occupying of other men's wives, daughters, and servants. But hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious men among them: 'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our livings?' . . . . Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage; neither yet cause them to leave that filthy and abominable occupying, what though I most earnestly laboured it."

His admonitions on the English liturgy.

The English liturgy was another subject of the bishop's earnest admonitions, and another cause of scandal to the clergy. "Another thing was there, that much had displeased the prebendaries and other priests. I had earnestly, ever since my first coming, required them to observe and follow that only Book of Common Prayer, which the king and his council had that year put forth by Act of Parliament. But that would they at no hand obey; alleging, for their vain and idle excuse, the lewd example of the Archbishop of Dublin, which was always slack in things pertaining to God's glory: alleging also, the want of books, and that their own justices and lawyers had not consented thereunto: as though it had been lawful for their justices to have denied the same, or as though they had rather have hanged upon them, than upon the king's authority, and commandment of his council[15]."

Obstacles to the reception of the English liturgy of 5 and 6 Edward VI., not unreasonable.

These allegations, however, had more in their favour than the bishop was willing to allow: for the clergy might have reasonably and properly had regard to the example of their metropolitan, and to the authority of the government of the country,

[15] Bale's *Vocacyon*, as above, pp. 413, 414.

which was now administered by the Lord Chancellor Cusack, and Aylmer, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, who had been appointed Lords Justices of the kingdom in the preceding December. As to "the lewd example," meaning, I suppose, the foolish or ignorant example, "of the Archbishop of Dublin," the case appears to have been this: he had received the First Book of King Edward, in obedience to the king's order, through the Irish government, but he had not received the king's Second Book, lately authorised by the English parliament, but hitherto, so far as is recorded, not ordered to be received in Ireland. Had the order been given, the same motives now, as before, would doubtless have secured the archbishop's obedience. But with respect to the writer of the foregoing accusation, it may be remarked, that with an uncommon warmth of temperament, he allowed himself in the use of an unbecoming coarseness, and even grossness of expression, in speaking of those who had incurred his displeasure. And that his displeasure had been incurred in no slight degree by Archbishop Browne, is evident from this and other passages in this treatise, where his character is censured in no measured terms, but without a statement of reasons sufficient to justify the charges.

Bale's continued diligence.

But however these things may have been, the Bishop of Ossory was diligent in discharging his pastoral duties, preaching continually in his cathedral of Kilkenny till after Midsummer, though not without much opposition. Still the period during which he presided over his diocese, "quietly preaching Christ and salvation by him alone to his people, and labouring to withdraw them from popish superstitions," seems to have been a season of satisfaction to him-

self, and of profit to his flock. And he speaks with complacency of that "half-hour's silence," as he styles it, alluding to St. John's expression in the Revelation, chap. viii., 1, "and those few years of rest that God's people here enjoyed under that blessed servant of Christ, King Edward."

Death of the king and of Archbishop Goodacre. 1553.

But the period was short. For he had scarcely occupied his seat six months, when the king died, and Queen Mary ascended the regal throne. The Archbishop of Armagh, Goodacre, who had been consecrated with Bishop Bale in February, had died in the following May, a few weeks before the king's demise; "that godly preacher, and virtuous learned man," as he is characterised by Bale in his *Vocacyon;* who alleges that he was "poisoned at Dublin by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices." The account, which conveyed to him this intelligence, warned him also that a similar plot was laid against his own life. It ought, however, in justice to be stated that no evidence is given of the allegation; and that Sir James Ware, in his brief sketch of the archbishop's life, does not adopt the charge, but merely records his death, without attempting to assign the cause; wherein he is followed by Mr. Stuart, the historian of the city of Armagh. Bale also relates, what he probably could do with greater certainty, that the archbishop left behind him many writings of great value; if, however, any of them were published, their publication had escaped the researches of the industrious ecclesiastical antiquary, Strype[16]; nor is his name included in Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's history of English writers who flourished in Ireland, where may be

Alleged cause of Archbishop Goodacre's death.

[16] *Memorials of Abp. Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 400.

found a long catalogue of Bale's own publications[17].

Summary of religious improvement during this reign.

The death of the king on the 6th of July, 1553, put a stop for the present to the improvement of the Church of Ireland. Not much, indeed, had been done or attempted by the English government in that behalf, during his six years' reign; a forbearance which is probably to be attributed to a prudence or timidity of counsels during the king's minority, and to a sense of the intractable temper of the people, and their inveterate attachment to the superstitions of the Church of Rome. The foundations, however, for future improvement had been laid, in the maintenance of the king's supremacy, in the appointment of men of high character to the episcopacy, in the introduction of the English Liturgy, and in the initiative step for its being set forth in the Irish language. By these means, as well as by a careful and due administration of the laws of England, great countenance and encouragement were given to those who embraced the Reformed religion, especially within those counties known by the name of the English pale; the Common Prayer Book of England being brought over thither, and used in most of the churches of the English plantation, by authority of the king, there being hitherto no law of their own parliaments to enforce it on their observance[18].

[17] Book II. p. 325.

[18] HEYLYN'S *History of the Reformation*, p. 123.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY . . . . 1553—1558.
GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH AND PRIMATE . . . . 1553—1558.

Proclamations on Queen Mary's accession. Reinstatement of Archbishop Dowdall. Deprivation of the Protestant Bishops. Their places occupied by Papists. Hugh Curwen, archbishop of Dublin. Revival of popish superstitions. Encouraged by the Lord Deputy. Pope Paul's Bull. Acts of Parliament for suppressing heresy and Lollardy. The Queen's purpose of persecuting the Protestants interrupted by her Death.

Succession to the crown of Ireland regulated by that to the crown of England.

THE succession of Queen Mary to the crown of Ireland did not encounter the temporary interruption which was opposed to her claim upon the crown of England. The crown of Ireland, indeed, had been entailed upon the Lady Elizabeth by name, by the Irish statute of the 28th year of King Henry the Eighth, chapter 2; and that statute had not been subsequently repealed by any Irish act. But the English statute of the 35th year of King Henry the Eighth, chapter 2, was, in effect, a repeal of the aforesaid Irish statute, as it was avowedly a repeal of the English statutes to the same effect. For Ireland was a kingdom subordinate to that of England, and forming a part of its dominion. Whoever was king of England, was, in fact, king of Ireland, as much as he was of any of the minor dependent islands, the Isle of Sheppy, for example, or the Isle of Wight. This was the case at common law; and it had been explained to be so by the Irish statute of

33rd Henry the Eighth, chapter 1, wherein it was enacted that the king and his successors, kings of England, shall be "kings of Ireland, as united and knit to the imperial crown of the realm of England." Thus Ireland was bound to submit to the same disposal of the crown, which might be made in England; so that when after twelve days' disturbance, which had been raised in opposition to Queen Mary, she was peaceably seated on the English throne, her succession to that of Ireland followed as a regular consequence[1].

Proclamations on the queen's accession.

Intelligence of this event having been communicated by the council of England to the lords justices of Ireland, the queen's succession was announced in Ireland by a proclamation, which had been sent over from the council of England on the 20th of July, 1553; wherein she was styled "supreme head of the church." This was read in Dublin, and in other cities and towns of the kingdom, as is usual on such occasions; and was soon after followed by another proclamation, giving to all persons who would, liberty to attend the mass, but not compelling thereunto those who were unwilling.

Rejoicings at Kilkenny.

It what way this event may have been celebrated by the friends of the papacy in other towns of Ireland, I am not aware that we have information. But the following account of the proceedings at Kilkenny, given by Bishop Bale, is curious, and may, perhaps, be taken as a specimen of what occurred elsewhere.

Bishop Bale's account of them. August, 1553.

"On the 20th day of August," he says, "was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that could be devised, of processions,

[1] Cox, i. 29.

musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests, about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre, in procession, it were too much to write.

"I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereto, that I was not Moses' minister, but Christ's. I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses' sacraments and ceremonial shadows. (Gal. v.) With that I took Christ's testament in my hand, and went to the market cross, the people in great number following. There took I the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meantime had the prelates [*qu.* prebendaries] gotten two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one.

"The young men in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the market cross, with organ, plainges, and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John the Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptising, and of his temptations in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there[2]."

Restoration of Popish superstitions.

The bishop was still active, both publickly and privately, in maintaining, what he believed to be the truths of the Gospel, in opposition to all gainsayers. But "on Thursday the last day of August," he says, "I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole Papism, or heap

[2] Bale's *Vocacyon*, as above.

of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome: to the utter contempt of Christ and his holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politick order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rang all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy-water stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with 'Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis,' and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered it, they chaunted it with great noise and devotion; they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.[1]

"For now they may, now from thenceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them. 2 Peter ii.

"They may make the witless sort believe, that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else.

"They may now without check have other men's wives in occupying, ... and be at an utter defiance with marriage, though it be an institution of God, honourable, holy, righteous, and perfect.

"I write not this without a cause: for why? There were some among them, which boasted both of this, and much more too vain to be told.

"And when they were demanded, how they would, afore God, be discharged? They made answer, that ear-confession was able to burnish them

again, and to make them so white as snow, though they thus offended never so oft."

Dowdall restored to the archbishoprick and primacy.

The death of Archbishop Goodacre, between two and three months before the queen's accession, saved him from deprivation, and left the see open for the restoration of Archbishop Dowdall; who, towards the close of the year 1553, and shortly after the arrival of the new viceroy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, was recalled from his voluntary banishment; and on the 12th of March following was by letters patent restored to the title of primate of all Ireland, which King Edward had granted to Archbishop Browne, but the patent for which the queen now obliged him to surrender, and deliver it cancelled into the chancery[3].

March, 1554.

Declaration of the appropriation of the primacy to Armagh.

The restoration of this dignity to the recalled archbishop was accompanied by a declaration of the ancient usage, according to which it had been appropriated to the metropolitan see of Armagh. "We restore," said the queen to Archbishop Dowdall, "the primacy of all Ireland, which your predecessors, beyond the memory of man, have been known to have held; and we confirm to you for ever the same, commanding that all other archbishops and bishops shall pay obedience to the primates in the exercise of their primatial office." Thus he recovered both the archbishoprick and the style of preeminence formerly annexed to it, as it were by a "remitter" or restitution to that right, of which he had been before deprived. On the same day a grant was also made to him *in commendam* during life, of the precincts of the late dissolved monastery or hospital of St. John of Athirdee, of which he had

[3] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 640.

been prior before the dissolution of abbeys, and before his original promotion to the archbishoprick of Armagh.

St. Leger again Lord Deputy. Sept. 1553.

No time was now lost in endeavouring to reduce Ireland again under the entire dominion of Popery. And it is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the individual, Sir Anthony St. Leger, under whose government this new religious change was to be effected, was the same who had been entrusted with the viceregal office, for effecting the alteration of the preceding reigns: and who, having been superseded in the reign of King Edward, was now again sent over to Ireland, and resumed his office of Lord Deputy in September, 1553.

Commission for restoring Popery, April, 1554.

In pursuance of the plan for re-establishing the Papal dominion, in April, 1554, the month following that in which the primate had been restored, a commission was issued to the archbishop, to Walsh, elect bishop of Meath, Leverous, the future bishop of Kildare, and other delegates, empowering them to take measures for restoring the Papal religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy, by punishing those who had been guilty of violating it by marriage. In execution of this commission, on the 29th of June, Staples, bishop of Meath, was deprived of his see, one of his judges being the person previously chosen for his successor; and in the latter end of the same year the like penalty was inflicted on Browne, archbishop of Dublin; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin; and Casey, bishop of Limerick. Bale, bishop of Ossory, had fled beyond the seas[4].

And punishing the married clergy.

Deprivation of the Protestant bishops;

Of these prelates, Bishop Staples is said to have been "deposed on account of a conspiracy against

[4] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 92. Cox's *Hist.*, i., 299.

the Roman pontiff," meaning probably that he had taken an active part in the Reformation, especially in maintaining the king's, in preference to the Pope's supremacy. Such is the statement of a roll, cited in Archdall's MS. additions in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Besides which, the general offence with which they were all charged was, that they were married men: the same offence which had been visited a short time before by the same penalty on their English brethren in the episcopate; and the same which was likewise visited on some of the inferior clergy of Ireland, as in the case of James White; the particulars of whose trial in 1557, at which Bishop Leverous presided, on an accusation of having contracted matrimony, are still extant in a visitation book of the diocese of Dublin[5].

And of the inferior clergy.

Of these martyrs of the Reformation in Ireland, Archbishop Browne has been the subject of a Popish aspersion, noticed in his life, page 159, that "he died through joy, having had a bull from the Pope, to be restored to his see of Dublin:" an aspersion, supported by no evidence but the gratuitous affirmation of a Romish writer; inconsistent with the fact, that the Pope, if he had granted such a bull, must likewise have dispensed with his marriage, which rendered him, according to the tenets of Rome, incapable of holding a bishoprick; but above all diametrically opposed to a long course of professional activity, in which he exerted his powers with simplicity and sincerity, and used all faithful diligence in repressing the errors and corruptions of the papacy.

Popish calumny against Archbishop Browne.

What remains of his subsequent history amounts to no more than this: that he, as well as the Bishops

Subsequent history of the deprived bishops.

[5] Mason's *St. Patrick*, p. 162.

Staples, Lancaster, and Travers, is supposed to have died not long after deprivation. Bishop Casey survived the reign of the persecuting queen, and was restored to his see by Queen Elizabeth. Bishop Bale, before his flight, had been the object of violent assaults from some Popish priests and others, who sought his life, and attacked him in his house at Bishop's Court, and slew five of his servants before his face. But he defended himself by shutting the iron grate of his castle, and was thus preserved from his enemies till the arrival of the chief magistrate of Kilkenny with a military force; who, under favour of the night, conveyed him in safety to Kilkenny, and thence sent him to Dublin. But there also his life was hunted after; so that he was again compelled to take refuge in flight; until at length, after numerous perils and disasters, from storms and pirates, from captivity and plunder, he reached Basle; and thence, after a peaceful abode of five years, returned to England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but never sought a restoration to his see, being contented with a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, bestowed on him by the bounty of the queen. In 1559 Bishop Bale was one of the seven bishops named in the warrant for the consecration of Dr. Parker to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, but he was not called upon to officiate at that solemnity.

Persecutions of Bishop Bale.

Substitution of Papists.

In the room of the deprived bishops, supporters of the Reformation, popish prelates were substituted; the mode of their appointment being expressed by Sir James Ware in a variety of phraseology, such as "appointed by the queen, and confirmed by the Pope;" "by a Papal provision;" "advanced by the Pope at the instance of the queen;" "advanced by

the queen." And they, on their consecration, took the following oath, as appears from the publick records: "I, A. B., bishop of C., elected and consecrated, do profess that I have and hold all the temporal possessions of the said bishoprick from your hands, and from your successors, kings of England, as in right of the crown of your kingdom of Ireland, and to you and your successors, kings of England, I will be faithful. So help me God, and God's holy gospels[6]."

Hugh Curwen appointed to Dublin. February, 1555.

After the deprivation of Archbishop Browne, the see continued vacant for some time. But on the 22nd of February, 1555, a licence was issued by King Philip and Queen Mary to proceed to the election of a successor: the licence having been, it should seem, preceded by the queen's letter, under her privy signet, to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, dated the 18th of February, in the first and second year of her reign, and signed on the top of the letter with her own hand, "Marye the queene," as cited by Harris in his continuation of Ware, from the chapter-house of that cathedral. The person chosen for the archbishoprick was Hugh Curwen, a native of Westmoreland, doctor of laws, dean of Hereford, and archdeacon of Oxford. He was consecrated in St. Paul's cathedral, London, according to the form of the Roman pontifical, on the 8th of September, 1555, together with the bishops of Exeter and Bangor; and on the 12th of September, four days after his consecration, he was appointed by the queen, whose chaplain he was, lord chancellor of Ireland, whither he proceeded without delay, taking with him the following charge from her majesty.

His consecration in St. Paul's, London.

[6] Cox, i. 300.

Queen's charge to the dean and chapter of Christ Church.

"To our trusty and well-beloved dean and chapter of the cathedral of Christ's Church, in Dublin, within our realm of Ireland.

"Mary Queen.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved councillor, the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishoprick, which now of long hath been destitute of a Catholick bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm: albeit we have good hopes ye will in all things of yourselves carry yourselves towards him as becometh you; yet to the intent he might govern the clergy committed unto him, to the honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to the duties tending to God's glory, our honour, and the common weal of that our realm, whereby ye shall please God, and do us acceptable service.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich the 15th day of September, in the third year of our reign."

Incidents in the early life of Archbishop Curwen.

The new archbishop had formerly been chaplain to King Henry VIII., and in that capacity had preached often before him, so that his sentiments upon the leading articles of controversy at that period were made known, and have been transmitted to posterity. By Strype, in his *Life of Parker*, vol. i. 508, we are informed that "in the year 1532, in a sermon before the king, he spoke much in behalf of the supremacy; when one Elston, a friar of Greenwich, openly told him in that presence, 'he lied;' for which he was committed to prison. In 1533, when Friar Peto had, in the king's presence, at Greenwich, inveighed against the king's marriage with Anne Bolen; Dr. Curwin the next Sunday

An advocate for the supremacy;

preached before the king, and spake as much for that marriage; and added, that he much wondered how a subject dared so audaciously to behave himself before the king's face, as he had done. But however he were for the supremacy and the marriage, and went along with the king in his other proceedings, yet he was a zealous man for the corporal presence; and the death of the pious Frith was attributed to him. For in a sermon preached before the king in Lent, he inveighed against the Sacramentaries; and at length in some heat said, 'It is no marvel, though this abominable heresy so much prevail among us; for there is one now in the Tower (meaning Frith), so bold as to write in defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation.' But this," adds Strype, "was the Bishop of Winchester's device, to put the king upon prosecuting that poor man."

And for the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

Zealous for the corporal presence.

On his appointment to the see of Dublin, he set himself to counteract the effects which had been wrought by his predecessor; especially he caused to be re-erected in Christ Church the marble image of our Saviour, which Archbishop Browne had displaced; though, as we shall see in the succeeding reign, he himself again caused the image to be removed. Both of these facts are recorded by Strype, (*Life of Parker*, i. 90,) who seems to have been not without reason for the character, which he elsewhere gives of Archbishop Curwen, that he was "a complier in all reigns." (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 54.)

He encourages idolatry.

A complier in all reigns.

The following extract from a contemporaneous letter, dated December 4, 1555, gives an account of the impression made in his favour by his first appearance in his new situation; but the accom-

Favourable impression made by his first sermon, December, 1555.

panying notice that it was written "from Martin Pelly, or Pellys, or Pells, to the Lo . . . . ." leaves us in ignorance of the author, except as to his name, as well as of the nobleman to whom it was addressed.

"Also please it your lordship to be advertised, that the Archbishop of Dublin did preach his first sermon that he made in this land the Sunday after St. Andrew, in Christ Church in Dublin, and did set forth the word of God in his sermon sincerely and after such a sort, that those men that be learned and unlearned both do give him as high praise, as I have heard given to any one man; so that those men, that favour the word of God, are very glad of him, and prayeth for him so to continue[7]."

Other sees taken possession of by the Popish bishops.

At or about the same time the other newly appointed bishops took possession of the vacant sees: Walsh, of Meath; Leverous, of Kildare: O'Fihely, or Field, of Loughlin; Lacy, or Lees, of Limerick; and Thorney, of Kilkenny. All of these appear to have been natives of Ireland. Roland Baron, likewise a native, had been previously appointed by the queen to the archbishoprick of Cashel, vacant at the time of her succession; being elected by the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, of Cashel, at the command of her majesty, by a *congé d'élire*, dated the 20th of November, in the first year of her reign.

Primate Dowdall active in restoring Popery.

Meanwhile the restored primate was not remiss in testifying his zeal for the peculiarities of his religion, which had been shaken by the inroads of the Reformation.

In 1554, the same year in which he acted in

[7] WARE'S MSS. v. 75, p. 180, ex Collect. D. Geo. Carew, Lambeth MSS. Library, No. 602, p. 136.

the same cause under the royal commission, he held a provincial synod in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, or Tredagh, as the town was then called; the constitutions of which chiefly tended to the restoration of Popery and the deprivation of the married clergy, and of which one article laid an obligation upon all rectors and vicars who did not know how to preach, of engaging a substitute to preach for them four times a year. The next year he caused a day of jubilee to be observed through all Ireland for the restoration of the Romish religion. And in 1556 he held another provincial synod at Drogheda, in which little more was done than the giving of liberty to husbandmen and labourers to work on certain festivals during harvest.

Provincial synod at Drogheda. 1554.

Jubilee for restoration of Popery. 1555.

Provincial synod at Drogheda. 1556.

In the second of these years the Archbishop of Dublin also, it being the year of his appointment, held a synod of his province, "as he pretended for reformation of religion[8]," and therein made some constitutions about the rites and ceremonies to be used in the Church. Of the value of some of these ceremonies a judgment may be formed from their probable similarity to those of which notice is incidentally given as being in use under the revived Romish ritual. On the swearing-in of the Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Curwen,) and Sir Henry Sydney, as lords justices in 1557, "mass was celebrated, and they were censed and sprinkled with holy water." And on occasion of a rebellion in Thomond being quelled by the Lord Deputy in the same year, "the Earl of Thomond, together with the freeholders of that country, did, on Sunday, the 10th of July, swear on the sacrament, and by all the reliques of the church, as book, bell, and candle-

Provincial synod in Dublin.

Revival of Romish rites. 1557.

[8] Loftus MS., Marsh's Library.

light, (they are, says Cox, the very words of the herald's certificate,) to continue loyal to the queen, and to perform their agreements with the Lord Deputy[9]."

Lord Fitzwalter, lord deputy.

The Lord Deputy here mentioned was Thomas Ratcliff, Viscount Fitzwalter, afterwards Earl of Sussex, who had entered on his office in May, 1556, as the successor of Sir Anthony St. Leger, who, by some satirical verses in ridicule of the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, had given occasion to his enemies at the English court for effecting his removal. "Queen Mary," says Campion, in his *History of Ireland*, chapter 10, "established in her crown, committed her government once more to St. Leger, whom sundry not known pelted and lifted at, till they shouldered him quite out of all credit. He, to be counted forward and pliable to the taste of King Edward the Sixth's reign, rhymed against the real presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where courtiers might light thereon, who greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the original of his own hand-writing had the same firmly, though contrary to his own judgment, wandering in so many hands, that his adversaries caught it, and tripped it in his way; the spot whereof he could never wipe out. Thus was he removed, a discreet gentleman, very studious of the state of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, without gall."

St. Leger removed for satirizing transubstantiation.

The Lord Deputy no enemy to Popery;

For this, or for some other reasons, St. Leger was recalled; and his place was filled by the Lord Fitzwalter, who, on his arrival, showed that he had no anti-popish prepossessions, by taking the usual oath of office at the altar in Christ Church, on a

[9] Cox, i., 305, 307.

mass-book[10]. And soon after, on the 2nd of July, he proceeded to St. Patrick's Cathedral, nobly accompanied, and was received at the door under a canopy of state by the archbishop, arrayed in his pontificals, the clergy also being habited in rich copes: and kneeling there, he was censed, and having kissed the cross, received the archiepiscopal blessing; after which, proceeding to the high altar, he continued kneeling there while the *Te Deum* was singing; and was there again censed and blessed, and mass was celebrated by the archbishop[11].

His instructions in favour of Popery.

But the religious principles of the new viceroy, and the views and purposes of the English government, were formidably testified by the instructions, of which he was the bearer, to himself and the council. These, bearing the superscription of "Mary the Queen," by their first article require the Lord Deputy and council, "by their example and all good means possible to advance the honour of God and the Catholick faith; to set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's holiness and see apostolick of Rome; and from time to time be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries there, to punish and repress all hereticks and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors, and to assist the commissioners of the legate, Cardinal Poole, which he designed to send into Ireland to visit the clergy."

Their spirit transfused into Acts of Parliament. June, 1556.

The spirit of these instructions was transfused into the Acts passed in the Parliament that was soon after assembled, namely, on the 1st of June, 1556; and which, in fact, are the earliest Irish Acts, directed against the doctrines of the Reformed Church. For it appears to be an erroneous statement of a modern

[10] Cox, i. 303. [11] Mason's *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 163.

historian of Ireland, at least the printed collection of the Irish Statutes does not verify the statement, that, in the famous parliament, held in the 10th year of King Henry the Seventh, or in 1495, laws had been revived to prevent the growth of Lollardism and heresy.

Queen Mary, therefore, is intitled to hold "the bad eminence" of reviving the laws in question by her new acts. As the forerunner of which, however, about this time arrived a bull from the Pope, Paul the Fourth, transmitted through Cardinal Poole, promising pardon and forgiveness to the spiritualty, as well as the temporalty of her highness's realms and dominions, who had swerved from the obedience of the See Apostolical, and declined from the unity of Christ's Church. This bull, as related in the preamble to the Act of 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, chap. 8, "having been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Curwin, was by him devoutly and reverendly received and read upon his knees, in open parliament deliberately and distinctly, in an high voice. And the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in the name of themselves particularly, and also of the whole body of the realm, hearing the same, embraced it right reverendly and humbly kneeling upon their knees, being repentant: and yielding thanks, had *Te Deum* solemnly sung. And further, for a due proof of their repentance, immediately proceeded to abrogate and repeal all the acts and statutes made in parliament, since the 20th year of King Henry the Eighth, against the See Apostolical of Rome, according to the tenour and effect of the said bull."

Bull from Pope Paul IV.

Manner in which the bull was received.

By this Act, the 3 and 4 of Philip and Mary, chap. 8, much false and erroneous doctrine was

acknowledged to have been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural born subjects of the realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries: the providence of God was commemorated, for having raised up and set in the seat royal their majesties, as "persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid:" the title of supreme head of the Church was pronounced to be not justly attributable to any king or governor; but writs, letters patents, commissions, and other documents, whether the title of supremacy were contained or omitted, were declared good: bulls and dispensations from Rome, not prejudicial to authority royal, or the laws in force, and not repealed in this parliament, were allowed to be put in execution: and the Pope's holiness and See Apostolick were ordained to be restored, and to have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction, as his Holiness used and exercised, or might have lawfully used and exercised by the authority of his supremacy, the said 20th year of the reign of the king, her majesty's father, within this her realm of Ireland and other her dominions."

Purport of the Act for repealing Statutes against the see of Rome.

Pope's authority restored.

And by another Act of the same Parliament, intitled, "An Act for reviving of three Statutes made for the Punishment of Heresies," being 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 9, "for the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies, which of late have risen, grown, and much increased, within this realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith," it was enacted, that "the three statutes made respectively in the reigns of King Richard the Second, King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Fifth, 'con-

Act for reviving statutes against heresy.

cerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers,' and 'concerning repressing of heresies and punishment of hereticks,' and 'concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy,' and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several acts, and every of them, shall from the first day of this present parliament be revived, and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatever."

Penalties denounced by the revived statutes.

The reader may probably not be aware of the enactments of the statutes thus revived, "made for the punishment of heresy." It is requisite, therefore, to be added in explanation, and for the proper understanding of the tender mercies of his Holiness the Pope, and of her gracious majesty the queen, and of the true nature of that "right way" of religion which they professed, that by the revival of these statutes, the severest penalties were denounced upon all persons preaching or teaching, or evidently suspected of preaching or teaching, against the Catholick, whereby, by the arrogant ascription to a particular church, of the name which belonged to the Church universal, was meant the Romish faith; and that all such persons might be arrested by the diocesan; and on conviction be kept in prison and tried at his discretion; and refusing to abjure, or on relapsing, be delivered to the secular arm and burnt for the terror of others.

Act for the discharge of first fruits.

Two or three other enactments, respecting the Church, were made in this parliament. By the act, chap. 10, "for the discharge of the first fruits," payments of first fruits to the crown on ecclesiastical benefices were in future to cease, as well as of the yearly tenths: and certain rectories, glebes, and other emoluments, spiritual and ecclesiastical, latterly

possessed by the crown, were now renounced and relinquished; with a proviso, however, that the act should not extend to any grants made by letters patent to any persons or bodies, other than to spiritual and ecclesiastical corporations. Thus the spoils of the Church, previously bestowed on the laity, were confirmed and perpetuated.

Yet an exception to this appears in the case of the priorship of St. John's of Jerusalem, commonly called Kilmainham, which, at the request of the king and queen, Cardinal Poole, by his legatine power, restored to its former possessors in 1557, and made Oswald Messingberd the prior. This appointment and institution was confirmed by the queen's patent in the ensuing month. But in 1559, the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the new prior fled the country; and within a year, by a new act of parliament, the priorship was again suppressed, and the whole disposal of it left to the crown[12].

Act branding Archbishop Browne's children as bastards.

In the same parliament, a petition from the new Archbishop of Dublin, complaining of devastations made by his predecessor in the archiepiscopal property, was favourably received: and an act (which however will be sought in vain, in chap. 10 of this parliament, to which reference is given for it by Dr. Leland, or anywhere else among the printed statutes,) was passed, whereby all grants, made by Archbishop Browne, of any parcel of the archbishoprick, either to his own use, or that of his "bastards," (for such was the term of ignominy, with which the legislature thought it well to brand his children born in honourable wedlock,) were declared utterly void[13].

Meanwhile a commission had been issued, bearing date December the 3rd, 1556, to the Archbishop

[12] Ware's *Annals*, p. 143.

[13] *History*, vol. ii. p. 213.

Commission about Church property and churches. Dec. 1556.

of Dublin, and the deans of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, together with other commissioners who were laymen, for taking account of all lands or tenements, all plate, bells, and other utensils or sums of money, which had lately belonged to the churches or chapels of the diocese of Dublin: and for inquiring into the state of such churches or chapels as were ruinous, and reporting by whose fault they became so: similar commissions were issued about the same time, for the like purpose, in other dioceses[14].

Gloomy prospect for Protestants.

Reverting, however, to the act for reviving the three statutes for the punishment of heresy, it may be remarked, that the revival of these statutes, following on the instructions given to the Lord Deputy and privy council, opened a fearful and gloomy prospect to those, who should be so presumptuous as to teach, or so unhappy as to incur the suspicion of teaching, what the subjects and agents of the Pope should deem heretical, or not agreeable to the Popish creed.

Penalties avoided by wisdom and caution.

It may be said, perhaps, that no hereticks were actually visited with the penalties denounced by these formidable statutes. If the assertion be admitted, the cause may be found rather in the wisdom and caution of the friends of the Reformation, than in the forbearance and dove-like harmlessness of the champions of the papacy. Thus in the year 1554, on account of prosecutions then instituted against their religion, several English Protestants had fled into Ireland from Cheshire; and bringing with them their families, goods, and chattels, lived in Dublin, and became citizens of that city. They had with them a Welshman, a Protestant priest, who secretly

[14] *Rot. Pat. Conc.*, quoted by MASON, p. 163.

read to them on Sundays, and other days, the English service and the Scriptures. But the cause of their coming, and this their private occupation, were not discovered till after Queen Mary's death[15].

Intended persecutions;

Should it be further said, that the penalties were not intended to be, and would not, in the course of time, have been inflicted; proof may be required of the assertion. And on the other hand, that it was intended for the act not to sleep in peaceful inaction, may be inferred from the simple fact of its having been enacted: for if otherwise, why was it enacted at all? The same is to be inferred from the concomitant and consistent instructions to the Lord Deputy and the council; if otherwise, what was their use, and why were they given? The conduct also of the queen, with respect to the friends of the Reformation in England, is an argument for the conduct which would be pursued in Ireland, if occasion were found to exist. The character of Popery at all times is a corroborative proof of the same.

Shown by various considerations.

On the whole, it is strictly in accordance with the parliamentary enactments now under consideration, with the proceedings of the government, with the habits of the queen, and with the genius of her religion, that means should have been taken for inflicting severe punishment on the dissentients from the Romish faith. There is, therefore, no cause of astonishment in reading, that a commission was issued for the purpose, although that purpose was happily frustrated by a remarkable incident, concerning which Cox observes, "Because the author quotes the most reverend and learned primate, Ussher, and the memorials of the most noble and industrious Richard, earl of Cork, for the following

Commission against the Irish hereticks;

[15] Ware's *Annals*, p. 135.

story, I will insert it *verbatim*, as it is already printed in the life of Archbishop Browne.

In what manner frustrated.

"Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominated Dr. Cole one of the commissioners, sending the commission by this doctor: who in his journey coming to Chester, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a Churchman, waited on the doctor: who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission, that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland,' calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen of Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words. But watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down the stairs, she opens the box, and takes the commission out, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs faced uppermost, wrapt up. The doctor, coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin: then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitzwalter, being the Lord Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council. Who coming in, after he had made a speech, relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the Lord Deputy: who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the Lord Deputy made answer, 'Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.' The doctor being

By the ingenuity of an English woman.

troubled in his mind went his way, and returned into England, and coming to the court obtained another commission; but staying for the wind at the water-side, news came unto him that Queen Mary was dead. And thus God preserved the Protestants in Ireland[16]."

The sequel of the story is, that, on the recalling of the Lord Deputy into England, Queen Elizabeth, discoursing with him concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other things he related the foregoing narrative: which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, or by her husband's name, Mattershed, and gave her a pension of forty pounds a year during her life, for saving her majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland[17].

Her recompense from Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558; leaving behind her a character of unexampled intolerance and cruelty towards those of her subjects who differed from her religious faith. She was most probably a sincere and zealous Papist; "and verily thought with herself that she ought to do many things contrary" to the profession of the reformed creed. But the more her evil deeds are extenuated by a supposition of the sincerity of her zeal, the more deep and dark is the brand of ignominy stamped upon that form of Christianity, which actuated her in so nefarious a career.

Death of Queen Mary. Nov. 17. 1558.

[16] Cox, i. 308.

[17] Ware's *Annals*, p. 164.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH . . . . 1558—1603.
ADAM LOFTUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1562—1568.
THOMAS LANCASTER . . . . 1568—1584.
JOHN LONG . . . . . 1584—1589.
JOHN GARVEY . . . . . 1589—1594.
HENRY USSHER . . . . . 1595—

Section I.

Dilatory Proceedings with respect to the Irish Church. Revival of the English Liturgy. Remarkable occurrence on the singing of the Litany in Christ Church. Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament. Act for restoring the jurisdiction of the Crown. Act of Uniformity. Remarkable clause of it. Acts relating to the First Fruits and the election of Bishops. Alterations in Ecclesiastical matters during the last reigns. Removal of Popish Images and Reliques. Appointment of Adam Loftus to the Primacy. Apostolical Succession in the Church of Ireland. Declaration of Chief Articles of Religion.

Queen Elizabeth's accession a relief to the Church.

THE restoration of the royal power to a Protestant sovereign in the person of Queen Elizabeth, whose religious principles were soon avowed in favour of the Reformation, relieved the friends of that alteration in the Church of Ireland from such terrors as they may have felt from the dominion of a Popish queen, armed with power, as she was possessed with the inclination, to enforce the tyrannical claims of Popery by severe penal inflictions; and opened another door for the revival and further extension

of the true Catholick faith of the Gospel. Elizabeth succeeded to the crown on the 17th of November, 1558. It was not, however, until six months after her succession that any particular measure was decided on immediately affecting the Irish church; nor until three months later that the intended measure was put into operation.

Nov., 1558.

The Earl of Sussex, who had been Lord Deputy during the latter part of the preceding reign, and been continued in that office at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's, was in a short time recalled: but again appointed, and charged, in May, 1559, with his new instructions, with which, however, he did not return to Ireland so as to be sworn into office till the 30th of August.

Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy,

1559.

The service in English had ceased to be read publickly from the death of Edward the Sixth until this second arrival of the Earl of Sussex. But then on his going to Christ Church to receive the same, "the Litany was sung in English, and afterwards the Lord Deputy took his oath; and then they began to sing, 'We praise Thee, O God,' at which the trumpets sounded." In the mean time it appears, that "orders had been sent to new paint the walls of Christ Church and St. Patrick's; and instead of pictures and Popish fancies, to place passages or texts of Scripture on the walls: and men had been employed for the execution of that work on the 25th of May[1]."

Restoration of the English Liturgy.

The choice of persons to fill the high station of Viceroy of Ireland, and to accomplish the important ecclesiastical, as well as civil, commissions entrusted to them, seems to have been less regulated by a regard to their religious principles than might have

Religious principles little regarded in the choice of viceroys.

[1] Loftus MS., Marsh's Library.

been reasonably expected. In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Sir Anthony St. Leger had been Lord Deputy, and was charged with those instructions concerning the English Liturgy, which occasioned the degradation and flight of the Popish Archbishop Dowdall: and in the succeeding reign of Queen Mary, he was re-appointed to the same vice-regal office by that government, which at the same time issued a commission for the deprivation of the Protestant Archbishop Browne. And now the Earl of Sussex, who had been the instrument of Queen Mary's tyrannical projects in favour of Popery, was employed by Queen Elizabeth for the restoration of the English Protestant worship.

Lord Deputy's instructions.

The instructions to the Lord Deputy and the council with reference to ecclesiastical matters were, "to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes next Parliament, as were lately made in England, *mutatis mutandis*[2]."

The Lord Deputy faithfully obeyed these instructions. But in carrying into effect that which related to the worship of God, a very remarkable case occurred, of which Strype gives the following account in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*[3]. In pursuance of the queen's instructions,

English Litany sung in Christ Church.

"The Litany," he says, "was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin. This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealots, reckoning aright, that the use of the mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something, therefore, was to be done, now or never, to keep the reputation of the old superstition: and a miracle was to be shown in the said church the next Sunday, when the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop, and the rest of the privy council, were there at service.

[2] Cox, i. 313.

[3] Vol. i. p. 90. Oxf. Edit.

"There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while service was saying before this great assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first: therefore some, who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see, how our Saviour's image sweat blood! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral, told the people the cause; namely, 'That he could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the church.' The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts: and particularly one of the aldermen, and mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the privy council hastened out of the choir, fearing some harm. Popish imposture.

"But the Archbishop of Dublin, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge, one Leigh, sometime a monk of this cathedral, had soaked in a bowl of blood: and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swollen and heavy with blood, over the image's head within the crown; and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and showed to these worshippers: and some of them cursed Father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others that had been contrivers with him. The pretended miracle detected by Archbishop Curwen.

"The archbishop, the next Sunday, preached in the same church before the lord-lieutenant and the council, upon 2 Thess. ii. 11, 'God shall send them strong delusions, His sermon on the occasion;

that they should believe a lie:' exposing the cheats, who openly stood there, with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and then banished the realm. This converted above one hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear mass more.

And removal of the image.

"And further, upon the 10th of September, 1559, the archbishop caused this image to be broken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that see, after it had been pulled down once before by George Browne, the former archbishop in King Edward's time."

Such is the account of this monstrous imposition given by Strype; who goes on to relate,

Effect of his account of the imposture on the queen.

"The contents of this did Archbishop Corwen write in a letter to Archbishop Parker: who was glad thereof, by reason that the clergy were debating at this present, whether images should stand in the churches or no; the queen herself being indifferent in this matter, and rather inclinable to them. But this letter, which the archbishop showed her, wrought on her to consent for the throwing of the images out of the churches, together with many texts of Scripture, which our archbishop and other divines had laid before her for the demolishing of them."

A parliament. Jan., 1560.

This occurrence, we may presume, was not devoid of effect on the Lord Deputy also, and probably quickened his activity in re-establishing the English Liturgy in pursuance of his instructions. At the same time he was not inattentive to the order relative to his parliamentary duty; and accordingly in the Parliament, which was holden in Dublin the following January, 1560, and continued for a month, the following statutes, provided for the future government and worship of the Church, were promptly enacted.

1. An act was passed, "restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abrogating all foreign power repugnant to the same." By this act, the act of repeal of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary was repealed: and the acts of the twenty-eighth of King Henry the Eighth, which had been thereby repealed, were revived; the act for reviving the three statutes made for the punishment of heresy, and also the said three statutes, were repealed; all manner of foreign power, jurisdiction, and authority, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within the realm, was abolished for ever; such jurisdiction was annexed to the crown; and the queen and her successors were authorized by letters patent under the great seal of England, or of Ireland, or the governors of Ireland, by letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, at the royal pleasure, to assign natural-born subjects to execute the same. The Oath of Supremacy, acknowledging the queen and her successors to be the only supreme governor of this realm, and renouncing all foreign jurisdiction, was required to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers: forfeiture of office and promotion during life was enacted as the penalty for refusing to take the oath: to maintain or defend foreign authority was pronounced an offence, for which an ecclesiastical person should, the first time, lose all his benefices; the second time, incur the penalties of *premunire;* and the third time, be adjudged to suffer the penalty of high treason: no matter to be judged heresy, but such as has been so adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by one of the first four general councils, or by any other general council, or shall be so adjudged by parlia-

Act restoring to the crown its ancient jurisdiction. 2 Eliz., c. 1.

ment; and the offence to be proved by two witnesses, before the party arraigned, in person, face to face.

2. The next act passed in this parliament, which affected the church, was that "for the uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments."

Act for Uniformity. 2 Eliz., c. 2.

The First Book of Common Prayer, provided in the first year of King Edward the Sixth, had been introduced, as we have seen, into the Church of Ireland by the king's order. But his Second Book, which had been put forth in England in the fifth and sixth years of the king, does not appear to have been ordered for observance in the Irish Church during the short period that the king survived its enactment. This book, having been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, had been revived, with certain alterations and additions, by the English parliament, soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession: and the use of it was now enacted by the parliament of Ireland in all the cathedral and parish churches of that kingdom. All ministers were commanded to use it: and on such as should refuse to use it, or should use any other form, or should preach, or speak in derogation of it, penalties were imposed; first, the forfeiture of a year's profit of his benefice, and six months' imprisonment; for the second offence, imprisonment for one year, and deprivation; and for the third offence, deprivation and imprisonment for life. On all persons, also, who should despise or deprave the said book, or cause any other common and open prayer to be said or sung, or interrupt the minister in saying Common Prayer, or ministering the sacraments, fines and imprisonment, varying according to the number of offences, were inflicted. All persons, not having reasonable excuse,

were to resort to their parish churches on all Sundays and holydays, and there to abide orderly during the service of God, on pain of the censures of the church, and twelve-pence to be levied by the churchwardens for the use of the poor. All archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, were earnestly required and charged in God's name to put this act in execution, and to punish offenders by the censures of the church. And the books, concerning the appointed services, were ordered to be procured in every parish and cathedral church before the next ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist, and the said service be put in use within three weeks next after. And all other laws and ordinances, for any other common prayer or administration of the sacraments, were enacted to be utterly void and of none effect.

General compliance with this statute.

Thus the liturgy of the Church of Ireland for the future was identified, and placed upon the same footing of parliamentary authority, with that of the Church of England. The general piety, solemnity, and instructive and edifying nature of the prescribed service, and the absence of everything which could be justly thought exceptionable, either in substance or in form, seem to have prevented the injunction for its observance from being regarded as a grievance by the Papists on its first enactment. On the contrary, the bishops complied with this alteration in the publick worship: and the adherents of the Romish Church in Ireland resorted to the parish churches, where the English service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Remarkable clause authorizing a Latin service.

But all these enactments, and others in this statute not requiring our notice, were followed by one in conclusion, which is so remarkable, that it

may well deserve to be set before the reader at length. It will be observed to commence and to proceed in a form different from the usual form of enactment, in which all the other clauses are expressed: and thus affords a reasonable ground for the opinion intimated by Dr. Leland, that it was "inserted by the parliament after the first transmiss of the bill, and possibly was procured by those who had opposed it[4]." The clause is as follows.

"And forasmuch as in most places of this realm, there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the churches, or places appointed for common prayer, or to minister the sacraments to the people; and that if some good mean were provided, that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of sacraments set out and established by this act, in such language as they mought best understand, the due honour of God should be thereby much advanced; and for that also, that the same may not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters; we do, therefore, most humbly beseech your majesty, that with your highness's favour and royal assent it may be enacted, ordained, established, and provided, by the authority of this present parliament, that in every such church or place, where the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest, to say and use the mattens, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in the Latin tongue, in such form and order as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book established by this act, and according to the tenour of this act, and none otherwise, nor in other manner; anything before expressed and contained in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

The clause why objectionable.

As to this remarkable clause, "if," says Dr. Leland, "it did not effectually provide for the edifi-

[4] *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 225, note.

cation of the people, it at least served to sheathe the acrimony of their prejudices against the reformed worship, by allowing it to be performed in the usual language of their devotions:" a benefit, dearly purchased by the sanction given to a practice, which was "plainly repugnant to the word of God, and to the custom of the primitive Church." Waiving, however, a consideration of the principle compromised by this enactment, and admitting the occasion of some substitute for the liturgy in the English tongue, certain questions immediately offer themselves to the mind, concerning the application and the utility of the proposed substitute. The obvious substitute would have been the same liturgy in the Irish tongue, in the native language of the people. But this "might not be, as well for the difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm could read Irish letters." Could not these difficulties then have been overcome by supplying the proper types for the printing, and by training persons to read the Irish character, if none were to be found actually qualified? Such a course was in fact adopted and with good success by a private clergyman, not many years after, so that it should seem to have been by no means impracticable at this time by those in power.

Compromise of principle.

Liturgy in Irish the obvious substitute.

But the substitute to be used was the liturgy "in the Latin tongue." In what way was the Latin version to be provided? Was it by publick authority? Of that there are no traces of information, nor does it appear at all probable. Was a translation then from English into Latin to be made by each individual minister? Was each minister then sufficiently conversant with English, to be able to translate *from* that tongue? If so, why could he not use it as prescribed in the English service?

No way of providing a Latin version.

Was such minister sufficiently conversant with Latin, to be able to translate *into* that tongue? Yet this is hardly consistent with the character of ignorance and illiteracy ascribed to very many of the clergy, so great that they were supposed not to understand their own mass-books.

Latin not intelligible.

But suppose the common prayer to be used in the Latin tongue, how could this be taken for "such language, as they mought best understand?" The people surely must have been left without any benefit from a service, to them as unintelligible as the Popish service which it was to supersede; the proposed provision, indeed, so far was calculated to "advance the due honour of God," as it shut out from his service idolatry, and superstition, and other unscriptural forms of worship; but the application of the provision to the benefit of the people is by no means easy to be discovered. That was a wiser and more wholesome provision, which was contained in one of King Edward the Sixth's instructions, that the liturgy in the Irish tongue should be used in places where it was needed; only care should have been taken to supply the need, by getting common prayer-books printed in that tongue, and finding or making ministers qualified to read them, if such could possibly have been done.

King Edward's instruction preferable.

Act for restitution of the first fruits. 2 Eliz., c. 3.

3. A third act, passed in this parliament, with relation to the Church, was that which enacted the restitution of the first fruits and twentieths of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, reviving the statute of King Henry the Eighth to that effect, and repealing that by which it had been set aside in the reign of Queen Mary.

Act for conferring bishopricks. 2 Eliz., c. 4.

4. A fourth act recited the delay, costs, and charges attending the election of archbishops and

bishops by deans and chapters; represented that such elections were indeed no elections, but only by a writ of *congé d'élire* had pretence of elections, serving to no purpose, and seeming derogatory to the royal prerogative, to which only appertained the collation of all archbishopricks and bishopricks within the realm; and thereupon enacted, that no such election should be made, or *congé d'élire* granted; but that the queen and her successors by letters patent, or the governor of Ireland by warrant, should collate such persons as the queen or her successors shall think meet. Persons so collated are required to be consecrated and invested, without any other election, and without sueing to any foreign power. And the penalty of premunire is enacted against those persons, who shall refuse to invest and consecrate within twenty days, or shall do any thing to the contrary of this act.

Bishops to be appointed by the crown without election.

With respect to this last-mentioned act, it has been observed by Cox[5], that in a case, relative to the appointment of a bishop, which came before the court in the reign of Queen Mary, it was adjudged, that the King of England may nominate and appoint bishops in Ireland without the formality of a *congé d'élire;* and this act of the second of Elizabeth is for so much in affirmation of the common law. Certainly this act was framed on the model of one that had been passed in England for the election of bishops in that kingdom, in the first year of King Edward the Sixth. King Edward's act, however, had been repealed, and the earlier act of the 25th of King Henry the Eighth, authorizing the dean and chapter to elect, had been revived and re-established by the English act of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, passed

This act in affirmance of the common law.

Different laws of England and Ireland in such cases.

[5] Vol. i. p. 300.

the year before the enactment of this Irish statute, which nevertheless reverted to the rule of King Edward's law of appointment by royal collation, or donation, by the king's letters patent; and has since continued to be the law in Ireland, notwithstanding the contrary law and practice in England.

Different ecclesiastical changes in four successive reigns.

We may here make a short pause, to notice the several alterations, which had been introduced into ecclesiastical matters by the legal authorities, from the reign of King Henry the Eighth to the present.

1st. King Henry held the ecclesiastical supremacy, with the first fruits and twentieths of all benefices; at the same time, he maintained seven sacraments, with obits, and masses for the living and the dead.

Then, 2ndly, King Edward abolished the mass; authorized the Book of Common Prayer, and the consecration of the bread and wine, in the English tongue; and established only two sacraments.

3rdly. Queen Mary brought everything back again to a conformity with the Church of Rome, and to obedience to the Papal authority.

And now, 4thly, Queen Elizabeth again abolished the Pope's supremacy; reserved the twentieths and first fruits to herself and her successors; put down the mass; and for a general uniformity of worship in her dominions, as well in England as in Ireland, she established the Book of Common Prayer, and forbade the use of Popish ceremonies.

Perplexity of the Lord Deputy.

These alterations, so rapidly succeeding each other, occasioned much difference of opinion about ecclesiastical matters amongst the Nobility and Commons in Ireland; and the difficulty was aggravated by the invectives directed against the heretical queen

and her profane ministers by the Papal authorities; by the resistance opposed by the clergy to the renovation of the religion of the kingdom, and the restitution of it to its primitive form, in preference to the comparatively modern innovations of Popery; and by the reluctance of the partisans of Rome in general to comply with that purified system of Christian faith and practice, from which they had been so long and so far estranged. The perplexity of the case was perceived by the well-wishers of the Queen at the very beginning of the parliament; so that, after it had sat about a month, the Lord Deputy dissolved it, and went over to England for the purpose of consulting her majesty about the affairs of the kingdom. He returned again in the course of a few months: and soon after received her majesty's letters, signifying her pleasure for a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion through the several dioceses of the kingdom.

Parliament dissolved.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to Thomas Lockwood, dean of Christ Church, to remove from his church all Popish reliques and images; and to paint and whiten it anew; effacing from the walls all pictures, and other fanciful embellishments, and substituting sentences of Holy Scripture: orders which were soon after executed[6]. And about the same time, a large Bible, the gift, as it is related, of Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, to the two deans and chapters of Dublin, was placed in the middle of the choir of each cathedral of Christ's Church and St. Patrick's; where, on their being first offered to publick view, they caused a great resort of the people thither to read and hear their contents.

Removal of Popish images from churches.

Interest taken about the Bible.

[6] MS. LOFTUS, Marsh's Library.

Small Bibles at that time, for private use, were far from common: but the hunger and thirst for them was great, when means were offered for its gratification; so that it appears from the account of John Dale, a bookseller, that in two years' time he sold seven thousand copies for the booksellers in London, when the book was first printed and brought over into Ireland, in the year 1559; a large number, when regard is had to the probable population of the country, and to the small proportion of those who were capable of reading[7].

Irregularity relative to a recent Act of Parliament.

Mention has been already made of the law, enacted in King Edward's reign, and recently revived in Queen Elizabeth's, ordaining the appointment of bishops by royal collation or donation, in the form of letters patents. There was, however, at the outset, a want of decision in the government about carrying this act into effect, as may be collected from a remarkable example. The death of Primate Dowdall had nearly coincided with that of the late queen. Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation*, quoting an anonymous authority, says that he was deprived by Queen Elizabeth[8]. But this is not correct. In 1558, he took a journey to London on the affairs of his Church, and died there on the 15th of August, being the day following the festival of the Virgin's Assumption in the Romish Church. This is recorded in his epitaph, which was registered by Thomas Walsh, principal registrar of the Court of Armagh, on the 27th of February following, and is transcribed into Harris's edition of Ware's *Bishops*[9]. On his decease, "Terence, dean of Armagh, was

Correction of a mis-statement concerning Archbishop Dowdall.

[7] Ware's *Annals*.

[8] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 73, folio.

[9] Pp. 92, 93.

appointed guardian of the spiritualties of the see; and on the 3rd of July, 1559, he held a synod of the English clergy of the diocese, in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda[10]." Thus, so far was Dowdall from being deprived of the archbishoprick of Armagh by Queen Elizabeth, that he was actually dead three months before her accession, although the vacancy had not been filled in the interval.

Appointment of Adam Loftus to Armagh, 1562.

Nor was it filled till a considerable time after Queen Elizabeth's accession, though no cause for this is recorded, and a sufficient one would be difficult to be surmised. Now, however, when it had been determined by the government to supply it by the appointment of Adam Loftus to the see, the privy council were met by an unexpected difficulty; their statement of which, and of the remedy which they devised for it, is thus noticed in a letter from the queen, early in the winter of 1562.

Queen's letter to the council.

"Whereas by other your letters of the 2nd of September, ye declare, that by reason of the absence of sundry of the chapter of Ardmagh, the dean there cannot conveniently proceed to the election of Mr. Adam Lofthowse to that archbishoprick, according to the authority lately received from us, and for supply thereof do devise to make unto him in the mean season a commission for the ordering of ecclesiastical causes within that diocese; moving further, that the rents growing out of the possessions of that archbishoprick might be bestowed upon him by warrant from us, and the same be holden without account from the date of our letters of his nomination; we do very well allow your said devise."

And so the document goes on to give authority to the deputy and proper officers for making the grant in question,

"By warrant hereof, and so to continue, until he may

[10] *Reg. Dowdal*, p. 218, cited in STUART's *History of Armagh*, p. 246.

receive his establishment in the bishoprick by such ordinary means, as in semblable cases hath been accustomed."

Cause of the irregularity uncertain.

The cause of this deviation from a recently-ordained law, in favour of an ordinary, but now legally-abolished, custom, may be conjecturally traced to the weakness of the government, a compulsory compliance with inveterate prejudices, an instant forgetfulness of the act of abolition, or the absence of an intention to execute it strictly and generally[11]: but it is not recorded. The consequence however was, as appears from a roll in Chancery, dated the 18th of November, 1562, the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, that the future primate obtained a grant of the revenues of the archbishoprick, and power to determine ecclesiastical causes in his diocese, several months before his consecration, which was not solemnized till the 2nd of March following, the temporalties being restored to him the next day.

Grant of the revenues of the archbishoprick to Loftus. November, 1562.

Previous incidents in the life of Adam Loftus.

Adam Loftus, or Lofthowse, as he is called in the foregoing document, was a native of Yorkshire, and the younger son of an ancient and wealthy family; and thence his advancement was forwarded by a more than ordinary allowance for his support and education. At a publick act at Cambridge he had thus the advantage of appearing at an early age under favourable circumstances before the queen, who was struck by the elegance of his oratory, and the subtilty of his skill in disputation, at the same time that she was gratified by the comeliness of his person, and his graceful address. She encouraged him to proceed diligently in his studies; graciously promised him early promotion; made him one of her own chaplains; and soon after sent him into Ireland, in quality of chaplain to Thomas, earl

[11] Leland's *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 227.

of Sussex, then lord lieutenant[12]. Then followed his promotion, first, to the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and then to the archbishoprick of Armagh; in appointing him to which by her letters patent, the queen makes honourable mention of the primate-elect, and says that "his archbishoprick is a place of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it[13]." She therefore permits him to hold the deanery of St. Patrick's, *in commendam*, until she should otherwise provide for him.

His consecration, March, 1563.

To his episcopal charge he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin the beginning of March, 1563, being then a bachelor of divinity; and, as reported in Ware's *History of the Irish Bishops*, "in the twenty-eighth year of his age: the youngest archbishop that we meet with in this see, except Celsus." But the biographer does not mention any dispensation from both the ancient and modern law of the Church, which prescribes that any man, which is to be ordained or consecrated bishop, shall be full thirty years of age[14]: so that, finding the age of Archbishop Loftus at his death to be differently stated with an interval of two years between the dates, I am inclined to take the latter, which would fix his consecration at about the canonical age.

Question concerning his age.

And this opinion derives support from an entry in the old Grace Books of the University of Cambridge, whence it appears, that in November, 1567, when Archbishop Loftus was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity, he had been engaged twenty years in the study of Theology. This was four years and eight months after he had been made archbishop,

[12] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 94. [13] *Rot. Canc.* 6 and 7 Eliz.
[14] Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i. p. 115.

in the twenty-eighth year of his age, according to the supposition. Thus, at the later period he must have been in his thirty-third year, and have commenced his theological studies in his thirteenth. This improbable result is favourable to the opinion on the side of a more advanced time of life: which opinion also tallies better with the statement in WARE's *History*, that at his death, the 5th of April, 1605, he was "worn out with old age;" for after his consecration he lived forty-two years, so that, if at that time he was only in his twenty-eighth year, at his death he was only in his seventieth.

Lines of apostolical succession in the episcopate of the Irish Church.

One of the lines of connexion by which the apostolical succession was continued and perpetuated in the Church of Ireland after the Reformation, was from Archbishop Browne, through Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh. Another unbroken series of episcopacy is traced for the Protestant Irish hierarchy through Archbishop Loftus; and that without any cavil or pretence of irregularity, such as might possibly be alleged in the former case, from the consecration having been solemnized by a ritual, which had not been authorized by the laws of Ireland[15]. From Curwin, the archbishop of Dublin recognised by the Papacy, and who had been consecrated in England according to the then legal forms of the Roman pontifical, in the third year of Queen Mary, Archbishop Loftus received his episcopal ordination and consecration; and, on his translation to the see of Dublin, he conveyed the same episcopal character to Lancaster, his successor in the primacy; and by them the same was uninterruptedly transmitted through the several channels which have since distributed the blessings of an

[15] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 94.

apostolical ministry through the Church of Ireland. Indeed, not a shadow of a doubt can be thrown on the apostolical succession in that Church. Even the Popish prelates, so long as any of them survived who were in their sees before the Reformation, were ready to assist at the consecration of Protestant bishops; so that the true episcopal character of the hierarchy of the Irish Church is unquestioned and unquestionable, and protected against all exception, even from the Papists themselves.

No room for question about the succession.

About this time, 1563, was established a form of declaration, which every archbishop and bishop was required to make on occasion of his consecration. With allowance for the change of name and place, the form was as follows[16]:

Form of declaration by bishops at their consecration.

"Ego, N. Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, &c.

"I, N., archbishop of Dublin, elect and consecrated, profess that I have and hold all the temporalties and possessions of the said bishoprick, from the hands of Elizabeth, queen of England, and so forth, and her successors, as in right of the crown of her kingdom of Ireland: to her, and to her successors, kings of England, I will be faithful. So help me God, and the holy Gospels."

In the following year, 1564, the Lord Lieutenant set forth a proclamation against the meetings of the friars and Popish priests in Dublin; and ordered that none of them should lie within the gates of the city. A penalty also was imposed on every housekeeper who omitted coming to church on Sundays, so that many came to church rather than they would pay the tax, which was accurately collected. At first they went to mass in the morning, and to church in the afternoon; but afterwards, to prevent

Proclamation against Popish priests and friars. 1564.

[16] Ware's *Annals*, Eliz., p. 7.

that evasion, a roll of the house-keepers' names in every parish was called over by the church-wardens [17].

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy. 1565.

In 1565, the Earl of Sussex was succeeded in the chief government of Ireland by Sir Henry Sidney: and soon afterwards there occurred a very important provision for maintaining unity and sound doctrine in the Church, but one which, I apprehend, is not generally known. For, in the year 1566, was published, "A Brief Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion; set out by order and authority, as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble Order, Lord President of the Council in the principality of Wales and Marches of the same, and General Deputy of this realm of Ireland, as by the Archbishops and Bishops, and other Her Majesty's High Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical in the same Realm. Imprinted at Dublin, by Humfrey Powel, the 20th of January, 1566."

Declaration of Articles of Religion. Jan. 20, 1566.

For maintaining unity of doctrine.

It is intituled, *The Book of the Articles;* and on the page next to the title-page, which is given above, the same words are repeated, with the addition of these, annexed to the word "realm:" "For the unity of doctrine to be holden and taught of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as well in testification of their common consent and full agreement in the said doctrine, as also necessary for the instruction of their people in their several cures, to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures, and also after that yearly at two several times by the year, that is to say, the Sundays next following

[17] WARE'S *Annals*, Eliz., p. 8.

Easter-day and St. Michael the Archangel; and this upon pain of sequestration, deprivation, or other coercion, as shall be imposed upon such, as shall herein make default."

Then follows the declaration of assent to be made by each minister in the presence of his people. "Forasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the Church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required: I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before me the fear of God and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same." Acknowledgment of assent.

The Articles are twelve. The first asserts the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead. Article I. The Godhead.

The second sets forth the sufficiency of the holy canonical Scriptures to salvation; and confesses all the Articles contained in the three Creeds. II. Holy Scripture and Creeds.

The third is as follows: "I acknowledge, also, the Church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification." III. Authority of the Church.

The fourth Article confesses that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities according to the ordinances of this realm." IV. Call to the ministry.

V. Queen's supremacy.

The fifth Article acknowledges "the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government, of all estates and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm."

VI. Denial of the Bishop of Rome's authority.

And the sixth denies "the authority of the Bishop of Rome to be more than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses."

VII. Book of Common Prayer.

The seventh confesses the Book of Common Prayer to be "agreeable to the Scriptures, and Catholick, Apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people, both for that it is in a tongue that may be understanded of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministration contained in the same."

VIII. Ministration of Baptism.

The eighth asserts the perfect ministration of Baptism, although there is in it "neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused, they be reasonably abolished."

IX. The mass.

The ninth condemns "private masses," or a "publick ministration and receiving of the Sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants:" also it condemns the doctrine of "the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory."

X. Communion in both kinds.

The tenth affirms, that the "Holy Communion ought to be ministered to the people under both kinds."

XI. Images, reliques, and feigned miracles.

The eleventh "utterly disallows the extolling of images, relicks, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and all other vain worshipping of God devised by man's fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures:

as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstition:" and "exhorts all men to the obedience of God's law and to the works of faith."

XII. General acknowledgment of the preceding.

The twelfth Article is a general acknowledgment of the preceding. "These things, above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most mature persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we, all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen."

Declaration agreeable to on in England.

This declaration appears to be the same as one, of which a summary is given by Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, and which was put out in England in the year 1561, under the general name of the *Metropolitans and Bishops*, but seeming to have been chiefly the work of the archbishop[13].

[13] Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. i. pp. 182, 183.

SECTION II.

Two Bishops deprived for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. Conformity of the others. Abuse of Episcopal Property. Depreciation of Bishopricks. Exercise of the Royal Prerogative in appointing Bishops. Titular Bishops. Act of Parliament caused by clerical irregularities. General immorality and irreligion. Act for erecting Free Schools. Opposition to attempts at propagating the Reformed Religion. Irish Liturgy and Catechism. Irish New Testament. Bull of the Pope, and its consequences.

Two Popish bishops deprived of their sees.

THE enactments concerning the Church in Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament had no unpleasant effect upon its governors; save that by the Act of Supremacy, or rather by their own obnoxious conduct in defiance of it, two bishops were deprived of their sees: Leverous, bishop of Kildare, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy; and Walsh, bishop of Meath, who not only refused to take the oath, but preached also against the queen's supremacy, and against the Book of Common Prayer.

Supply of the vacancies.

Their places were supplied respectively, by Alexander Craike in the see of Kildare, and Hugh Brady in that of Meath. The former, who had been previously in possession of the deanery of St. Patrick's, was permitted to retain that preferment *in commendam;* but this did not prevent him from alienating the property of the bishoprick much to the injury of his successors[1]. To the worth of Bishop Brady testimony was borne by the queen, in a letter of October 6, 1564, to Sir Nicholas Arnold, lord justice, and the rest of the commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. "Which commission we send at this

[1] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 391.

present by the reverend father in God, the Bishop of Meath, with whom we have had such conference, as well in the matters contained in that commission, as in sundry other belonging to the weal of that our realm, as we see very good reason to allow of our former choice of him; and do certainly hope, that he shall prove a faithful minister in his charge concerning his pastoral office, and a profitable councillor of our estate there[2]."

Penalties inflicted on the Popish bishops.

The penalties upon the two displaced prelates varied according to their offences. The former, being deprived of his bishoprick, was left at liberty; and for some time enjoyed the hospitable protection of the Earl and Countess of Desmond, and then earned his livelihood by keeping a school at Limerick, and in its neighbourhood: the latter, after his deprivation, was thrown into prison, and some years later was sent into banishment, and died at Alcala in Spain, January 3, 1577, and was there buried in the church of a Cistercian monastery, of which order he was a monk[3].

Bishop Leverous's reasons for non-compliance.

In a book entitled *De Processu Martyriali*, &c., printed at Cologne, in 1640, and quoted in Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*[4], of which Bishop Leverous was dean, his reason for non-compliance with the demand of acknowledging the queen's supremacy is thus recorded. The Lord Deputy required to know the cause of his refusal to take an oath, already taken by many learned and illustrious men. To whom he made answer, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from Christ: and, since he thought not fit to confer ecclesiastical authority on the Blessed Virgin, his mother, it could not be believed that supremacy, or primacy of eccle-

[2] Rolls. [3] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 153. [4] P. 163.

siastical power, was meant to be delegated by Christ to any other person of that sex. He added likewise, that St. Paul commanded no woman should speak in the church, much less should one preside and rule there: to confirm this opinion, he adduced authorities from St. Chrysostom and Tertullian. The Deputy then represented to him, that, if he should refuse to comply, he must of necessity be deprived of all his revenues: he quoted in answer the text of Scripture, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" An answer which entitles him to respect for integrity in acting up to his conviction, however weak and fallacious may be judged the grounds on which his conviction rested.

Whilst we lament that the political offences of these two prelates subjected them to such visitations, we cannot but call to mind that they had in the preceding reign assisted in depriving other bishops of their sees, and other clergymen of their livings, and in particular, each his predecessor of his bishoprick, for the unpardonable offence of being a married man. These are the only two Irish prelates who appear to have been deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the anonymous work indeed, noticed above, as cited in STRYPE'S *Ecclesiastical Annals*, mention is made of "an uncertain number of other bishops there" being deprived, besides the Archbishop of Armagh. But, as the Archbishop of Armagh was certainly not deprived, for from the death of Goodacre the see was vacant for some years, except the time that Dowdall filled it, during the reign of Queen Mary[5], and he, as we have already seen, died before the accession of Queen Elizabeth; so there is neither record, nor rational ground of

Only two deprived bishops.

[5] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 94.

suspicion, of the deprivation of any others, except the two, whose deprivation is matter of historical notoriety. Had any others been deprived, the fact must have been known and recorded, and can hardly have escaped the notice of the ecclesiastical historians of the time. Indeed, upon an inspection of the condition of the different sees about this time, it is evident that in about twenty no change of occupants occurred: and whatever obscurity may attach to the occupancy of the remainder, being, as they are, those of the least note and importance, there is not the faintest probability thence given to the hypothesis in any case, that either of the bishops underwent a deprivation.

Difference between the temporal and spiritual peers.

The simple fact may be thus stated, without fear of reasonable contradiction: that whilst many of the temporal lords retained their attachment to the religious principles in which they had been educated, and transmitted the same to their descendants, all, with two only exceptions, of the spiritual peers, who had been formerly friends of the Papacy, either saw cause to approve of the recent alterations, or, perceiving no disposition in the government to treat them with rigour, contentedly acquiesced in the existing order of things, whilst not a few of them took advantage of the uncontrolled power which they possessed over the property of their sees, for enriching their kindred, and impoverishing the church and their successors.

Lord Deputy's Instructions about ecclesiastical property. Oct., 1565.

The abuse of episcopal property was so injurious, and of such extent, that when Sir Henry Sidney was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in October, 1565, amongst other instructions he brought with him this, "That the Church lands and estates be preserved

from waste and alienation[6]." Whatever means of preservation may in consequence have been used, they failed of producing the desired effect: for at times subsequent, as well as antecedent, to this instruction several cases are on record, some of which may be cited as examples of the enormity.

Impoverishment of Ossory,

Between the years 1553 and 1565, Thonory, bishop of Ossory, made many fee-farm leases of the manors and possessions of his bishoprick at low and inconsiderable rents, which greatly impoverished the see, and lopped off from the bishoprick large branches of its revenue[7]. Between 1560 and 1564, Craike,

Kildare,

bishop of Kildare, exchanged almost all the manors and lands of the bishoprick, for some tythes of little value, by which exchange the very ancient See of Kildare was reduced to a most shameful poverty; and in the short time of three years he did more mischief to his see, than his successors were ever

Ferns,

able to repair[8]. About 1582, Allen, bishop of Ferns, made long leases of many farms, reserving very small rents, and committed many wastes on the lands of the see[9]; and about the same period,

Leighlin,

Cavenagh, bishop of Leighlin, treated the property of his bishoprick in the like manner, leaving it in such a naked condition as to be scarce worth any person's acceptance: so that the poverty of the see caused it, first to be held with some other preferment, and then to be united to the see of Ferns[10]. Archbishop Magragh, who succeeded to the see of

Cashel,

Cashel in 1570, made most scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues belonging to it; and impoverished it by stripping it of much of its ancient estate[11]. And Linch, who obtained the bishoprick

[6] Cox, i. 319. [7] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 418. [8] *Ib.*, 391.
[9] *Ib.*, p. 446. [10] *Ib.*, p. 462. [11] *Ib.*, p. 434.

of Elphin in 1584, so wasted and destroyed it by alienations, fee-farms, and other means, that he left it not worth two hundred marks a year[12]. These examples are bad enough: but they are outdone by certain cases of the original "temporisers," as he terms them, cited by Primate Bramhall, who particularizes one see as left by its possessor so impoverished, that it had but forty shillings of yearly revenue, and another but five marks[13]. Elphin.

The value of several other bishopricks was at the same time much reduced from other causes, of which the unsettled and lawless condition of the kingdom was apparently amongst the chief; and the consequence, as in cases of the former description, was the evil of pluralities to a very pernicious extent. Bishopricks reduced from other causes.

Thus, in 1567, Archbishop Loftus procured his translation from Armagh to Dublin; whereupon Harris, in his edition of Ware's *History of the Bishops*, remarks, that "it is not to be admired at, that he sought a translation from the primatial see; for the North was then ruined by the rebellion of Shane O'Neal, and Armagh, which with its cathedral had been utterly destroyed, afforded but little profit[14]." Armagh.

It should, however, be remarked, that this is not agreeable to the reason, said to have been assigned by the archbishop himself: for it is related in the Loftus MS. in Marsh's Library, that "at first there were many who wondered at the archbishop, why he should resign his archbishoprick of Armagh, for to be translated to Dublin, considering that the primacy of Armagh was not only a higher title, but also had a greater revenue and income belonging to it. So Cause of Archbishop Loftus's translation questionable.

[12] Ware, p. 634. [13] *Life of Abp. Bramhall*, by Abp. Vesey.
[14] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 95.

Adam Loftus made answer, he would rather have less honour and less revenue in quietness, than to be in danger, and to live within his diocese so far from the metropolis of Ireland, and to hazard himself especially in those times."

Curious anecdote relative to Archbishop Curwin.

There is also a curious fact, noticed by Strype in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, which does not appear to have been altogether explained. Under the date of 1561, he observes, that "he meets with a letter, without date of year, but he supposes near about this time, writ from Adam, archbishop of Armagh, to our Archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Trinity College, Cambridge, Sept. 27. Wherein the Irish archbishop, now not long entered upon his functions, hinted how the Archbishop of Canterbury had promised him his aid in all Church causes of Ireland, at his last being in England; especially for removing the Bishop of Dublin. He was, as he described him, a *known enemy*, and laboured under open crimes: which although he shamed not to do, I am, said that archbishop, almost ashamed to speak. So he desired him, now being in England again, to put to his helping hand, and to recommend some zealous man to succeed in that bishop's place: and that he, the Archbishop of Canterbury, would write to the court of this matter[15]."

From the foregoing description, it should seem that Archbishop Curwin's character suffered under some heavy moral imputations, as we have already seen his unsteadiness as to religion. It was not, however, until six years after the supposed date of this letter, that he vacated his see: when "being now grown old, he desired to return and die in his own country[16]," and procured a translation to Oxford,

[15] STRYPE'S *Life of Abp. Parker*, v. i. p. 221. [16] STRYPE, p. 508.

in the grant of which it is observable that no mention was made of his having been Archbishop of Dublin[17]. Then it was that Archbishop Loftus, who had before recommended a different successor, was translated from the primacy, on account, as is generally supposed, of the scantiness of its revenues, caused by the outrages of the rebels in the North.

Archbishop Curwin translated to Oxford. 1567.

For causes, not specified, the archbishoprick of Dublin also was in such a state, that in 1572, "Queen Elizabeth, on account of the poverty of the see, granted him a dispensation, to hold any compatible sinecure with his archbishoprick, not exceeding one hundred pounds a-year in value[18]." On account of the poverty of the See of Armagh, Thomas Lancaster, who succeeded to the primacy, on which occasion he preached his own consecration sermon[19], had a licence, a few days after his consecration, to hold *in commendam* several benefices, both in England and Ireland, which at the time of his advancement he possessed, and to retain them during such time as he should continue primate; but under a proviso, that the said churches should not be defrauded of their usual service, but be supplied with a provision of vicars and curates[20]. The See of Meath was so poor, when Bishop Brady was preferred to it, that in the year following his promotion, the queen sent special letters to the government, ordering them to allow him five years' respite for the payment of his first fruits[21]. But in 1568, and during the remainder of his life, he enjoyed the profits of the See of Clonmacnoise, which was at that time, by Act of Parliament, united to Meath, as by

Reduced value of Dublin.

Armagh.

Meath.

Union of Bishopricks.

[17] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 353. [18] *Ib.*, p. 353.
[19] Mason's *St. Patrick*, p. 170. [20] Ware, p. 95. [21] *Ib.*, p. 156.

the same act Emly was united to Cashel[22]. In 1570, Bishop Magragh is related to have received little or nothing out of the See of Clogher, by reason of the long wars in those parts; and, after his translation, the rebellions, which prevailed there, occasioned the bishoprick to remain vacant for many years, during the whole of the remainder of Queen Elizabeth's reign[23]. And in 1600, John Crosby was nominated to the united Sees of Ardfert and Aghadoe, described in the official document as the bishoprick of Kerry, from the county, or, in old times, the kingdom, in which they were situated. He is there mentioned to be "a graduate in schools of English race, and yet skilled in the Irish tongue: well disposed in religion, and who hath already some other means of living to enable him to bear the countenance of such a promotion, which the place hath need of. Because the temporalties of that see, by reason of these rebellions, are wasted and yield little profit, we have thought no other better than he[24]."

Clogher.

Ardfert and Aghadoe.

With reference to what has been just said concerning the vacancy of the see of Clogher, the remark may be added, that in all ordinary cases the queen continually exercised her prerogative of appointing bishops by her letters patent to the vacant sees, except in the instance of Kilmore, which had been usurped by a Popish intruder until 1585, and then, after an incumbency of four years by the queen's nominee, from the confusion of the times continued without a bishop for the last fourteen years of her reign: and except also in the instances of the two northern bishopricks of Raphoe and Derry, to which she made no collation, unless in the year 1595, when her reign was drawing towards its close.

Queen appointed to all bishopricks;

With rare exceptions.

[22] WARE, p. 483. [23] *Ib.*, p. 138. [24] Rolls, 42 Eliz.

In other cases she made regular donation of the sees, as they respectively became void. And in so doing she seems to have followed the rule, for the most part, of placing Englishmen in those sees, the occupiers of which were brought into more immediate communication with the government, and occasionally in others, where their services appeared likely to be useful; but allowing, at the same time, a general preponderance to the natural claims of the Irish clergy. Thus of the five appointments which she made to the primacy, four were given to Englishmen, one of whom also, Adam Loftus, filled the only vacancy which occurred during her reign in the archbishoprick of Dublin. But two appointments to each of the other archbishopricks of Cashel and Tuam were bestowed on Irishmen. To speak summarily: out of about fifty-two nominations to Irish bishopricks, made by Queen Elizabeth, sixteen were of persons from the other side of the channel, including one Welshman in the number; twenty-eight were natives of Ireland, of whom twenty-four were of originally Irish families; the remaining eight are doubtful, at least I have not ascertained them. These were the legitimate prelates of the Church of Ireland; and of these the genuine successors, both by law and by due course of episcopal descent, are the prelates who now constitute the Irish hierarchy in the United Church of England and Ireland.

Apparent rule of distribution.

The legitimate Irish episcopate.

It is true that there existed in the kingdom other intrusive missionaries, sent by the Bishop of Rome as opponents of the sovereign, the laws, and the Church of the kingdom, and arrogating for themselves the jurisdiction, and calling themselves by the usurped titles, of the rightful and duly-recognised

Intrusive missionaries from Rome.

Titular bishops.

prelates. Thus, in the course of history, we read in 1567, of a titular Archbishop of Cashel, who, because the true archbishop would not surrender to him the administration of his province, wounded him with a skein or Irish dagger, and made his escape for safety into Spain[25]. We read in 1568 of the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly being sent by certain confederated rebels, as their ambassadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore aid and assistance for rescuing their religion and country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth[26]. We read in 1593 of the titular Primate of Armagh, importuning a proclaimed traitor to invade Connaught, with the intention of preying upon that country; of his forces being routed in battle; and himself with many of them being slain[27]. We read in 1599, of the titular Archbishop of Dublin coming to another rebel and traitor, who had publickly and haughtily professed that he would recover the liberty of religion and his country, and bringing to him Papal indulgences for all that would take arms against the English, and a phœnix plume to O'Neal and 22,000 pieces of gold for distribution from the King of Spain[28]. But these, as they derived their ecclesiastical character from a foreign prelate, so were they dissentients and separatists from the Church of Ireland; and such has ever been the proper character of their successors.

Abuse of episcopal patronage.

The bishops of Ireland have, for the most part, the patronage of the dignities in their respective cathedrals; and this patronage had been abused by several of those who occupied the southern and

[25] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 483. [26] Cox, i. 333. [27] *Ib.*, i. 403. [28] Cox, i. 422.

western sees at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in a manner very injurious to God's honour, and to the moral condition of the people. This is said on the authority of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who in the year 1568, made a progress into Munster and Connaught, nearly answering to the ecclesiastical provinces of Cashel and Tuam; and there "found among other experiences," what he stated as the preamble of an Act of Parliament the following year, "the great abuse of the clergy there, in admitting of unworthy personages to ecclesiastical dignities; which had neither lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit, nor English language; but descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chantors, and such like; getting into the said dignities, either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil ensample of all honest congregations." The remedy proposed for this evil was the enactment, which was accordingly made, "that no person or persons be from henceforth admitted or received to be dean, chantor, chancellor, treasurer, or archdeacon of any cathedral church within Munster and Connaught, the cathedral churches of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Cashel only excepted, but only by the presentation and nomination of the Lord Deputy, or other governor of this realm for the time being, during the time and space of ten years next ensuing."

1568.

Act of Parliament for its correction, 11 Eliz. c. 6.

The act also provided, "that no person or persons so to be nominated and presented to any of the dignities aforesaid, shall be able to take any of the said dignities, except he or they be within orders, of full age, can read and speak the English tongue, and shall reside upon the same dignities." The

Benefices held by laymen and non-residents.

abuses, noticed in the last provision, of ecclesiastical benefices, being holden by laymen and by non-residents, appear to be of no uncommon occurrence at this period. It was in the year 1568, that the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was possessed by Robert Weston, a civilian, who had succeeded Archbishop Curwin in the chancellorship of Ireland, but not an ecclesiastick, having received the Archbishop of Canterbury's dispensation from taking holy orders. This dispensation he pleaded at a visitation of the new Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, in the cathedral, this same year, July the 12th. The same plea was alleged in vindication of himself from the like charge, as well as for non-residence, by one of the prebendaries. Against three others, who were charged with non-residence, and who appear not to have had the same subterfuge, sentence of deprivation was proclaimed[29].

General immorality and irreligion. 1565.

The kingdom in general was at this time overwhelmed by the most deplorable immorality and irreligion. On his arrival in Ireland about two years before, the Lord Deputy had consulted with the privy council on the condition of the country, and this was the appalling result of their investigations.

Report of the privy council.

"The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers; the countryman so poor, that he hath neither horse, arms, nor victuals for himself; and the soldiers so beggarly, that they could not live without oppressing the subject; for want of discipline they were grown insolent, loose, and idle; and, which rendered them suspected to the state, they were allied by marriage to the Irish, and intimate with them in conversation.

"Leinster was harassed by the Tooles, Birns, Kinshe-

[29] MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 170.

laghs, O'Morroghs, Cavenaghs, and O'Moors; but especially the county of Kilkenny was almost desolate.

"Munster, by the dissensions between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, was almost ruined, especially Tipperary and Kerry; the barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace; and Thomond was as bad as the rest by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brian and the Earl of Thomond.

"Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earl of Clanrickard, and M'William Outer, and other lesser contests.

"And Ulster, which for some time had been the receptacle and magazine of all the preys and plunder gotten out of the other provinces, and so was richer than the rest, was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neal.

"As for religion, there was but small appearance of it; the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people[30]." Small appearance of religion.

To meet this formidable array of evils, the Lord Deputy and council took such measures as they judged best, and which in general it does not fall within our present province to notice. But with respect to our more immediate subject, amongst the instructions which the Lord Deputy had brought with him from the queen, there was one which enjoined, "That religion and knowledge of the Scriptures should be propagated and encouraged by doctrine, example, &c." Possibly the statute which has been already mentioned as enacted in the parliament next following these instructions, relative to the providing of fit persons, duly qualified by their birth and attainments, for ecclesiastical dignities in Munster and Connaught, may have arisen out of this instruction: it is highly probable that this was the foundation of the act, passed in an adjourned 11 Eliz., c. 6.

[30] Cox, i. 319.

session of the same parliament, for the erection of free schools throughout the kingdom.

Act for free schools, 12 Eliz. c. 1. 1570.

The preamble, which is an important document in exposition of the extreme ignorance of the people for want of good school discipline, plainly, strongly, and briefly sets forth the occasion of the act to be, "Forasmuch as the greatest number of this your majesty's realm hath of long time lived in rude and barbarous states, not understanding that Almighty God hath by his divine laws forbidden the manifold and heinous offences, which they spare not daily and hourly to commit and perpetrate, nor that he hath by his holy Scriptures commanded a due and humble obedience from the people to their princes and rulers; whose ignorance in these so high points touching their damnation proceedeth only of lack of good bringing up of the youth of this realm, either in publick or private schools, where through good discipline they might be taught to avoid these loathsome and horrible errors." And then ensues the enactment, in substance to this effect, that there be henceforth a free school within every diocese of Ireland; that the schoolmaster shall be an Englishman, or of the English birth of this realm; that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, shall have the nomination of the schoolmasters, each in his own diocese, for ever; that the Lord Deputy shall have the nomination in every other diocese; that the school-house shall be erected in the principal shire-town of the diocese, where school-houses are not already built; and that the Lord Deputy and council shall appoint a convenient yearly salary, of which one-third part shall be borne by the ordinary, and the other two by the clergy of the diocese. It is also enacted that all

Preamble setting forth the people's rudeness and gross ignorance.

Enactment for erecting diocesan schools.

ecclesiastical livings that have come by any title to the queen, or any of her progenitors, shall be charged to this payment, in whose ever possession the same are or shall come.

Policy of the government for improvement of the country.

It seems to have been the policy of the English government to civilize the Irish by means of the English language, and thus to improve their religious and moral character; or rather to take such measures, as might at the same time produce their civil improvement, and instruct them in a knowledge and practice of the Gospel. As instruments well suited for producing this general improvement among their countrymen, regard appears to have been had to the native youth, who, being by the circumstances of their birth acquainted with the Irish language, should be trained in a knowledge of the English, and at the same time in the sound religious principles and practices of the Church; that thus in due course they might become efficient in disseminating true religion, and social and moral cultivation over the country, through the medium of either the Irish or the English tongue, as occasions might require, and in a way exempt from all offence on the score of national antipathies. Such an object was highly commendable in the government; and to the attainment of it the erection of the diocesan free-schools appears calculated to have been conducive.

Religious education of the native youth.

Proposed act for repair of churches.

Another measure for the religious improvement of the country was proposed to be enacted in this parliament, but from some unassigned cause failed of success. In pursuance of the statute of the 10th of Henry the Seventh, chap. 4, commonly called Poyning's Act, it was necessary that before the meeting of any parliament the acts intended to be proposed should be certified to the king under the

great seal of Ireland, and affirmed by the king and council as good and expedient for that land, under the great seal of England. Among the bills proposed to be enacted in the present parliament, together with that for the erection of free schools, was another for the reparation of parochial churches. The parliament was opened on the 17th day of January, 1569; it was not, however, until its fifth session, on the 26th of May, 1570, that the former of these bills became a law: the latter was never passed[31]. The postponement in the one case, and still more the want of success in the latter, fair and reasonable as its purpose appears, may perhaps be not improperly taken as a proof of a powerful opposition, prepared to counteract or resist every scheme of the government for propagating the reformed religion.

Its failure.

Effort for religious improvement by individuals.

Connected in its objects with these measures of the government, and nearly contemporaneous with them, was an effort made by some zealous individuals, not however without the encouragement and aid of the ruling powers, for the spiritual edification of the people, and the extension of the Irish Church. The principal of these was Nicholas Walsh, who, about six years after, in 1577, was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory. A previous occurrence of the sirname in this narrative seems to call for the explanatory remark, that he was the son, not of that Bishop Walsh, who, by virtue of Queen Mary's commission, had been one of the agents in removing his predecessor, Bishop Staples, from the See of Meath, and had afterwards incurred the same sentence himself in Queen Elizabeth's reign, for preaching against the

Walsh, bishop of Ossory.

[31] LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii p. 245.

queen's supremacy, and the newly-established Book of Common Prayer; but he was the son of another bishop of the same name, who presided over the united Sees of Waterford and Lismore, by mandate from King Edward the Sixth, and is recorded to have been a man of great repute for his learning and religion. These qualities appear to have been transmitted to the son, who, having been educated at Cambridge, and having afterwards possessed the dignity of Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in the beginning of February, 1577. Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, had first recommended for the vacant see, Davy Clure, M.A. of Oxford, a man of learning and commendable conversation, a divine, but not a civilian. This, however, not being approved of, he recommended Mr. Walsh, a godly and well-learned preacher[32].

His parentage.

I mention these particulars in relation to a prelate, perhaps not so well known amongst the worthies of the Church of Ireland, as his character and good deeds deserve, for a mark of distinction honourable to one, who in 1571, the period with which our narrative is now conversant, whilst he was Chancellor of St. Patrick's, together with John Kerney, treasurer of that church, the beloved companion of his studies, was the first who introduced the Irish types for printing into that kingdom; and obtained from the government an order, that the prayers of the Church should be printed in that character and language; and a church set apart in the shire-town of every diocese, where they should be read, and a sermon preached to the common people: a provision, which proved to be an instru-

Irish Book of Common Prayer and Catechism.

1571.

John Kerney.

[32] *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 127, 153.

ment of conversion to the purified faith of the Gospel in many of the previously uninstructed and ignorant Papists, who were thus withdrawn from the modern inventions of Popery, and trained in the profession of the ancient and Catholick Church[33].

Irish New Testament.

Nor did the efforts of Bishop Walsh stop here. But desirous of leading his countrymen to the pure well-head of truth, as contained in Holy Scripture, and of showing them the harmony which subsists between the true word of God and the creed and worship of the Church; with the assistance of his friend, John Kerney, and of Nehemiah Donellan, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, he commenced a translation of the New Testament from Greek into Irish; a work, which was greatly approved of by Queen Elizabeth, and eventually printed in 1603, and dedicated to King James, on its completion by William Daniel, the successor of Donellan in the archiepiscopal see[34].

Archbishops Donellan and Daniel.

For the labours of Bishop Walsh had been prematurely interrupted by the execrable act of a profligate wretch, who, whether in revenge at being cited by the bishop into his court, for the crime of adultery, or being prompted to the villany as a means of preventing the bishop from carrying on the proceedings which he had commenced for recovering the rights of his see, surprised him in his house, and stabbed him with a skein or dagger. The bishop died of the wound, and was buried in his Cathedral Church of Kilkenny, where a monument was erected to his memory with a Latin inscription, mentioning the date of his death, December 14, 1585, but not specifying the cause. The simplicity and brevity of the inscription preclude also a notice

Murder of Bishop Walsh.

December, 1585.

[33] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 418.

[34] Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 97, 107.

of the valuable undertaking, which is the fairest monument to his memory.

Counteraction of Popish party.

On recurring, however, to the point, whence we have somewhat digressed, it may be remarked, that whatever exertions were made by the government or under its patronage, they were continually encountered by corresponding energy in the Popish party. And especially at this time a countervailing force was kept in active operation by a confederacy of some of the more licentious of the Irish lords, who were no less diligent in spreading abroad disorder and confusion. Religion was the pretended cloak for their rebellion: in pursuance of which they sent the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly, and the younger brother of the Earl of Desmond, as their ambassadors, to solicit assistance from the Pope and the King of Spain, to rescue their Church and country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth[35]. Shortly after, in March, 1570, Pope Pius the Fifth fulminated his bull of excommunication against the queen; and, as is remarked by a Popish historian of Ireland, Sullevan, as quoted by Cox[36], "deservedly deprived her of her kingdom;" from which deprivation followed, during the remainder of her reign, the natural consequence, that bigotry and rebellion went together hand in hand, and were bound in an indissoluble league for disturbing the government of the heretical sovereign, and overthrowing the English laws and the Protestant religion, which were to the disaffected alike objects of their supreme hatred and abhorrence.

Religion pretence for rebellion.

Bull of Pope Pius V, March, 1570.

It was not until 1571, fifteen years after his

[35] Cox, i. 333. [36] *Ib.*, p. 337.

Restoration of one of the Protestant bishops. 1571.

deprivation by Queen Mary's commissioners, and on his successor's resignation of the bishoprick from some cause which is not related, that Bishop Casey was reinstated in his see of Limerick[37], being the only one of the deprived prelates who was restored: for Thomas Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, who bore the same names, and has sometimes been identified, with him who succeeded Archbishop Loftus in the primacy[38], was, in fact, a different person; and neither he, nor any of his fellow-sufferers, was again placed in the episcopal office. Why neither of these, who had incurred the penalty of their confession of the reformed faith, was restored to his dignity on Queen Elizabeth's accession; or why Bishop Casey was not restored till after the lapse of so long a period of deprivation, has not been fully explained. Bishop Bale is supposed not to have desired restoration; and possibly the others were dead before the opportunity had arrived for restoring them. But, in effect, this conduct of the government rather wears the appearance of lenity and forbearance towards the advocates of Popery, than of a just and equitable consideration for the martyrs of the Reformed Church. Bishop Casey survived his restoration twenty years, having lived to a good old age; and is a rather uncommon instance of a Protestant bishop having his spiritual functions performed by a coadjutor, on account of his great age and infirm health, which rendered him unequal to the discharge of his official duties.

Question why the others were not restored.

A coadjutor bishop.

Scheme of a Protestant plantation in the Ards. 1572.

In 1572, a scheme was formed by Sir Thomas Smith for making a Protestant plantation in the Ards, a peninsular district of the county of Down, under the conduct of his natural son, who was like-

[37] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 510. [38] Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 175.

wise a Thomas Smith, assisted by a person of the name of Chatterton: but in consequence of the murder of the leader of the colony, the design proved unsuccessful. In the following year, Hugh Allen, one of the colonists, who had been "much commended to the queen as a good preacher and a zealous man," was promoted to the bishoprick of Down and Connor, on the vacancy made by the death of John Merriman, the first Protestant bishop who occupied that see, to which he had been appointed four years before[39]. The vacancy of the see for more than two years, on Allen's translation to Ferns, in 1582, is a neglect on the part of the government, rather to be lamented than explained.

Section III.

Sir Henry Sidney's Letter to the Queen. Her commission for the supply of Churches and Curates. Instances of Popish Insubordination. Sir John Perrot's Instructions concerning the Church. Appointment of a Bishop for Kilmore. Failure of Plan for an University. Act against Witchcraft. Foundation of University of Dublin.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy. 1575.

In the autumn of the year 1575, the excellent Sir Henry Sidney, who had five times before been at the head of the Irish government, was again intrusted with the office of Lord Deputy. His thoughts and his labour were at once bestowed on the improvement of the kingdom: and the result of his investigations, respecting the deplorable condition of the church, was made known to the queen in the following letter, written in the ensuing spring.

[39] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 446. Cox, i. 341.

His letter to the queen.

"May it please your most excellent Majesty,

"I have in four several discourses, addressed unto the lords of your highness's most honourable council, certified them how I found this your highness's realm at mine arrival into the same; and what I have seen and understand by my travel these six last months, in which I have passed through each province, and have been almost in each county thereof: the which I would not send to your most excellent majesty, immediately to be read by the same, lest they should have seemed too tedious, partly through the quantity of the matter, but chiefly through the bad delivery thereof by my pen: not doubting but your majesty is, by this time, advertised of the material points contained in them.

Lamentable state of the church.

"And now, most dear mistress and most honoured sovereign, I solely address to you, as to the only sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick realm. The lamentable estate of the most noble and principal limb thereof, the church I mean, as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed, as any other part thereof, by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least amended, I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole realm; and was advertised of the particular estate of each church in the bishoprick of Meath, being the best inhabited country of all this realm, by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a godly minister of the Gospel, and a good servant of your highness, who went from church to church himself, and found that there are within his diocese two hundred and twenty-four parish churches, of which number one hundred and five are impropriated to sundry possessions, now of your highness, and now leased out for years, or in fee-farm, to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent, which your majesty receiveth: no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate for the most part appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility.

Diocese of Meath.

Destitution of curates.

"All these live upon the bare altarages" (emoluments arising from the services of the altar) "as they call them; and were wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, goodly abolished by your majesty: no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down: very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled. There are fifty-two other parish-churches in the same diocese, who have vicars endowed upon them, better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are fifty-two parish-churches more, residue of the first number of two hundred and twenty-four, which pertain to divers particular lords; and these, though in better estate than the rest commonly are, yet far from well.

Their character and mode of living.

Ruinous state of churches.

"If this be the estate of the church in the best-peopled diocese, and best-governed country of this your realm, as in truth it is; easy is it for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them: yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publickly before me, that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them: and truly I believe it.

Worse condition of other dioceses.

Their heathenish state.

"If I should write unto your majesty, what spoil hath been, and is, of the archbishopricks, of which there are four, and of the bishopricks, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter. But your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case: the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars: the ruin of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified; competent living for the ministers, being well chosen.

No church so miserable as that of Ireland.

Misery of three particulars.

"For the first, let it like your most gracious majesty to write earnestly to me, and to whom else it may best please you, to examine in whom the fault is, that the churches are so ruinous: if it be found in the country or farmers, to compel them speedily to go about the amend-

Proposed remedies as to buildings.

ment of them; if the fault, for the churches of your highness's inheritance, be not in the farmers, nor they bound to repair them, (and the most ruined of them are such as are of your possession,) it may like you to grant warrant, that some portion may yearly, of the revenue of every parsonage, be bestowed on the church of the same.

And ministers who can speak Irish,

"For the second and third, which is, that good ministers might be found to occupy the places, and they made able to live in them: in choice of which ministers, for the remote places, where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish:

To be sought in the English universities,

for which search would be made, first and speedily, in your own universities; and any found there, well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, they would be sent hither animated by your majesty; yea, though it were somewhat to your highness's charge: and on peril of my life you shall find it returned with gain, before three years be expired. If there be no such there, or not enough, (for I wish ten or twelve at the least,) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignity in the church, in remote places of this realm, then do I wish, (but this most humbly under your highness's correction,) that you would write to the

And in Scotland.

regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many of the reformed church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highness so many, as shall seem good to you to demand, of honest, zealous, and learned men, and that could speak this language: and, though for a while your majesty were at some charge, it were well bestowed, for in short time their own preferments would be able to suffice them; and in the mean time thousands would be gained to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the worst.

Provision recommended for the churches of the pale.

"And for the ministry of the churches of the English pale of your own inheritance, be contented, most virtuous queen, that some convenient portion for a minister may be allowed to him, out of the farmer's rent; it will not be much loss to you in your revenue, but gain otherwise inestimable, and yet the decay of your rent but for a while: for, the years once expired of the leases already granted, there is no donbt but that to be granted to the church will be recovered with increase.

"I wish, and most humbly beseech your majesty, that there may be three or four grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy there, be sent hither, who in short space, being here, would sensibly perceive the enormities of this overthrown church, and easily prescribe orders for the repair and upholding of the same, which I hope God would confirm. And I find no difficulty, but that your officer here might execute the same. Cause the bishops of that your realm to undertake this apostleship, and that upon their own charges. They be rich enough: and if either they be thankful to your majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travail; and I will undertake their guiding and guarding honourably and safely from place to place: the great desire that I have to have such from thence, is, for that I hope to find them, not only grave in judgment, but void of affections.

Intreaty for clergy from England;

For English bishops to visit Ireland.

"I most humbly beseech your majesty, to accept these my rude letters, as figures of a zealous mind for reformation of this your church and country; wherein me thinketh I work waywardly, when the latter is preferred before the former. When I had come to the end of this my evil-scribbled letter, and beheld the illegible lines and ragged letters of mine own staggering hand, I was ashamed to suffer the same to be sent to your majesty, but made my man to write it out again: for which I most humbly crave pardon, as for the rest of this my tedious petition. And thus from the bottom of my heart wishing to your majesty the long continuance of your most prosperous and godly reign over us, your most happy subjects; as a most faithful and obedient servant, I recommend myself and service to your most excellent majesty.

The Lord Deputy's excuses for his letter.

"From your highness's castle of Dublin this 28th of April, 1576.

"Your majesty's faithful, humble,
and obedient servant,
"H. Sydney[1]."

The same year in which this pathetick repre-

Commission to rectify ecclesiastical abuses.

[1] Sir H. Sidney's *Letters and Memorials*, i. 112.

sentation of the disastrous state of ecclesiastical affairs is dated, a commission was sent over from the queen for rectifying it, by providing for the supply of churches and ministers[2].

As to this lamentable scarcity of churches, it is reasonable to inquire, what was the cause of such a defect in a country, so abundant as Ireland had of old times been in the sacred edifices of religion.

Causes of the scarcity of churches.

The cause may probably be found, to no small degree, in the perpetual rebellions and conflicts which agitated the kingdom, illustrated as this conjecture is by the recorded facts of the desolation by which these intestine outrages were sometimes distinguished.

Rebellions and wars.

Thus near the commencement of this reign, in 1566, we learn, that in the common ruin which was spread over the north by the rebellion of Shane O'Neal, the cathedral, together with the metropolitan town of Armagh, was "utterly destroyed[3];" an expression which must be taken with some qualification, as the building, which still exists, is evidently in part the production of an earlier age. Still the demolition must have been fearful and extensive: for in an Act of Parliament, three years after, the church is represented to have been "ruined, broken down, and defaced[4];" and it drew from the contemporary historian, Camden, the following description: "In our memory, the church and city of Armagh were so foully defaced by the rebel Shane O'Neal. that they lost all their ancient beauty and glory; and nothing remaineth at this day, but a few small wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory, and the primate's palace[5]." The cause

O'Neal's destruction of Armagh Cathedral, in 1566.

[2] Cox, i. 347.
[3] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 95.
[4] Irish Stat., 11 Eliz., Sess. 3, c. 1.
[5] Camden's *Ireland*, p. 109.

assigned for this outrage was, "that he did it, lest the English should lodge therein;" for which fact the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by Archbishop Loftus, then Lord Primate of all Ireland, and by the clergy of his diocese[6].

Athenry Church burnt by the Mac an Earlas, in 1576.

And thus at the very time of which we are speaking, namely, in 1576, when the town of Athenry was burnt by the Mac an Earlas, the church itself was not exempt from the common ruin, although it contained the burial-place of the mother of one of the ravagers: a circumstance which was so far from mitigating his fury, that a remonstrance addressed to the son, upon the plea that his mother was buried in that church, was met by the unnatural and impious answer, that, "if his mother were alive, he would sooner burn her and the church together, than any English church should fortify there[7]."

That the like spirit animated others of the rebel chiefs, is no uncharitable opinion: and that it produced the like fruit, is a conjecture by no means irrational. But indeed without having recourse to the hypothesis of a malicious disposition, exerted against the churches of the Protestant and English faith, we cannot peruse the history of these calamitous times, and follow such men as Rory Oge O'More in their depredations, laying waste large districts of country, and burning and destroying whole towns and villages on their march, without seeing ample cause to believe, that, whether intentionally or not, the churches must have fallen in the general conflagration and demolition[8].

Natural decay, not promptly and effectively resisted.

Having allowed, however, for the devastation of war and violence, much is probably to be attributed

[6] Ware's *Annals*, Eliz. p. 10. [7] Cox, i. 346. [8] *Ib.*, 350—352.

to natural decay also, not seasonably encountered and effectually remedied. In ordinary cases the law imposed the charge of repairing churches on the parishioners, and authorized the bishop to take cognisance of and direct the repairs. But under the actual circumstances of the country it may be well imagined, that the parishioners would be remiss in discharging what belonged to them in this respect; and that the bishops would, in some cases at least, be wanting in inclination to enforce the law, and compel the reparation, even if they possessed the ability, which in the disturbed and lawless state of the country, and amongst agitators and rebels, they of necessity frequently did not. Thus natural decay would come in aid of the desolating influence of warfare; and its progress, when once commenced, if not promptly and assiduously checked, would advance with accelerated force, so as to make restoration impossible, and to consign the edifices to ruin, as irremediable as that which was produced by the devastation of war.

Difficulty of finding a remedy.

But whatever may have been the cause, that the evil was widely prevalent appears too plainly from the foregoing letter: not so any practicable remedy. An attempt to introduce such a remedy by a legislative enactment, about six years before, failed of success, as has been already shown. The attempt itself is an argument, that a sufficient legal remedy did not at that time exist: and Sir Henry Sidney's letter must be understood as admitting the same defect: otherwise, why such an earnest appeal to the interposition of the queen? Whether or not she interposed, in compliance with his earnest suit, is not recorded, except so far as is intimated by the subsequent commission. Instances, indeed, of a

desire in the government to animate the bishops to the exercise of such powers as they possessed, are supplied by the conduct of two of Sir Henry Sidney's successors in office, Sir William Drury and Sir John Perrot, who would fain have had means taken for the repair of churches by episcopal authority. But this produced no effect; at least there will soon appear fresh occasion to lament the unsupplied deficiency of parochial edifices for divine worship.

Scarcity of curates.

The scarcity of curates was another defect, which by the queen's commission was required to be supplied. The defect was obvious; and the causes of it were not far to seek. They were to be found to some extent in the abuse of episcopal patronage; more, in the want of persons properly qualified to discharge the functions of the ministry in a country so peculiarly circumstanced as Ireland; most of all, perhaps, in the penury of the country, the multitude of lay impropriations, despoiled from the church, and the poverty of the benefices, which afforded no competent maintenance for those who might be qualified and willing to engage in the ministry. These causes will be seen more particularly at a period, somewhat later than the present, when occasion will be offered for recurring to these defects in the church: and when it will be seen also, what little remedy for the supply of them was ministered by this commission of the queen.

Sir H. Sidney succeeded by Sir W. Drury.

Allusion was just now made to the conduct of Sir William Drury, in endeavouring to effect the reparation of the ruined churches. On the resignation of the government of Ireland by Sir Henry Sidney, who had filled the station eleven years, and seven several times, and left it with the honourable

testimony of Camden[9], that "he was one of the most commendable deputies that ever was in Ireland," he was succeeded by Sir William Drury, in 1578; who, in the month of September, a few days after he had been sworn into his office, made a journey through Munster, accompanied by Sir Edward Fitton, and others of the council. At Kilkenny, he bound several citizens, by a recognizance of forty pounds, to come to church, and hear divine service every Sunday, pursuant to the queen's injunctions; and he advised the Bishop of Ossory "to make a rate for the repair of the church, and to distrain for the payment of it[10]." I am not aware what were the special instructions of the Lord Deputy; or whether he extended his advice to other bishops; or what were the particular circumstances which called for his interference at Kilkenny; or what was the result of his advice to the Bishop of Ossory, the same Nicholas Walsh, of whom there has been lately occasion for making respectful mention on account of his exertions for the religious improvement of the country.

Queen's injunctions relative to divine service. 1578.

In the same year, and about the same season, Matthew Sheyn, who had been promoted to the bishoprick of Cork and Cloyne about four years before, and who is commemorated for his great enmity to the superstitious veneration shown by the Papists for the objects of their idolatrous worship, gave an instance of this enmity, by publickly burning at the high cross of Cork the image of St. Dominick, belonging to the Dominican friary in that city, greatly to the mortification and sorrow of the inhabitants who were attached to that superstition[11].

Image of St. Dominick publickly burnt at Cork.

[9] CAMDEN, *Eliz.*, 231.

[10] Cox, i. 354.

[11] WARE'S *Bishops*, 564.

In the same year, on Sunday after St. George's day, James Bedlow, a citizen of Dublin, did penance, standing barefoot before the pulpit in Christ Church, and at the same time publicly confessed his faults, which were these: 1. He had denied the queen to be head of the Church. 2. He alleged that one article of the ten commandments was false. And, 3. That the preachers, when they were out of their matter, and knew not what to say, fell to railing at the Pope. All which particulars were said to be confuted in a learned and eloquent sermon preached by Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin[12].

An act of penance by a citizen of Dublin.

At or about this time several instances are recorded of the patronage given by the Pope to the Irish rebels, in aid of their attempts to overthrow the dominion of Queen Elizabeth, and withal the Reformed Church of Ireland.

Pope's patronage of the Irish rebels.

In 1579 the Earl of Desmond had become so insolent, that he wrote an arrogant letter to Sir William Pelham, who on the death of Sir William Drury had been recently chosen Lord Justice, importing that he and his brethren were entered into the defence of the catholick faith, and advising the Lord Justice to join him: "understanding that we took this matter in hand with great authority, both from the Pope's holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need[13]."

Earl of Desmond's letter to the Lord Justice. 1579.

Nor was this an idle boast; for in the preceding year, the holy father, Gregory the Thirteenth, partly to propagate the Romish faith, and partly to acquire the kingdom of Ireland for his son, had confederated with King Philip of Spain to contribute to the charge of the Irish rebellion, to join councils and

Confederacy of the Pope and King of Spain. 1578.

[12] Warburton's *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 200. [13] Cox, i. 361.

forces, and to send aid into Ireland under the command of an English fugitive, who was invested with a marquisate to qualify him for so high a command[14].

Papal indulgences for fighting against the queen, 1580.

And in the following year, 1580, the same holy father granted to all the Irish, who would fight against the Queen, the same plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, as were granted to those who were engaged in the holy war against the Turks[15].

And in the autumn of the same year, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, under the command of an Italian, landed in Kerry, being sent by the Pope and King of Spain to propagate the miscalled catholick religion; and there they built them a fort, which being besieged by the Lord Deputy, Lord Gray of Wilton, and summoned to surrender, they returned for answer, "That they held it for the Pope and the King of Spain, to whom the Pope had given the kingdom of Ireland[16]."

Ireland given by the Pope to the King of Spain.

Irreligious and unscrupulous conduct of the Pope.

By such courses of disloyalty to their natural sovereign, and of conspiracy with her enemies, of sedition, rebellion, and outrage, did their holy father, the Bishop of Rome, train his Irish children in the knowledge and practice of their Christian duty; and by such weapons of carnal warfare did his holiness strive to maintain the papal supremacy in Ireland under the pretended semblance of the true catholick faith. Nor did he scruple to authorize the republication of the bulls of his predecessor, Pope Pius the Fifth, against the queen, unthroning her as a bastard and a heretick, and discharging her subjects from their allegiance[17].

[14] Cox, i. p. 352.
[15] *Ib.*, p. 365.
[16] *Ib.* 367.
[17] *Ib.*

In 1582 died Robert Daly, bishop of Kildare: a prelate no otherwise memorable than that, in the course of his eighteen years' incumbency, he had been three times turned in a manner almost naked out of his house, and plundered of his goods by the rebels. He died in the winter of this year, soon after the third outrage, which was supposed to have been the cause of his death[18].

Death of Bishop Daly, after being thrice plundered by rebels. 1582.

And in the same year, to fill the vacancy lately made in the bishoprick of Clonfert, a successor was appointed, with a dispensation to hold the church of Dunmore, in the diocese of Tuam: which is here noticed for the purpose of remarking, that this church had been held by Thomas Laly, a layman; who was deprived of it for his inability to exercise the clerical functions[19].

A layman deprived for inability to exercise clerical functions.

About Midsummer, 1584, a new Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, arrived in Ireland with instructions, which had no immediate reference to the Church, except that "no man, ecclesiastical or civil, who had any function or office, be suffered to be absent from his charge above two months, without special licence, on pain of forfeiture[20]." The Lord Deputy's commission authorized him "to collate and confer all spiritual promotions, except archbishops and bishops[21]." But this exception was superseded in the instance of the archbishoprick of Armagh, then void, by one of his instructions, which empowered him to "place there such an archbishop as the Lord Deputy and the council should think fit."

Instructions to Sir J. Perrot, lord deputy. 1584.

His commision concerning spiritual promotions.

Primate Lancaster had died a short time before, having occupied the see between fifteen and sixteen

Death of Primate Lancaster.

[18] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 391.

[19] Rolls. [20] Cox, i. 369. [21] *Ib.*, i. 368.

years from his consecration. Three benefices which he held in England, and three in Ireland, to compensate for the poverty of his see, constitute his chief memorial. In the ensuing July, John Long, a native of London, and doctor of divinity of King's College, Cambridge, was promoted to the primacy by the Lord Deputy, at whose instance also he was called into the privy council in 1585.

John Long, primate, 1584.

Sir John Perrot was active in his government, and soon proceeded to exert all his powers for repairing the ruinous and miserable state of Ireland. For this purpose, together with other measures for the civil improvement of the country, he directed his mind to the supply of its ecclesiastical wants. During the three administrations, which had intervened since the death of Sir William Drury in 1579, no efforts are recorded to have been made for the remedy of the crying necessities of the Church, notwithstanding the office of lord justice had been filled by the Archbishop of Dublin, during about a year and a half of that interval. A sense of the arduousness of the undertaking may have repressed exertion. Sir John Perrot, however, encouraged the bishops to carry into effect the repair of the churches in their dioceses, but apparently with little good success; and he recommended the English government that no more bishopricks might be granted *in commendam*[22].

The Lord Deputy's endeavours for the improvement of the Church.

It was during his administration also, that means were taken for bringing the diocese of Kilmore under the royal jurisdiction. This see, lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country, had been much neglected by the crown of England: so that, even after the Reformation, the bishops of it succeeded,

A bishop settled at Kilmore.

[22] Cox, i. 382.

either by usurpation or by papal authority, as is instanced in the cases of those who occupied it from 1529 to 1585. But in the latter year, among other overtures made to the council of England, for the better advancement of the queen's interest in Ireland, the Lord Deputy set forth the following representation concerning this See of Kilmore: "that it had not been bestowed on any Englishman or Irishman by the queen, or any of her progenitors, within the memory of man; that of late there was a lewd friar come from Rome," (meaning one John or Richard Brady, who, it seems, had been Bishop of Kilmore, under the Pope's title, before the year 1576,) "as a delegate of the Pope's who usurped it, dispersing abroad seditious bulls, and such like trash; that he, the Lord Deputy, had dispossessed him of the place, and hoped to bring him to submission, or to answer for his lewdness; and, as he judged it would be an increase of her majesty's authority among those barbarous people to have a bishop placed there by her majesty, so he recommended John Garvey, dean of Christ Church, to supply the place, and to supplant the usurping bishop: and he desired a warrant to inthrone him." By a letter from the Privy Council of England, it appears that the Lord Deputy's recommendation and request were complied with; and John Garvey was, by letters patent, dated the following 27th of January, 1586, advanced to the see of Kilmore[23].

Condition of the diocese.

Usurped by a Popish emissary.

John Garvey made bishop, 1586.

It had been amongst the additional instructions to the Lord Deputy, "to consider how a college may be erected; and St. Patrick's Church, and the revenue thereof, may be appropriated thereunto;

Plan for converting St. Patrick's into a college, 1584.

[23] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 230.

and every diocese by Act of Parliament be made contributory out of the leases of impropriations." The Lord Deputy was desirous of obeying this instruction: and accordingly of dissolving the cathedral of St. Patrick's, converting it into an university, and applying its revenues to that use. But in this undertaking, he found a formidable opponent in Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, who was deeply interested in the benefices and other estates belonging to the cathedral, by long leases which had been granted either to himself, or to his children and kinsmen: and, therefore, notwithstanding the measure proceeded from the crown, he exerted all his influence for withstanding the alienation of these revenues[24]. At the same time, in vindication of the archbishop's opposition, it should be added, that there was a good ground for it in publick considerations. The crown nominated to all the dignities in Christ Church, the other cathedral in the diocese of Dublin; and all the prebends in that cathedral were at the disposal of the chapter: so that, if the project for converting St. Patrick's into a college had been accomplished, the archbishoprick would have been left, by the alienation of the preferments in that cathedral, with very few and inferior benefices in its patronage. Archbishop King's letters, written more than a century after, are stated to be filled with complaints of the smallness of his patronage, so that he was scarcely able to provide fit ministers for the service of the cures in the several parishes of his diocese, notwithstanding several parishes were united in some parts, for the purpose of increasing the means[25].

Opposed by Archbishop Loftus.

Publick grounds for the archbishop's opposition.

But, whatever were the merits of the case,

[24] WAKE'S *Bishops*, p. 353. [25] MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 103, note.

unhappily it was contested with no commendable temper on either side. The archbishop was a man of high spirit, and used to bear sway in the government; from the highest station in which, namely, that of Lord Justice, he had been removed by the appointment of Sir John Perrot to the viceroyalty. He fell, therefore, into contradiction, and thence into contention, with the Lord Deputy; nor was the Lord Deputy of a temper to brook opposition patiently. There followed between them no slight animosity, which came to the queen's notice, and caused her majesty to interfere by letter for their reconciliation. But the archbishop's enmity continued unabated: and in the end it contributed, with other causes of impeachment, to Sir John Perrot's removal from Ireland, and subsequently to his condemnation, some of the chief articles against him being that he was severe in his administration, and compelled the people to take the oath of allegiance, and endeavoured to promote laws against recusants[26]. In the mean time, by means of the Lord Treasurer of England, who was a fast friend and powerful supporter of the archbishop, the projected appropriation of the revenues of the cathedral was precluded, notwithstanding the royal authority, by which the Lord Deputy had engaged in the undertaking. Possibly the anticipation of another project, which was soon afterwards brought forward by the archbishop himself, may have produced a readier acquiescence in the relinquishment of that which had been at this time proposed.

Contention between the Lord Deputy and the archbishop.

Failure of the project.

By way of introduction to an Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1586, I revert to an earlier period,

Act against witchcraft. 28 Eliz., c. 2. 1586.

[26] Cox, i. 387.

when an incident occurred apparently connected with the act in question. When the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, was on a progress through the South in 1578, it is related by Cox, that "he executed twenty-two criminals at Limerick, and thirty-six at Kilkenny, one of which was a blackamoor, and two others were witches, who were condemned by the law of nature, for there was no positive law against witchcraft in those days[27]." The execution of these wretched pretenders to supernatural qualities, without the warrant of national law, was surely a strong exercise of arbitrary power.

Probable cause of it.

It was, probably, to provide for similar exigences, and to supply the deficiency of the law, that "an Act was passed against witchcraft and sorcery," in the parliament of 1586: and it is here cited as showing the state of publick opinion on a subject, connected with the religious profession of the kingdom. The preamble to this act, which sets strongly forth, not only the extensive practice of witchcraft, but the belief entertained of its efficacy, runs in the following terms: "Where at this present there is no ordinary nor condign punishment provided against the practices of the wicked offences of conjurations and invocations of evil spirits, and of sorceries, inchantments, charms, and witchcrafts, whereby many fantastical and devilish persons have devised and practised invocations and conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, and have used and practised witchcrafts, inchantments, charms, and sorceries, to the destruction of the persons and goods of their neighbours, and other subjects of this realm, and for other lewd and evil intents and purposes, contrary to the laws of Almighty God, to the peril of their own

Preamble of the act.

[27] Cox, i, 354.

souls, and to the great infamy and disquietness of this realm."

Penalties enacted by it.

The penalties enacted were, that persons using any invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, to any intent or purpose, or using any witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any person shall happen to be killed or destroyed, should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy: that persons using witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any one should be wasted, consumed, or lamed, in body or member, or his goods or chattels destroyed, wasted, or impaired, should, for the first offence, suffer one year's imprisonment, and the pillory six hours once a quarter; and, for the second, death as a felon: and that persons taking upon them to discover by witchcraft hidden treasures, or stolen goods, or to provoke unlawful love, should, for the first offence, suffer one year's imprisonment and the pillory; and, for the second, forfeiture of goods to the queen, and imprisonment for life.

Death of Archbishop Long.

The death of Archbishop Long, in 1589, caused a vacancy in the primacy, which was filled by the translation of Bishop Garvey from the see of Kilmore. He was born in the county of Kilkenny, being the only Irishman promoted to the primacy by Queen Elizabeth; and had been educated in Oxford, where he graduated in King Edward the Sixth's reign[28]. He appears to have been a man of high esteem; for, whilst Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, he had been called to the privy council, and afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of Kilmore, on the special recommendation of the Lord Deputy,

Bishop Garvey elevated to the primacy. 1589.

His character.

[28] WARE'S *Bishops*.

and under the peculiar circumstances already mentioned. And on the present occasion, by her mandate dated at Westminster, July 12, 1591, the queen gave orders for remitting to this prelate the payment of his first fruits for the archbishoprick, amounting to 137*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, on account of his great hospitality, as also for his painful and true service to the queen of a long time continued, being her ancientest counsellor in that kingdom[29]. He is not included in the *History of the Writers of Ireland;* but, on the authority of the Oxford Antiquary[30], there has been ascribed to him a small treatise, entitled, *The Conversion of Philip Curwin, a Franciscan Friar, to the Reformation of the Protestant Religion*, A. D. 1589, published by Robert Ware, Dublin, 1681, from two copies of the original, remaining among Primate Ussher's and Sir James Ware's papers[31]. Philip Curwin was a nephew of Hugh Curwin, who succeeded Archbishop Browne in the see of Dublin, on his deprivation by Queen Mary.

His treatise of the conversion of Philip Curwin.

It should seem that the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, who had succeeded Sir John Perrot the year before the promotion of the new primate, did not attach the same importance as his predecessor to the occupancy of the bishoprick of Kilmore: since, after the promotion of Bishop Garvey, that see continued without a pastor above fourteen years. This defect is said to have been occasioned by the confusion of the times[32]. But, whatever was the cause, it must have been very inadequately supplied by the custodium of the bishoprick, during the vacancy, being granted to the Bishop of Down and Connor, remote as those

Kilmore again left without a bishop.

[29] Rolls, 31 Eliz.
[30] WOOD's *Athen. Oxon.*, i. 715.
[31] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 96.
[32] WARE, p. 231.

charges are from each other, and separated by three intervening dioceses.

New plan for a college in Dublin;

Though the plan for forming a college in Dublin, as originally projected, under the government of Sir John Perrot, had failed of success, principally from the opposition of the archbishop, who resisted such an appropriation of the revenues of one of his cathedrals, a similar plan was soon afterwards proposed by the same prelate, and accomplished in the foundation of the college of Dublin, or, to describe it by its more comprehensive and dignified appellation, of the Dublin University. For this purpose, in 1590, "In Easter holydays," as Sir James Ware defines the time, "Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with others of the clergy, met the mayor, and aldermen, and commons of the city, at the Tholsel, where he made a speech to them, setting forth 'how advantageous it would be to have a nursery of learning founded here; and how kindly her majesty would take it, if they would bestow that old decayed monastery of All-Hallows, which her father, King Henry the Eighth, had, at the dissolution of the abbeys, given them, for erecting such a structure;' whereupon the mayor, aldermen, and commons unanimously granted his request[33]."

Proposed and effected by Archbishop Loftus.

1590.

Site granted by the mayor and aldermen.

Within a week after, Henry Ussher, archdeacon of Dublin, went over into England to the queen, in order to procure a licence for the intended foundation. The queen readily granted the petition; and, by warrant, dated the 29th of December, 1591, ordered a licence of mortmain to pass the seals for the grant of the abbey of All-Hallows, which is

Queen's warrant, December, 1591.

[33] Ware's *Annals*.

recited to be of the yearly value of 20*l.*; and for the foundation of such a college by way of corporation, with a power to accept such lands and contributions, for the maintenance thereof, as any of her subjects should be charitably moved to bestow, to the value of 400*l.* a-year. On the 3rd of March following, letters patent passed in due form, pursuant to the said warrant; by which, first, a college is appointed to be erected, to be the mother of an university, in a certain place, called All-Hallows, near Dublin, for the education, institution, and instruction of youth in arts and faculties, to endure for ever; secondly, that it be called "The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, founded by the most serene Queen Elizabeth;" thirdly, that it consist of one provost and three fellows, in the name of more, and three scholars, in the name of more. These were followed by other ordinances, amounting in the whole to twelve, for the constitution and future government of the new incorporation.

Letters patent for the erection.

To provide a fund for the necessary expenses of this infant society, on the 11th of March, 1592, the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council issued circular letters to some principal gentlemen in each barony of the kingdom, entreating the benevolence of the well-disposed inhabitants. In these they set forth her majesty's tender care for the good and prosperous estate of her realm of Ireland; and her knowledge, by experience of the flourishing estate of England, how beneficial it is to any country to have places of learning erected in the same; and they earnestly requested contributions in putting forward so excellent a purpose, as the new foundation, "for the benefit of the whole country, whereby knowledge, learning, and civility may be increased, to the banish-

Aid sought from the gentry,

ing of barbarism, tumults, and disorderly living from among them, and whereby their children, and their children's children, especially those that be poor, (as it were in an orphan's hospital freely,) may have their learning and education given them with much more ease, and lesser charges, than in other universities they can obtain it[34]." What this application produced in general does not appear; but the return made to the warrant by a gentleman in the barony, if that be taken for a criterion, leads to the conclusion that the sum was very small: "He had applied to all the gentlemen of the barony of Louth, whose answer was, that they were poor, and not able to give anything towards the building of the college."

Without success.

In the meanwhile, the queen's licence having been obtained, "The Archbishop of Dublin went a second time to the Tholsel, and returned to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, thanks, not only from the clergy, but from her majesty, whose letter he showed them for their satisfaction. And immediately labourers were set to work, to pull down the old ruinous buildings, which they quite demolished, save only the steeple[35]."

Thanks of the Archbishop to the Mayor, &c., of Dublin.

On the 13th of March, 1591, according to the computation of the Church of England, or 1592, according to the common computation, Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone of Trinity College; and on the 9th of January, 1593, the first students were admitted into it. "Sir William Cecil, Lord Baron of Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council," for he is thus described by Ware in his narrative of the event, "was the

College commenced, March, 1592.

Students admitted, Jan. 1593

[34] *History of Dublin*, i. 542—544.

[35] Ware's *Annals*.

first Chancellor thereof; Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, the first Provost; Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, the first Fellows; Abel Walsh, James Ussher, and James Lee, the first scholars of the same." "The year 1593," says Sir Richard Cox, with becoming respect for the character of this invaluable institution, the creation of which throws the brightest light upon the reign of Queen Elizabeth over Ireland, "is memorable for the college of Dublin, which was then finished, and made an university; whereof the Lord Burleigh was the first Chancellor, and Ussher, afterwards the learned primate, was the first," he should have said, one of the three first scholars, "entered there; which proved a good omen, that that noble foundation would produce many good and learned men, for the service of God and King, both in Church and State[36]."—Esto perpetua!

Section IV.

Edmund Spenser's Account of the Irish Church. Sir Francis Bacon's Plan for its improvement. Difficulty of the Subject. Henry Ussher. James Ussher. An eminent Controversialist and Preacher. Conduct of the Government towards the Papists. Act of Uniformity not enforced. Forebodings of Ussher. Benefaction to the University. State of the Church at the Queen's Death.

Spenser's account of the Irish Church.

The foundation of Trinity College seems to determine this to be the proper period for noticing the state of the Irish Church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as delineated by one who possessed the best means for informing himself on the subject by

[36] Cox, i. 402.

local observation, and who has communicated his information in a form which bears strong testimony to its veracity.

His connexion with the country.

Edmund Spenser, the illustrious author of *The Faerie Queene*, accompanied Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, lord deputy of Ireland, to that country in 1580, in quality of his secretary. In 1585 he obtained a grant of above 3000 acres of land at Kilcoleman, in the county of Cork, where he settled and resided with his family, and composed his incomparable poem. There also, he composed, *A View of the State of Ireland, written Dialogue-wise, between Eudoxus and Irenæus*, the MS. of which, taken from Archbishop Ussher's library, was first published by Sir James Ware, in 1633[1]. His death, in 1596, or 1598, fixes the latest date at which this work can have been written, as the time of his settling in Ireland fixes the earliest. A passage in the Dialogue, where he makes respectful mention of persons "who were lately planted in their new college," reduces the question within the few years which preceded his death; the college, as we have seen, having been completed in 1593.

His view of the state of Ireland.

Date of the work.

Melancholy picture in his work on Ireland.

It is, in truth, a frightful and a painful portrait, which the following abstract will exhibit; but, even if some features should be deemed to be exaggerated, "a want of moderation" being a fault which Harris imputes to Spenser, it is to be feared, nevertheless, that the copy bears too close a general resemblance to the original.

Worldly character of the clergy.

Of the ministers of religion he affirms, that "the clergy there, excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their new college, are

[1] Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 327.

generally bad, licentious, and most disordered." "Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may find in Ireland, and many more; namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and, generally, all disordered life in the common clergymen. And, besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy Church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders: but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry, and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures nor preach to the people, nor administer the Communion; but baptism they do: for they christen yet after the popish fashion. Only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly; and some of them, they say, pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops, (I speak of those which are Irish,) as they receive them duly." Persons such as these were not likely to forward the English Reformation in Ireland.

Arbitrary conduct of the bishops.

Nor were the bishops more likely, possessed as they were of absolute power over their clergy, whom, knowing, as they did, their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they were, therefore, still removable at the bishop's will, they kept in extreme awe and subjection under them. That power they exercised, as a mean of procuring what portion they chose for their own emolument of their clergy's benefices; "yea, and some of them," as Spenser says, "whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep

them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horseboys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same. Of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, and keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them."

Intention of the legislature as to vacant benefices,

It was intended by the first promoters of the Reformation in Ireland, and it had been provided by the legislature, that vacant benefices should be bestowed upon "persons who could speak English, apt and convenient to occupy the same," in preference to any person not so qualified. The frequent preferment of Englishmen should seem to have been the natural consequence of this provision.

2) Henry VIII. c. 15;

How frustrated.

But, although the bishops may not have declined to obey this law, the result appears to have been different from the anticipation. Many of the English, who went over to Ireland for the purpose of such preferment, were either unlearned or of questionable character, so as to be justly deemed incapable and insufficient for succeeding to a benefice; for, as Strype remarks, under the year 1563[2], "the ignorance of the ordinary sort of clergymen, curates, and such like, is commonly said to be great about these times. Notwithstanding all the pains that were used to deliver the Church of that blindness that enveloped the priests in the late popish times, it would not yet be dispelled. For an instance of this, I bring in here the curate of Cripplegate, one Tempest, a well-meaning man; who, having upon some occasion, perhaps the metropolitical visitation, been

Ignorance of ordinary English curates.

[2] *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 258.

before Peerson, the archbishop's chaplain, was asked by him some questions; and, among the rest, what was the meaning of the word 'function.' Which hard word he could not tell what to make of; for which it seems he was reprehended."

Englishmen of good character unwilling to seek preferment in Ireland.

At the same time, those of distinguished worth in their own country shrunk from exposing themselves to the hazard of rejection by a bishop, who was himself the legal judge of the sufficiency of the minister to be preferred, and who was likely to be influenced in his judgment by his own national and religious prepossessions, and perhaps by a regard to his own interest, which might be advanced by his rejection of the applicant. Besides, the poverty of the benefices was often such, that they would not afford "any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gown." Add to this the difficulty, which any English minister must have experienced in endeavouring to do good, by teaching or preaching to those, who either could not understand, or would not hear him; the discomfort of living among those, so ill-affected as the common Irish then were to the English; and the hazard of committing his safety, in the defenceless security of a peaceful occupation, to the hands of those neighbours, whom the boldest members of the profession of arms durst not live near, without means of defence and preservation.

Opposition from Popish emissaries.

Meanwhile every opposition was to be encountered from the ministers and emissaries of the Romish Church: from natives, who having gone abroad to Rheims, Doway, Lovain, and other foreign universities, thence returned home to propagate the Popish creed; and from foreigners, who crossed the sea from Italy or Spain into Ireland, there to main-

tain the authority of the Church of Rome, Both of these lurking secretly in the houses of the inhabitants, and in obscure corners of the country, caused more injury and hindrance to true religion by their private persuasions, than English ministers could do good by their publick instructions.

Scarcity and ruinous condition of the churches.

Add to this the scarcity of churches, the devastation of which must have reached to a most deplorable extent: for, in speaking of "building up and repairing all the ruined churches," he remarks, "whereof the most part lie even with the ground." And then, alluding to a recent attempt at their reparation, which had been made probably in pursuance of the queen's commission in 1576, and adding a reflection conceived in a spirit of wisdom and piety, worthy of the author of *The Faerie Queene*, he subjoins, "And some, that have been lately repaired, are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomeliness thereof. Therefore I would wish that there were order taken to have them built in some better form, according to the churches of England; for the outward show, assure yourself, doth greatly draw the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, whatever some of our late too nice fools say, that there is nothing in the seemly form and comely order of the church." Churchwardens are recognised in the Act for Uniformity, as existing in Ireland[3]; but Spenser annexes a remark, which may raise a doubt of the qualification of those officers, and their fitness to be intrusted with the charge of these hallowed buildings: "And for keeping and continuing them, there should likewise churchwardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they be here in England, which

Want of proper churchwardens.

[3] Irish Stat. 2 Eliz., c. 2., s. 3.

should take the yearly charge both hereof, and also of the school-houses, which I wish to be built near the said churches; for maintenance of both which it were meet, that some small portion of lands were allotted."

Scarcity of curates.

The scarcity of curates was another defect, which, as we have seen, the queen's commission had directed to be rectified. But the evil was still craving a remedy: for the defect was more obvious, than was the sufficiency of any proposed mode of supply. "When all is done," demands Spenser's friend, in their imaginary dialogue, with reference to his suggested reparation and preservation of the ruined churches, "When all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your ministers maintained? Since the livings, as you say, are not sufficient scarce to make their gowns, much less to yield meet maintenance, according to the dignity of their degree." But Spenser's experience, observation, and judgment, could furnish no better answer than the following,

Proposed union of parishes;

"There is no way to help that, but to lay two or three of them together, until such time as the country grow rich and better inhabited; at which time the tythes, and other oblations, will also be more

An additional evil.

augmented and better valued." This expedient, however, would in all probability have acted less as a remedy for an existing disease, than as an occasion for introducing new, and aggravating former, evils in the ecclesiastical system. For whatever aid it may have contributed for the temporal maintenance of the ministers, at the same time by enlarging the sphere, it would have extenuated the efficacy, of their ministrations, and impeded the spiritual improvement of their flocks, and afforded additional openings for the interference of those, who were

continually at hand, and on the watch for opportunities of strengthening and perpetuating the Romish corruptions of the ancient Catholick faith.

State of irreligion of the people.

How fearfully the faith had been corrupted, and into what a degraded state of religious, or rather irreligious, ignorance the people of Ireland had fallen, we learn from the melancholy statement of the same eye witness, "that they be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part, that not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith; but can perhaps say his Pater-Noster, or his Ave-Maria, without any knowledge or understanding, what one word thereof meaneth."

Distracted temper of the times a hindrance to religious improvement.

The cause of this most miserable state of things, in Spenser's judgment, was to be found, not in the fault of them, "that held the place of government, that they, which are now in the light themselves, suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkness," but rather in the distracted temper of the times. "That which you blame is not, I suppose, in any fault of will in those godly fathers, which have charge thereof; but the inconvenience of the time, and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realm hath been continually turmoiled. For instruction in religion needeth quiet times; and ere we seek to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity: for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard, or rather impossible, it is to settle a good opinion in the minds of men, for matters of religion doubtful, which have doubtless an evil opinion of us. For, ere the new be brought in, the old must be removed."

And the mode of proceeding he thinks to be,

Best mode of applying a remedy, in Spenser's judgment.

that "religion should not be sought forcibly to be impressed into them, with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient, that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation."

Sentiments of Sir Francis Bacon.

Such was Spenser's view of the existing state of religion in Ireland: of the evil and of the cure. And it appears to have been about the same time, that the same subject received the attention of another illustrious person, a philosopher and a statesman, who was deeply impressed with a sense of the degraded state of the people under the Popish domination. Sir Francis Bacon, in his *Considerations touching the Queen's Service in Ireland*, communicated in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, observes on the necessity of taking proper "means of instruction," for "the recovery of the hearts of the people;" which, he says, they have not yet had. He remarks that "till they be more like reasonable men than they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to the true religion than otherwise; as pearls cast before swine: for till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinency, and theft, which are now not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the nation, they are incompatible with religion reformed." Considering "that one of the principal pretences whereby the heads of the rebellion have prevailed, both with the people and with the foreigner,

Proper means of instruction necessary.

Moral degradation of the people.

hath been the defence of their religion," he says, that "a toleration of religion, (for a time not definite,) except it be in some principal towns aad precincts, seemeth to him a matter warrantable in religion, and in policy of absolute necessity."

Toleration in religion recommended.

"Neither," he continues, "if Rome will cozen itself by conceiving it may be some degree to the like toleration in England, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome, and to stay further excommunications or interdictions for Ireland. But there would go, hand in hand with this, some course of advancing religion indeed, where the people is capable thereof; as the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous persuaders, and not scholastical, to be resident in principal towns; endowing them with some stipends out of her majesty's revenues; and the recontinuing and replenishing the college begun at Dublin, the placing of good men to be bishops in the sees there, and the taking care of the versions of bibles and catechisms, and other books of instruction, into the Irish language; and the like religious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by the shew of a toleration of religion in some parts there[4]."

Means recommended for advancing true religion.

Thus it was not from inattention or indifference to the state of Ireland, especially in respect of religion; it was not from ignorance of the evils which beset the Church, or from an indisposition to remedy them, on the part of some of the most distinguished Englishmen of the age; that these evils were not corrected. On the contrary, how this state

Difficulty felt at all times in enlightening the people of Ireland.

[4] Bacon's *Works*, vol. iv. p. 505. London, 1730.

of unchristian darkness and heathenish dissoluteness of morals could be abolished, and how in their room could be substituted universally throughout the country the pure light and the holy influence of Christianity, by the ministration of a Protestant clergy, and according to the rites of the Reformed Church, was the problem which now, and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, occupied the thoughts of many wise and good men. The English government probably took different views from those expressed in the foregoing letter: at least they do not appear to have acted upon them; and the problem, of infinite importance as they must have deemed it, still waited its solution.

Archbishop Garvey succeeded in Armagh by Henry Ussher. 1595.

In 1595, on the death of Archbishop Garvey, the vacant see of the primacy was filled by the appointment of Henry Ussher, of whom honourable mention was lately made as the agent of Archbishop Loftus, in seeking the patronage of the queen for the new university. Though a native of Dublin, he was educated out of Ireland, partly at Cambridge and partly at Paris; and subsequently had settled himself in University College, Oxford, being incorporated there in the degree of bachelor of arts, which he had taken at Cambridge. There, by the diligence of his studies, he laid the solid and sure foundation of theological learning which, combined with the qualities of prudence, wisdom, and diligence, raised him to the most elevated station in the Irish Church; and has caused his name to be transmitted to posterity with the character of one "who sate in the see of Armagh, as long as he lived, in great honour and repute among all Protestants[5]."

His education and character.

[5] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 97.

His nephew, the illustrious James Ussher.

With the exception, however, of his able and useful services in behalf of the new university, there appears to be little more known of the actions of his life, than of those of several of his predecessors; and his name is almost eclipsed by that of his more illustrious nephew, who has been lately mentioned as one of the original scholars of Trinity College: and who, in due course of time, succeeded his uncle, after one intervening primate, in the metropolitan see of Armagh.

Challenge of the Jesuit Fitz-Symonds.

The occasion for adverting to him in this place arises from a celebrated publick dispute which he held with Henry Fitz-Symonds, a learned Jesuit, then in the castle of Dublin, who had said, that "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" words which were interpreted into a challenge of disputation, with the greatest and most learned champion, in the controversies between the Romish and the Reformed Churches[6].

James Ussher's early life and education.

James Ussher from his tenderest years, together with strong feelings of devotion, had manifested great intellectual powers, which were cultivated and matured by assiduous study: and since his admission to the newly-established college, he had read and digested much of philosophy and history; had made a great proficiency in chronology; had acquired a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and especially had devoted his mind with the utmost earnestness and care to the volume of the Holy Scriptures, which he was wont to call the Book of Books, and by which he determined to regulate his life; and thus prepared, he had engaged in the study

[6] *Life and Death of Archbishop Ussher*, by Nicholas Bernard, p. 32.

His theological attainments.

of polemical divinity, had diligently examined the most esteemed works written in defence of Popery, particularly Stapleton's *Fortress of the Faith;* had perused, here and there, divers books of the Fathers of the Church, as the most ancient and best interpreters of Holy Writ on points of controversy, on which Stapleton claimed the support of antiquity for the Romish tenets, and charged the advocates of the Reformation with novelty; and had thus waxed stronger and stronger in his conviction of the errors of Popery, and of the truth of the doctrines professed in his own Church[7].

Judged fit to accept the Jesuit's challenge.

With a mind thus disciplined and furnished, he was considered the properest person to take up the Jesuit's challenge; and, although only nineteen years of age, he did not shrink from the combat, thus expressing the grounds of his confidence, notwithstanding his youth, in a letter which he subsequently wrote to his antagonist: "If I am a boy, as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me, I give thanks to the Lord, that my carriage towards you hath been such, as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel; and therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor do come now, unto you in any confidence of any learning that is in me, in which respect notwithstanding I thank God, I am what I am; but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded, that even out of the mouths of babes and

His letter to Fitz-Symonds.

[7] *Life and Letters of Archbishop Ussher*, by Richard Parr, p. 7.

sucklings He was able to show forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof I do earnestly request you, that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us."

Subject of the disputation. 1599.

The subject of the disputation was the controversies of Bellarmine, for which a meeting of once a week was agreed on: and it so fell out that the first topick proposed was concerning Antichrist. "Twice or thrice," says Dr. Bernard, "they had solemn disputations, though the Jesuit acknowledgeth but one. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it." His biographer says, that "he had confessedly the victory; at least the Jesuit was so baffled by his arguments, that he gave up his cause[8]." However this may be, dependence may be placed on the following facts, as collected from Ussher's letter above cited: That "at their last meeting, Fitz-Symonds promised to write to Ussher concerning the chief points of his (Fitz-Symonds's) religion;" that, "seeing he had deferred the same, for reasons best known to himself, Ussher thought it not amiss to inquire further of his mind concerning the continuation of the conference betwixt them:" that "he again earnestly requested him, that they might go plainly forward in examining the matters, that rested in controversy between them." "Otherwise," he subjoins, "I hope you will not be displeased, if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself and the truth which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter." It seems that no answer was returned to this letter; certainly

Manner of its termination.

Differently represented by the two controversialists.

[8] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 99.

there was no continuance of the conference. In the Preface to his *Britannomachia*, Fitz-Symonds appears desirous of throwing the blame of this upon Ussher, saying, with reference to their former controversy, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence:" a statement perfectly irreconcileable with the "earnest request," most ingenuously urged in the foregoing citation, "that they might go plainly forward in examining the matters that rested in controversy between them."

Select preachers. 1600.

In 1600, by reason of the scarcity of preachers, three young men were selected from the college, and appointed to preach at Christ Church before "the state," or government, of Ireland. One of

Bishop Richardson.

these was John Richardson, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, a person distinguished for his industry and great abilities in the exposition of Scripture. The name of the second was Welsh, whose charge it was to handle the body of divinity on Sundays in the forenoon. The third was James Ussher, who was intrusted with the task of preaching on the Lord's-days in the afternoon, the chief governors at that time usually attending divine service twice every

James Ussher's sermons on Popery.

Sunday. "His part," says Dr. Bernard, "was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the Papists: which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the confirmation and edification of the Protestants: which the elder sort of persons, living in my time, I have heard often acknowledging." In his capacity of catechist reader in the college, to which office he was chosen about the same time,

His catechetical lectures.

Ussher made it the subject of a weekly employment, to explain in the presence of that seminary of religious education the principal articles of Christianity,

as professed and maintained by the Reformers in concurrence with the ancient church, in opposition to the errors and innovations of Popery.

High Commission Court in Dublin.

An High Commission Court had been established in the year 1593, in Dublin, for inspecting and reforming all offences committed against the Act of Uniformity, in common with the other Acts of the second year of the queen. And it also appears to have been a regular and ordinary instruction to the government of Ireland, "in all times and all places, where any great assembly should be made before them, to persuade the people by all good means and ways to them seeming good, and especially by their own examples, to observe orders for divine service; and to embrace, and devoutly to observe, the order and service of the church established in the realm, by parliament or otherwise; to execute all manner of statutes of the realm; and to levy, or cause to be levied, all manner of forfeitures, &c.[9]"

Instructions to the Irish government concerning the church service.

Order for the Papists to attend the church service.

In accordance with these injunctions, the Irish government, about the year 1599, saw reason for issuing an order, obliging the Papists to attend divine service in the churches every Sunday, under a pecuniary mulct of twelve-pence, by virtue of a clause in the Act of Uniformity[10]. An additional impulse and greater efficacy were given to this order by the overthrow of the Spaniards, at the celebrated battle of Kinsale, December the 24th, 1601: at which time it was designed, that the victory of the Spaniards, if they had proved successful, should be followed by the slaughter of most of the Protestants, both in Dublin and elsewhere, by the Irish Papists; but especially of the Protestant ministers, without

Promoted by the battle of Kinsale. 1601.

[9] LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 382. [10] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 100.

any distinction[11]. But the hopes of the Irish being frustrated by the defeat of their confederates, they began to submit themselves to the statute, which was now carried into execution. And, for their better instruction in religion, the lord lieutenant and council directed the clergy to distribute themselves amongst the different churches of Dublin, in such manner that there might be a sermon for that purpose at each church, in the afternoon of every Lord's-day, after the example of what had been already begun at Christ Church before "the state."

Sermons provided for their instruction.

Amongst the clergymen who engaged in this labour, was James Ussher, who had been recently admitted to the holy orders of deacon and of priest, by his uncle the Archbishop of Armagh, by virtue of a special dispensation, as he had not attained the age prescribed by the canon law, which then regulated the church. The scene of his ministry on this occasion was the church of St. Catherine; where he digested the substance of his instruction into brief discourses, and then divided what he had delivered into the form of questions and answers for the next Sunday. On which day persons of good esteem voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, thus more especially arousing the attention, and contributing to the edification, of the Papists[12].

Ussher's mode of religious instruction.

Prospect of gaining the Papists,

By these labours of this eminent divine, and of others his brethren in the ministry, not only in Dublin, but in divers other parts of the kingdom, where a similar practice was adopted, the Papists were so regular and diligent in attending the service of the church, that, if at any time they had occasion to absent themselves, they would send their excuse

Defeated.

[11] BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 36. [12] *Ib.* p. 37.

to the churchwardens. But on a sudden, the hopes which had begun to be entertained of bringing the nation to one heart and one mind, and inducing them to glorify God with one mouth, in the creed and worship of the Reformed Church of Ireland, were intercepted and cut off.

The queen had always acted towards the Papists upon the principle of treating the peaceably-disposed and obedient with forbearance and indulgence, and "pursuing none for religion." Notwithstanding, therefore, the establishment of the High Commission Court, and the injunctions to the Irish government, her English ministers interfered, to restrain and counteract what they esteemed an immoderate exercise of authority in religious matters; and their directions were received with corresponding sentiments by Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, the lord deputy, who after an interval of five months, during which the government was administered by Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carey, lords justices, succeeded the Earl of Essex in the viceroyalty, in February, 1600, and thus expressed himself in answer to a communication from the lords of the English council.

Interposition of the English ministry.

Lord Mountjoy, lord deputy, 1600.

"Whereas it hath pleased your lordships in your last letters to command us to deal moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your lordships' letters, presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein. And we were both thinking ourselves what course to take in the revocation of what was already done, with least encouragement to them and others; since the fear that this course, begun in Dublin, would fall upon the rest, was apprehended all over the kingdom: so that I think your lordships' direction was to great purpose, and the other course might have

His answer to the English privy council.

overthrown the means of our own end of reformation of religion.

"Not that I think too great preciseness can be used in the reforming of ourselves, the abuses of our own clergy, church livings, or discipline: nor that the truth of the Gospel can with too great vehemency or industry be set forward, in all places, and by all ordinary means, most proper unto itself, that was first set forth and spread in meekness: nor that I think any corporal prosecution or punishment can be too severe for such as shall be found seditious instruments of foreign or inward practices: nor that I think it fit that any principal magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in absenting themselves from publick divine service: but that we may be advised how we do punish in their bodies or goods any such only for religion, as do profess to be faithful subjects to her majesty, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved[13]."

Indisposition to enforce conformity by penalties.

Violation of Act of Uniformity connived at.

Thus by the intervention of the executive authority, although not repealed, the Act of Uniformity ceased to be enforced, and the violation of it was connived at: the power of the High Commission, which had been set up at that period only in Ireland in relation to the Papists, was withdrawn: under the reviving and uncontrolled influence of the Popish priests, the Papists forbore to take part in the Reformed worship; and Popery resumed its ascendancy over the unenlightened populace of the nation[14].

Ussher's alarm.

The spirit of Ussher was strongly "stirred within him" by this new condition of things. He feared that the allowance of the free exercise of the Popish religion by publick authority would tend to the disturbance of the government both in church and state. He was deeply sensible, both of the offen-

[13] LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 382.
[14] BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher.*

siveness of its idolatrous practices in the sight of God, and of its intolerant and persecuting nature, which made it so dangerous and pestilential to man. And he availed himself of a special solemnity, when it was in his course to preach before the government at Christ Church, for delivering a remarkable sermon, in which he plainly expressed his sense of the recent proceeding: choosing for his text the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, where the prophet, by "lieing on his side," was to "bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee a day for a year;" a prophecy which he noted, by consent of interpreters, to signify the time of "forty years" to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that nation, for their idolatry: and then making direct application to his own country, in relation to its connivance at Popery, in these impressive words, "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those, whom you now embrace, shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity."

His remarkable sermon and prediction on the occasion, delivered in 1601.

This application of the prophecy was made in 1601; and in 1641 broke out that rebellion, which was consummated in the massacre of many thousands of its Protestant inhabitants by those whose idolatrous religion was now connived at. The foreboding, in general, may have been no more than the result of judicious conjecture and foresight, actuated by an intimate knowledge of the true character of the Romish religion; the coincidence of time may have been a fortuitous circumstance; but it can hardly excite surprise, that many of those, who were apprized of the prediction, and who witnessed its accomplishment, regarded it as an effusion of inspiration. In the mean time, he, who had uttered the foreboding, never ceased to entertain a strong pre-

Its accomplishment in 1641.

possession of its approaching accomplishment. "What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon that his native country," relates one of his biographers, "I can witness from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him; and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration; there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it[15]."

Constantly expected by Ussher.

Benefaction to the University of Dublin. 1603.

In 1603, the University of Dublin received a benefaction, probably as unexpected as it was acceptable to the society, and no less honourable to the benefactors. Not long after the victory of Kinsale, the commanders and officers of the English army contributed 1800*l.* out of their arrears of pay in one sum, to purchase books for the publick library. The employment of the money for that use was committed by Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Ussher, who went to England on the occasion; and there met with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was engaged in the similar occupation of procuring stores for his newly-erected library at Oxford[16]. There was a friendly intercommunion between the two parties in assisting each other with scarce and valuable works: and it is a pleasing reflection to the members of the two universities in after times, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and the Library of the University of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective sphere, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices.

Trinity College Library and Bodleian Library contemporaneous.

[15] BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 40.
[16] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 100.

Death of Queen Elizabeth. March 24, 1603.

On the 24th of March, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, after a reign of more than forty-four years, productive of less religious improvement in her Irish dominions, and of less accession to the well-being of the Church of Ireland, than piety might have reasonably anticipated. Over what portions of the country, and to what amount of its population, the Church had been during that interval extended, it were difficult to affirm; probably her influence was not great beyond the most cultivated and civilized parts, and even in those not entirely predominant. The royal supremacy, indeed, was established; and wholesome laws had been enacted for the celebration of her pure worship of God, and for sound religious instruction: and many efforts were made, sometimes of a publick and at others of a private kind, sometimes by constraint and at others by persuasion, to bring the professors of a corrupt faith and idolatrous worship into her fold. But these were strenuously counteracted by the edicts and emissaries of the Bishop of Rome; by the perseverance of the native Romish priesthood, and their associates from abroad; by the rebellious spirit of the Irish chieftains, which kept the kingdom in a state of constant commotion; and by the absence of social good order, and habits of moral culture in the people. That at the head of the Church, and in the offices of her ministry, had been placed men of distinguished zeal, ability, and knowledge, suited to the exigency of the times, may have been the fact, but it does not satisfactorily appear. Ossory, indeed, may mention among its bishops the name of Nicholas Walsh, in honourable competition with that of Bale, his more renowned predecessor: but I know not that Dublin can produce a candidate to rival the professional devotion

Summary view of the Church of Ireland during her reign.

and energy of Archbishop Browne. Meanwhile, notwithstanding partial efforts for the supply of the defect, an avenue to the understanding of the great mass of the population was needed through the medium of a common language in the Church and the people; and from the indisputable evidence of Sir Henry Sidney, about the middle of the queen's reign, and from that of Spenser and Sir Francis Bacon towards the close of it, we learn how deficient was the Church in material buildings for the celebration of her worship, and in ministers to celebrate it. That the queen and her English government were not ignorant of these defects, evidence exists in the communications, which passed between them, and the persons intrusted with the local administration of Irish affairs. Whether they were actuated by that earnest desire which ought to have prompted them to activity in the cause of God and of his truth, but were impeded in their efforts by obstacles insurmountable; or whether they were not fully alive to their duty, and not properly strenuous in the execution of it; different judgments may be formed: but unhappily, in either case, the melancholy fact is upon record, that sufficient provision was not made for the ministrations of the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE FIRST . . . 1603—1625.
HENRY USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1613.
CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . 1613—1625.

Section I.

Favourable circumstances at the King's accession. Popish disturbances notwithstanding. Proclamation of Indemnity and Oblivion. Efforts of the Jesuits and Seminary Priests. Trial and conviction of Robert Lalor. Progress of Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, through three Counties of Ulster. Sir John Davies's account of their condition.

Natural connexion of the king with Ireland.

The first occurrences, in the reign of King James the First, relative to the state of religion in Ireland, afforded an ill omen of future tranquillity to the Church, notwithstanding many circumstances conspired to render probable a more peaceable state of things. The royal family of the Stuarts, from whom the new king descended, was partly of Irish blood: and the sovereign himself was not only of Irish extraction, but of the royal line, and entitled by the Irish law to be King of Ireland. Thus the jealousy, which the natives had entertained of the English domination, was calculated to be allayed by the consideration of their now becoming the subjects of their rightful hereditary king.

The state of the country also was such as to

State of the country favourable to tranquillity.

preclude the apprehension of fresh outrages for the present. The great lords had submitted to the royal authority; the number of native Irish had been greatly diminished by their many, prolonged, and obstinate rebellions: the remainder in the rural districts were in such a condition of poverty, that the men of property had not wherewithal to stock or cultivate their land, nor had any improvements left upon their estates, except perhaps a dismal castle and a few pitiful cabins. Such a miserable condition of things required a long interval of rest and peace for its amendment: and gave additional ground of expectation that people would live peaceably and loyally under a new king of their own favourite lineage.

Question concerning the obedience due to a Protestant king.

But a question had been submitted to the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, "Whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant king?" And this question had been about this time resolved by them in the negative by the two following assertions: "1st, That since the Earl of Tyrone undertook the war for religion, and by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him against the hereticks, as to fight against the Turks." "And 2nd, That it was a mortal sin in any way to assist the English against him; and that those, who did so, could have neither absolution nor salvation, without deserting the hereticks, and repenting for so great a crime[1]."

Irritation consequent in the answers of the universities. 1603.

This new declaration, aided by the activity of their restless priests, threw the Irish Papists again into a state of irritation; which showed itself first at Cork on the arrival of the commissioners, who had been sent thither by the Lord Deputy, the Lord

[1] Cox's *History*, vol. ii. 3.

Mountjoy, in common with the other cities and boroughs, to make proclamation of the accession of King James. After some apparent hesitation and delay on the part of the mayor and his brethren, in allowing the proclamation to be made, they in the end assumed an attitude of decided resistance, hostility, and rebellion; and took military measures for setting up their religion by force. In pursuance of this object, they carried the cross in procession about the city, and forced all persons to reverence it; they ejected the ministers of the reformed faith from their churches, defaced the sentences of Scripture which were written on the church walls, and painted the places with pictures; they re-consecrated the churches, and went daily in procession; they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses; they paraded the city in attendance on the ecclesiasticks, who led them on clothed in the habits of their respective orders; they also took the sacrament to spend their lives in the defence of the Roman Catholick religion; they disarmed such Protestants as were in their power, shot at the episcopal palace and threatened to murder the bishop, and actually killed a Protestant minister; and having been taught by a seditious priest, "that he could not be a lawful king who was not approved by the Pope, nor sworn to maintain the Catholick religion," they took a resolution in publick council to excite the other cities and towns to confederate with them for the preservation of the Catholick faith.

Disturbances at Cork;

Other cities and towns showed symptoms of the same rebellious and anti-Protestant spirit. At Waterford, they pulled down their Recorder from the cross, where he was reading the proclamation of the king's accession: they broke open the doors of

At Waterford;

the hospital, and admitted a Dominican friar to preach a seditious sermon in St. Patrick's Church, where among other injurious aspersions on the late queen, he said "That Jezebel was dead." They also took the keys of the cathedral from the sexton, and caused a priest to celebrate mass there. The towns of Clonmell and Wexford, were not free from the like insolences; but being weaker and less populous, they became sooner sensible of their danger, if not of their fault, and more promptly restored the churches to the Protestants. Limerick, on the other hand, was one of the most forward and daring in the insurrection, and gave the priests the possession of all the churches, where they erected altars, and publickly celebrated mass. The religious at Kilkenny were not less precipitate and arrogant than their brethren elsewhere. A Dominican headed the sedition in that city; and broke open the Black-friars, which had for some time been used as a court-house, and pulled down the seats, and erected an altar, forced the keys of his house from the occupier of that part of the abbey, and gave possession of the whole abbey to the friars, although by Act of Parliament it had been turned into a lay-fee, and by legal conveyances became the property of others.

At Clonmell and Wexford;

At Limerick;

At Kilkenny.

These rebellious proceedings rendered it necessary for the Lord Deputy to undertake a progress into Munster. Waterford, after ineffectually claiming some privilege founded upon an ancient charter, tamely opened its gates: having previously sent a young Dominican friar, to discourse with his lordship in matters of religion, and to explain the grounds and reasons of their proceedings; when the friars had the confident audacity to come in their habits,

Lord Deputy's progress through the disturbed districts.

with the crucifix exalted before them, and to tell the Lord Deputy, "That the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the Catholick faith."

Restoration of tranquillity.

After sending a letter to Cork, announcing his approach, in which, amongst other things, he charged them on their allegiance "to desist from publick breach of his majesty's laws in the celebration of mass prohibited by the same, and to yield due obedience to his magistrates," he was received into Cork also without resistance, where the inhabitants, as well as those of Waterford had been, were compelled to take the oath of allegiance, and to abjure all foreign dependencies. He did the same at Limerick, and thence proceeded to Cashel, where he understood that a certain priest had bound a Protestant goldsmith to a tree, and threatened to burn him and his heretick books; that he had really burned some of the books, and kept the man in that miserable condition for six hours, expecting every minute that fire should be set to the fagots; nothing, however, is recorded of his punishment, so that the criminal appears to have made his escape[2].

Proclamation of indemnity and oblivion.

Thence the Lord Deputy returned to Dublin, where, in the hope of quieting the people, and laying them under an obligation to loyalty, and inducing them to an industrious, peaceful, and regular mode of life, he issued a proclamation of general indemnity and oblivion; and restored all persons, not attainted, to their former possessions; and prohibited private actions for trespass committed during the war. Acting on the same principles as his deputy, the king was induced to show marks of favour to some of the Irish chiefs; and by these

[2] Cox, ii. pp. 4—8.

concessions and indulgences, "which," observes Cox, "the Irish commonly interpret to be granted to them more from fear than love, they were encouraged to petition the king for toleration of the Popish religion. But the king thought it enough, that the penal laws against that religion were not put in execution, but rather were in effect suspended by a connivance, which differed little from a toleration; and finding he had to do with a people that never missed anything for want of asking, but were apt to take the ell if he gave the inch, he became the more reserved in his concessions to the Irish from thenceforward[3]."

Encroachments of the Irish resisted by the king.

Sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy, 1604.

In 1604, Sir Arthur Chichester was, for the first time, sworn in lord deputy of Ireland. Until this time the Papists had generally attended divine service in the churches, and were known by the name of Church-Papists. But now the Jesuits and other seminary priests busied themselves greatly in dissuading the people from so doing, notwithstanding the Act of Uniformity, and the king's proclamation founded thereupon. The Lord Deputy and Council in consequence convened before them the aldermen of Dublin, and some of the principal citizens, and endeavoured by persuasions and lenity to draw them to their duty. And forasmuch as some material difference was found between the original record and the printed copies of the Act of Uniformity, in order that none might plead ignorance of the original record, they exemplified the statute under the great seal, and published it; and added thereunto the king's injunction for its observance. But these gentle measures being ineffectual, sixteen of the

Activity of the Jesuits in withdrawing the Papists from the churches.

Act of Uniformity carried into effect in Dublin.

[3] Cox, ii. 9.

most eminent of the city were summoned to the Court of Castle-Chamber; of whom nine of the chief were censured, and six of the aldermen fined one hundred pounds, and three fifty pounds each. These were all committed to the Castle during the pleasure of the court; and an order was made that none of the citizens should bear office till they conformed. The week following the rest were censured in the same manner, except one alderman, who conformed. The fines were allotted to the repairs of such churches as had been damaged by the accidental blowing-up of gunpowder in 1596, to the relieving of poor scholars in the college, and to other charitable uses[4].

Interference of the priests with the administration of justice.

Meanwhile the priests arrogated to themselves the privilege, not only of taking offence at the publick administration of affairs, but also of reviewing and deciding causes which had been determined in the king's courts, and of compelling their subjects, on pain of damnation, to obey their decisions, and not those of the law. In concurrence with these seditious encroachments on the legitimate authorities of the kingdom, they forbade the people to attend the Protestant churches; they publickly built anew churches for their own use; they seized on some of the parish-churches by violence; and they erected or repaired abbeys and monasteries in several parts of the kingdom: especially at Multifernam, in the county of Westmeath; at Killconnell, in the county of Galway; at Rossariell, in the county of Mayo; at Buttevant, Kilkrea, and Timoleague, in the county of Cork; at Quin, in the county of Clare; at Garinlough, in Desmond; and in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny; intending, as an historian of their

Their exertions for restoring Popery.

[4] *History of Dublin*, v. i. p. 202.

own represents it, "to restore the splendour of religion:" and as many Papists as pleased sent their children to foreign seminaries for education without control[5].

They claim the king to be of their religion.

But not satisfied with these indulgences, they had moreover the folly, as well as the impudence, to proclaim in all places, and in every company, "That the king was of their religion." Thus the government considered itself necessarily constrained to interfere for the vindication of his majesty from so groundless an imputation, as well as for impeding the growth of Popery, and suppressing the insolence of the Papists. And accordingly on the 4th of July, 1605, a proclamation was issued, commanding the Popish clergy to depart from the kingdom before the 16th of the following December, unless they would conform to the laws of the land. But whatever apparent severity may at any time have marked the laws against Popery in Ireland, they have not been executed with corresponding strictness. And such was the case with this proclamation, which was faintly administered: and thus, whilst it furnished the Irish Papists with a topick of complaint to their continental partizans, it had little effect in relieving the kingdom from their unlawful practices. At the same time, in these they were encouraged by a bull from the Pope, dated the 7th of December, 1605, containing an exhortation and remission to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, and declaring it as safe to sacrifice unto idols as to be present at the common prayer. He therein also promised them aid of great force of Romans, Germans, and Spanish, by the next harvest, and great store of arms to resist their governors[6]!

Proclamation for the Popish clergy to leave the kingdom. July, 1605.

Faintly administered.

Bull of encouragement from the Pope.

[5] Cox, ii. 10.

[6] MS. Lodge, Marsh's Library.

Apprehension of Robert Lalor, 1606.

One person, however, Robert Lalor, vicar-general, so called by his assumed title, of Dublin and other dioceses in Leinster, was apprehended in 1606, for disobedience to this proclamation; and was in Michaelmas term indicted upon the statute of the 2nd of Elizabeth, chapter 1, for advancing and upholding foreign jurisdiction within this realm. But he humbled himself to the court; and voluntarily, and upon oath, on the 22nd of December, made recognition in these words:

His recognition.

First, he doth acknowledge, that he is not a lawful vicar-general in the diocese of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns, and thinketh in his conscience that he cannot lawfully take upon him the said office.

"*Item*, he doth acknowledge our Sovereign Lord King James, that now is, to be his lawful, chief, and supreme governour in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that he is bound in conscience to obey him in all the said causes; and that neither the Pope, nor any other foreign prelate, prince, or potentate, hath any power to control the king in any cause, ecclesiastical or civil, within this kingdom, or any of his majesty's dominions.

"*Item*, he doth in his conscience believe, that all bishops ordained and made by the king's authority, within any of his dominions, are lawful bishops; and that no bishops made by the Pope, or by any authority derived from the Pope, within the king's dominions, hath any power or authority to impugn, disannul, or control any act done by any bishop made by his majesty's authority, as aforesaid.

"*Item*, he professeth himself willing and ready to obey the king, as a good and obedient subject ought to do, in all his lawful commandments; either concerning his function of priesthood, or any other duty belonging to a good subject."

His private denial of his recognition.

On this confession he was indulged with more liberty, and with the free access of his friends; and

undoubtedly would have been liberated the next term, if he had not privately denied what he had done publickly; protesting that his acknowledgment of the king's authority did not extend to spiritual, but was confined to temporal causes only.

His indictment on the statute of premunire.

The Lord Deputy being informed of this his prevarication, it was resolved to try him upon the statute of premunire, of the 16th year of Richard II., chapter 5; and the resolution was discreetly taken, to indict him upon that rather than upon any new statute passed since the Reformation, in order that the Irish might be convinced, "That even popish kings and parliaments thought the Pope an usurper of those exorbitant jurisdictions which he claimed; and thought it inconsistent with the loyalty of a good subject, to uphold or advance his unjust and unreasonable encroachments on the prerogative of the king, and the privilege of a subject, which tended to nothing less than to make our kings his lacquies, our nobles his vassals, and our commons his slaves and villains." Upon this indictment, then, he was tried and found guilty. In the course of his trial the recognition or confession, which he had voluntarily made upon oath, was publickly read. This nettled him exceedingly; the rather because he was asked whether he had not to some of his friends denied

His equivocation,

that confession. He answered that he had not; and that he had only told some of them that he had not acknowledged the king's supremacy in spiritual causes; and this he affirmed was true, for the word in the confession was "ecclesiastical." Upon this the Attorney-General learnedly descanted upon the words "ecclesiastical" and "spiritual," and exposed the knavery and silliness of the prisoner's equivoca-

tion; and then the sentence of the law was pronounced upon him: but it does not appear to have been exer executed[7]. And sentence.

In the summer of the year 1607, the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, formed a resolution to visit three counties in Ulster, namely, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, which, being the most unsettled and unreformed parts of that province, appeared particularly to need his lordship's visitation at that time. Several circumstances of the ecclesiastical condition of those parts were brought under notice by that visitation, which accordingly requires our special attention. Visitation of three counties in Ulster by the Lord Deputy. 1607.

On the 17th of July the Lord Deputy commenced his journey, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Garret Moore, and Sir John Davies, the attorney-general for Ireland: to the last of whom we are indebted for the following intelligence, communicated in a letter to Robert Earl of Salisbury. The first night, being Saturday, and the following, they lodged at the abbey of Mellifont, in the county of Louth, formerly belonging to the Cistercians, and granted at the Dissolution to the ancestor of Sir Garret Moore, who had fixed his residence here, making the abbey a place of magnificence and delight, and, at the same time, of defence, bordering, as it did, immediately on the Irish rebels[8]. Narrative of the journey, by Sir John Davies. Abbey of Mellifont.

But similar accommodation was not expected as they proceeded; and, accordingly, provision was made for their exigencies, somewhat after the manner of a military progress. "On Monday night," says the narrator, "his lordship camped in the fields, upon Provision for the journey.

[7] Cox, ii. 10, 11. [8] Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 489.

the borders of Ferney, which is the inheritance of the Earl of Essex; and, albeit, we were to pass through the wastest and wildest parts of all the North, yet had we only for our guard six or seven score foot, and fifty or three score horse, which is an argument of a good time, and of a confident Deputy. For, in former times, when the state enjoyed the best peace and security, no Lord Deputy did ever venture himself into those parts without an army of eight hundred or a thousand men."

Monaghan.

In this manner they proceeded to the town of Monaghan, where full inquiry was made into the civil state of the country. After which the narrative goes on to report the following investigation, concerning ecclesiastical matters, with its result[9].

Its ecclesiastical condition investigated.

"When we had delivered the gaol, we impannelled another jury, to inquire into the state of the Church in that county, (Monaghan,) giving them these special articles in charge, namely, how many parish churches there were in that county; who were patrons; who were incumbents; which of the churches were sufficiently repaired; and what damaged; of what yearly value they were; what glebe, tythes, or other duties belonged unto the Church; and who took the profits thereof.

Commission for such investigation.

"This we did by virtue of that great commission which was sent out of England, about twelve months since, whereby the commissioners have authority, among other things, to inquire of these points; and thereupon to take order for the re-edifying and repairing of the churches, and for the placing of sufficient incumbents therein. This point of that commission was not before time put in execution anywhere, albeit it was sundry times moved at the council table, that somewhat might be done therein. But my lords, the bishops, that sit at the board, being not very well pleased that laymen should intermeddle with ecclesiastical

[9] *Letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury*, 1607.—*Tracts*, p. 227. Dublin, 1787.

affairs, did ever answer that motion in this manner: 'Let us alone in that business: take you no care for that: we we will see it effected, we warrant you.' Notwithstanding, there hath been so little care taken, as that the greatest part of the churches within the pale lie still in their ruins; so as the common people, whereof many, without doubt, would conform themselves, have no place to resort unto, where they may hear divine service. This consideration moved us to inquire of the state of the Church in these unreformed counties. The inquisition presented unto us in this county was in Latin, because the principal jurors were vicars and clerks. It appeared that the churches, for the most part, are utterly waste; that the king is patron of all; and that their incumbents are popish priests, instituted by bishops authorized from Rome; yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary's time in England, ready to yield to conformity.

Destitute condition of the churches.

"When we had received this particular information, it was thought meet to reserve it, and to suspend and stay all proceedings thereupon, until the Bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, (which three dioceses comprehend the greatest part of Ulster, albeit they be now united for one man's benefit,) shall arrive out of England; whose absence, being two years since he had been elected by his majesty, hath been the chief cause that no course hath been hitherto taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity, and therefore *majus peccatum habet*[10]."

Consequence of the bishop's absence.

Monaghan is in the diocese of Clogher, which see had been vacated in 1570, by the translation of its bishop, who had received from it little or no emolument during his incumbency: and it had afterwards continued vacant for many years, in consequence of the rebellions and protracted wars which had been perpetually harassing that country. But, in 1605, George Mountgomery, a native of Scotland, and Dean of Norwich, was advanced by King James to the bishoprick of Clogher, as also to those of

Long-continued vacancy of the see of Clogher.

Appointment of George Mountgomery.

[10] As above, p. 240.

Derry and Raphoe, neither of which had been occupied for many years, most probably from the same cause. It appears, however, that the bishop, after a lapse of two years, had not yet entered on the discharge of his episcopal duties; and his neglect is indicated as the chief cause of the spiritual destitution of his diocese, and branded, as we have seen by the relater, for "the greatness of the sin." It does not appear, however, that any measures had been taken by the ruling powers for correcting his fault, and remedying the consequent evils which were felt by his people and the church. The poverty, indeed, of the see of Clogher was soon after removed by the munificence of the king, who, together with many other grants, annexed to the bishoprick the abbey of Clogher, and its revenues, so as to render it one of the most opulent bishopricks in Ireland. Notwithstanding which, Bishop Mountgomery, on surrendering the two sees of Derry and Raphoe, in 1610, was permitted to undertake the administration of that of Meath, which he held together with Clogher until his death, in 1620. He had also remained in possession of his deanery of Norwich till September, 1614[11].

His culpable absence,

And plurality of bishopricks.

But to proceed with the Lord Deputy on his journey.

"From Monaghan," says Sir John Davies, "we went the first night to the ruins of the abbey of Clunes, where we camped, and passing from thence through ways almost impassable for our carriages, by reason of the woods and bogs, we came the second night after to the south side of Loughrea, and pitched our tents over against the island of Devenish, a place being prepared for the holding of our sessions for Fermanagh in the ruins of the abbey there[12]."

Lord Deputy's encampment at Clunes,

And at Fermanagh.

[11] Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 188, 156. [12] Davies's *Tracts*, p. 243.

At Fermanagh, the civil investigation was first proceeded with. After which,

"We made like inquisition here," the narrative continues, "touching ecclesiastical livings, as we had done in Monaghan. The erecting of a free school in this county was deferred till the coming of the Bishop of Clogher. The building of a gaol and sessions-house was likewise respited, until my Lord Deputy had resolved of a fit place for a market and corporate town: for the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this county[13]." Lord Deputy's plans of improvement. Wildness of the country.

Thus far the Lord Deputy's inquiries had been limited to the diocese of Clogher. We next find him in that of Kilmore, which, during the fourteen years that followed the promotion of Bishop Garvey to the primacy, in 1589, had, from the confusion of the times, continued without a pastor. But, in 1603, the vacancy in this, and in the contiguous see of Ardagh, was supplied by the appointment of Robert Draper. On which occasion the Privy Seal sets forth, Diocese of Kilmore. Vacancy filled after a long interval.

"That the king was well pleased to bestow the said bishopricks upon him, having received testimony of his sufficient learning and honest conversation to be meet to supply those places, in regard that he was well acquainted with the conditions and dispositions of that people, and was able to instruct them in the Irish tongue, and thereby likely to do more good among them in his said function. Because the revenues were become so small by the intolerable oppression of the Irish rebels, the king annexed the rectory of Trim, of which he was incumbent[14]." Reasons of Bishop Draper's appointment.

This honourable testimony to the character of Bishop Draper does not prepare us for what follows, as to the condition of his diocese, in Sir John Davies's *Narrative*.

[13] As above, p. 261.

[14] Rot. Pat. Jac. I,

Poverty of Cavan.

"We came to Cavan, and pitched our tents on the south side of that poor Irish town."

"The state of the lay possessions being discovered, we did not omit to inquire of the number and value of the parsonages and vicarages, of the reparation of the churches, and of the quality of their incumbents: by which inquisition we found, that the greatest number of parsonages were appropriated unto two great abbeys, lying within the English pale; namely, the Abbey of Fower, in Westmeath, granted to the Baron of Delwyn, and the Abbey of Kells, whereof one Gerard Flemynge is farmer. To the first of these fourteen parsonages within this county are appropriate, and to the other eight; besides these are two or three more belonging in like manner to the Abbey of Cavan, in this county, being now in possession of Sir James Dillon. As for the vicarages, they are so poorly endowed, as ten of them being united will scarce suffice to maintain an honest minister. For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as were presented to be in reparation, are covered only with thatch. But the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, did appear to be such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of those livings, albeit many of them are not worth above 40*s.* per annum.

Impropriate parsonages.

Vicarages poorly endowed.

Ruinous state of churches.

Poverty and ignorance of incumbents.

Neglect of the bishop.

"This country doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, whose bishop (Robert Draper) was, and is, parson of Trym, in Meath, which is the best parsonage in all the kingdom; and is a man of this country birth, worth well nigh 400*l.* a year. He doth live now in these parts, where he hath two bishopricks: but there is no divine service or sermon to be heard within either of his dioceses. His lordship might have saved us this labour of inquiry, touching matters ecclesiastical, if he had been as careful to see the churches repaired and supplied with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb, which is common in the mouth of one of our great bishops here: 'that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow[15].'"

[15] DAVIES's *Tracts*, p. 266.

Sir John Davies concludes his curious and interesting account of this journey, with certain reflections, of which those that relate to ecclesiastical matters may be properly transcribed.

Sir J. Davies's reflections on the journey.

"If my Lord Deputy do finish these beginnings, and settle these counties, as I assure myself he will, this will prove the most profitable journey for the service of God and his majesty, and the general good of this kingdom, that hath been made in the time of peace by any deputy these many years. For first his lordship having gotten a true and clear understanding of the state of the clergy in these parts, many will take a direct speedy course for the planting of religion among these rude people, who are apt to take any impression: for his lordship knowing the number and value of the benefices in every county, may cause an union, or rather a sequestration, to be made of so many as will make a competent living for a sole minister; then may he give order for building of as many churches as there shall be competent livings for ministers in that county. And this preparation being made, his lordship may lastly provide sufficient incumbents to serve the churches." "Besides, the crown is restored to all the patronages of ecclesiastical promotions, which heretofore were usurped by the Pope, and utterly neglected by the state here[16]."

Improvement of benefices recommended as to churches and ministers.

How far these favourable anticipations were realized, may be well doubted. In particular, the state of these dioceses will again call for our attention on occasion of a royal commission, about fifteen years later; and especially the united dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh will fall under consideration when we arrive at the period of Bishop Bedell's appointment to them about twenty-two years after the date of Sir John Davies's narrative. It may here, however, be remarked in passing, that the principle of "instructing the people of those wild parts in the Irish tongue," as the means of being "likely to do more

Remark on the principle of instructing the people in the Irish tongue.

[16] Davies, p. 268, 269.

good among them," was professed and acted upon by King James in the appointment of Bishop Draper to this diocese; a principle which, it may be likewise observed, had been acted upon at various periods in the most uncivilized parts of Ireland, not indeed by an uniform provision, but probably by many more individuals, and to a considerably greater degree, than those, who have not investigated the details of Irish ecclesiastical history, may suppose.

SECTION II.

Conspiracies and Rebellions in the North. Forfeiture of Lands. Plantation of the Northern Counties. The King's Care for the Improvement of the Religious Establishment. Emigrants from Scotland. Their prepossessions, and the effect of them on the Church. Proclamation against Popish Emissaries. Report of his Diocese by the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

Conspiracy of Irish nobles in Ulster, 1607.

IN 1607 a formidable conspiracy, encouraged by the indulgences, which were interpreted into the weakness of the crown, was formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the Lord Maguire, and other Irish nobles and great proprietors of Ulster, for surprising the castle of Dublin, and murdering the Lord Deputy and council, and thus establishing their own independent authority. The conspiracy being discovered, the conspirators endeavoured to escape. Some, however, were taken and executed; and others, who had fled, being indicted on a special commission for their trial, were outlawed[1].

Their vindication that they had been persecuted for their religion.

In their vindication they alleged, that they had been injuriously treated, and especially had been persecuted for religion; but they were answered by

[1] Cox, ii. 12.

a declaration from the king, published in November the same year, which repelled the allegation of injurious treatment; and with respect to their other plea observed, "that there was not any purpose of proceeding against them in matters of religion, their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man valiant who does not glory in rapine and oppression; and therefore 'twere unreasonable to trouble them for religion, before it could be perceived by their conversation they had any; . . . . . that they did stir up sedition and intestine rebellion in the kingdom; and sent their instruments, priests and others, to make offers to foreign states for their assistance; and that, under the condition of being made free from the English government, they resolved also to comprehend the extirpation of all those subjects now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended of English race."

Answered by the king's declaration.

But, although it were difficult to perceive from the conversation of these rebels, that they had, properly speaking, "any religion," yet religion, nevertheless, such as it was, was undoubtedly a powerful agent in their rebellions: for it was not to no purpose, that the judgment of the Spanish universities of Salamanca and Valladolid had convinced all the Popish clergy of "the unlawfulness of assisting an heretical prince or people against the Church;" or that the priests, acting in conformity with the principle of the judgment, fomented and encouraged the rebellion, which was still prosecuted under the conduct of other Popish chiefs, by affirming, "That all were martyrs who died in that service."

Rebellion instigated by religion.

Nor were equivocal symptoms of the religious sentiments of the conspirators given, when in the

Symptoms of the religious sentiments of the conspirators.

year 1608, on the surprise and capture of Culmore, or Kilmore, and its magazine, by Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, he "burnt two thousand heretical books, as he called them, refusing to let them be redeemed for an hundred pounds;" or when after taking, with little or no resistance, the neighbouring fort and town of Derry, and having plundered it, and burnt it to ashes, he murdered the governor and all the Protestants, except the bishop's wife, who with her children was taken prisoner, and afterwards was allowed to be ransomed.

Outlawry of the rebels. 1608.

In consequence of these rebellions, the last of which was brought to a close in 1608, by an accidental shot, which ended the life of Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, some of the rebels, on whom the king had formerly tried in vain the effect of pardon, and restoration to their property, were now outlawed, and they and the rest were afterwards attainted by parliament. By this judgment, large tracts of land, to the amount of 511,465 acres of the Irish or plantation measure, equivalent to 818,344 acres of the English statute measure, in the counties of Donegall, Tyrone, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, were forfeited or escheated to the crown: part of which was again by the crown bestowed for various uses connected with the church, such as glebe lands for ecclesiastical dignitaries and other incumbents, for the college of Dublin, and for free-schools; and, amongst other modes of distribution, the largest portion, assigned to any one purpose, was that of 209,800 plantation acres, or 335,680 statute measure, for "the Londoners and other undertakers," on the special agreement that "they should not suffer any labourer, that would not take

Plantation of the northern counties.

the oath of supremacy, to dwell upon their lands." Provision was made for building the towns of Derry and Coleraine, by the city of London, in 1611; but on trial the accomplishment of this undertaking was found impracticable, so that more time was allowed for the former, which was actually completed by the Londoners, under the compound appellation of London-Derry, in 1617. Provision was also made for convenient plots of ground to be assigned to the Bishop and Dean of Derry for their houses: and that the city should have the whole territory of Glancanken and Killetragh in the county of Coleraine, and the patronage of the churches.

Oath of supremacy to be taken by every labourer.

Building of London-Derry, and Coleraine.

The king had found the estate of the bishopricks in Ulster, much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge, which the late temporal Irish lords made to the Church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of a maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under the colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the Church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and places of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating of his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts.

Bad condition of the bishopricks in Ulster;

And of the cathedrals;

Nor were the parochial churches in a better condition than the cathedrals. They had, most of them in the country, been destroyed in the troubles, or fallen down for want of covering: the livings were very small; and either kept in the bishop's hands by

And parish churches.

way of *commendams*, and sequestrations, or else filled with ministers as scandalous as their incomes: so that scarce any care was taken to catechise the children, or instruct others in the grounds of religion: and for years together, divine service had not been used in any parish church throughout Ulster, except in some city or principal towns.

Neglect of divine service and pastoral instruction.

Remedy provided by the king.

To remedy these abuses, and to make a proper provision for the instruction of the people, and for reducing them to a conformity in religion, the king ordered, that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical, out of which the bishops had at any time formerly received rents or pensions: that compositions should be made with the patentees for the site of cathedral churches, the houses of residence of bishops and dignitaries, and other church lands, which were never intended to be conveyed to them: an equivalent to be allowed to the patentee, if he conformed willingly; if not, the patent to be vacated by due course of law, the king being deceived in his grant, and the possessions to be restored to the Church. And, to provide for the inferior clergy, he engaged the bishops to give up all their impropriations, and relinquish the tythes, paid them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, making them an ample recompense with grants of his own lands.

Parochial allotments.

He caused every proportion, allotted to the undertakers, to be made a parish, and a parochial church to be erected therein; the incumbent whereof was, besides all the tythes and duties of each parish, to have a glebe set out for him, of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the size of the parish, and the proportion of which it con-

sisted; and this to be laid out, before any allotment was made to others, in the most convenient place, and the nearest adjoining to the parish church.

Provision for ministers.

To provide likewise for a succession of worthy men to fill these churches, he erected and endowed free schools in the principal towns; he made considerable grants of lands to the college, founded by Queen Elizabeth at Dublin; and vested in it the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle, proportion in each county[2].

Conformity in religion required of all undertakers.

Moreover he required, that "every of the said undertakers, English and Scotch, before the ensealing of his letter, should take the oath of supremacy, either in the Chancery of England, or before the commissioners appointed for establishing the plantation; and should also conform themselves in religion according to his majesty's laws[3]."

Well-being of the Church obstructed by this plantation.

Notwithstanding, however, the regard, thus shown by the king for the well-being of the Church, and for the maintenance of the established religion, of this plantation there was one result deeply to be lamented, as disturbing the Church's peace, impeding her progress, and diminishing her power of promoting religious improvement. The emigrants from Scotland, who were a numerous division of the new settlers, brought with them their own peculiar prepossessions, and were attended or followed by ministers of their own, apparently sincere and zealous, though mistaken men, earnest in maintaining and disseminating their national opinions.

These opinions for the most part consisted in

[2] CARTE's *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, vol. i. p. 17.
[3] HARRIS's *Hibernica*, p. 123.

Peculiar opinions of the emigrants from Scotland.

hostility to the primitive and apostolical form of Church government by bishops, and a partial predilection for that presbyterian model, recently invented by John Calvin at Geneva, and adopted and imported into Scotland by John Knox: in a rejection of that liturgical mode of worship, which had been transmitted from the earliest through all succeeding ages of Christianity, and was now continued in the British reformed Churches; and in an attachment to the modern fashion of devotional aspirations, uttered under the supposed immediate dictation of the Holy Spirit; in a contemptuous repudiation of several decent and orderly, innocent and edifying and ancient, signs and accompaniments of divine worship, and a studied affectation of a bare, an abstract, and frigid simplicity in the service of God in a condemnation of the aboriginal and hereditary sentiments, practice, and authority of Christ's Catholick Church, as the interpreter of God's holy word, and in a professed reverence for that word alone as the guide to religious truth, not however independent of the freedom of private judgment, carried to an undue and dangerous extent, or of the system of some favourite reformer, who had acquired over their minds and opinions little less than a papal control.

Scotch congregations formed on these principles.

Under the influence of such prejudices as these, congregations were formed by the new comers from Scotland in the northern counties of Ireland, opposed to the principles and provisions, and estranged from the communion, of the Church.

Settlement of the Scots in Ireland legalized by Act of 11 James I. c. 6.

The settlement of the Scotch Presbyterians in Ireland was not agreeable to the former inhabitants, either to the earlier occupiers, or to those of English extraction: and a special Act of Parliament was

necessary to legalize it. For down to this period in the reign of King James, there was still in force a statute, enacted in the third and fourth years of King Philip and Queen Mary, which prohibited the bringing in, retaining, or marrying of Scots. This statute continuing part of the law of the land during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, adventurers of that nation were precluded from settling in Ireland. But, in the year 1614, being the 11th of King James, this Act was repealed, and multitudes of the Scots passed over into Ulster. Presbyterian ministers were sometimes attached to these colonies, and congregations were formed, the earliest of which was at Broad Island, in the county of Antrim, in 1611, and another, about the same time, at Holywood, in the county of Down; and nearly coincident in time with these were similar meetings at Antrim and Carrickfergus, whence they spread into the adjoining counties of Armagh, Londonderry, Donegall, and Tyrone, and the other parts of Ulster[4]. At the same time there came over three ministers from England, one a pupil of the celebrated Puritan, Cartwright, patronized by the Lord Chichester, then Lord Deputy, who had been a pupil of Cartwright also, and was a favourer and encourager of the Puritans. These congregations were soon afterwards united into a system of mutual agreement and co-operation, and presbyteries formed in various districts.

Multitudes passed over into Ulster.

English Presbyterians.

A schism was thus established among the Irish Protestants: a schism, opposed at the same time to all the principles and laws of the Church Catholick, and injurious to Christianity in general, but especially detrimental under the circumstances of Ireland,

A schism established among the Irish Protestants.

[4] Stuart's *History of Armagh*, p. 434. *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, p. 161.

where a consentient, combined, and co-operating effort, in the one regular body of the national Church, by all the opponents of the papal errors, might have been a powerful instrument in God's hand for correcting them; and where the want of such agreement and co-operation not only weakened the power, which was otherwise capable of being brought into effectual action, but served as a positive argument for confirming the Papist in his delusions. If the Church has been less successful from that period than sound piety may have wished, in persuading Popish recusants to an acknowledgment of the truth, he who best knows the value and the weight of religious unity, and the paramount importance attributed to it by the adherents and advocates of the papacy, will best estimate the responsibility which attaches to those Protestant sectarists, who impeded the progress of the Church by renouncing and condemning her communion, and introducing into the kingdom rival religious assemblies, of which the characteristicks were dissent and separation from the Church.

Its pernicious effects.

By what disingenuous contrivances some of these sectarists were enabled to evade the laws enacted for the protection of the Church, and to insinuate themselves into her ministry, and to gain possession of her benefices, will be subject for future attention.

Whilst the Government was thus inconsiderately lending their assistance, in sowing the seed of modern dissent and separation from the Church, their vigilance was continually required for keeping down the shoots, which were ever and anon sprouting forth from the old stock of Popish insubordination and arrogance. In July, 1610, the former proclamation

of July the 4th, 1605, against titular bishops, Jesuits, friars, and other Romish emissaries, was revived; but it was so faintly executed, that no persons are mentioned as having been apprehended in consequence, except the titular Bishop of Down and four friars. Orders were also issued for tendering the oath of supremacy to all magistrates, justices of peace, and other officers; and to displace those who should refuse to take it[5].

Revival of proclamation against Romish emissaries. July, 1610.

It is at about this time that an instance occurs, the first, of which I am aware, and, in this case, limited to a single diocese, of the result of an inquiry into the internal condition of the Church, made by a metropolitan, in obedience to the injunctions of the Crown. In the absence of more comprehensive documents, important information may be sometimes derived from such Diocesan Reports, which, whilst they give accurate local delineations, contribute also to throw light upon the general condition of the Church. In this respect, however, they should be applied with caution and deliberation; for there must have been numerous peculiar circumstances, to modify the state of things in the several dioceses: and much in the administration of its affairs must have depended on the views and opinions, the disposition of mind, the ability and activity, of the respective diocesans. Still it is gratifying and useful, in investigating the transactions of the times, of which most of the records are not in existence, to meet with some of these less perfect memorials; and I esteem, as a valuable document of this kind, that which occurs in the *Reports of the Commissioners of Publick Records in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 264,

Instance of a Diocesan Report. 1612.

Value of such reports.

[5] Cox, ii. 17.

Return to his metropolitan's inquiries, by the bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

being a return to inquiries of his metropolitan, made in 1612, by Thomas Ram, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, concerning many particulars in his diocese, as to the state both of popery and of the Reformed Church of Ireland. The document purports to be, "The humble Answer of Thomas, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to his Majesty's Instructions and Interrogations, lately sent unto the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm:" so that it must evidently have been only one of a collection of similar documents.

Title of the document.

It is intituled, "A true Account of the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, how he hath performed those duties which the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Dublin, being his Metropolitan, undertook unto his Majesty for him and the rest of his Suffragans; made this first of September, 1612."

The bishop's manner of treating papists.

"1. Concerning the order and course, which I have holden, for the suppression of popery, and planting the truth of religion in each of my dioceses, it hath been of two sorts. First, being advised by some in authority, unto whom his Majesty's pleasure and the state of those times were better known than unto me, to carry myself in all mild and gentle manner toward my diocesans and circuits, I never (till of late) proceeded to the excommunication of any for matter of religion, but contented myself only to confer with divers of each diocese, both poor and rich, and that in the most familiar and kind manner that I could, confirming our doctrines, and confuting their assertions, by the touchstone of all truth, the Holy Scriptures.

Dislike of the poorer sort for popery.

"And for the poorer sort, some of them have not only discovered unto me privately their dislike of popery, and of the mass, in regard they understood not what is said or done therein, but also groaned under the burden of the many priests, in respect of the double tithes and offerings, the one paid by them unto us and the other unto them. Being then demanded of me, why they did not forsake the

mass, and come to church, their answer hath been, which I know to be true in some, that, if they should be of our religion, no popish merchant would employ them, being sailors, no popish landlord would let them any lands, being husbandmen, nor set them houses in tenantry, being artificers; and, therefore, they must either starve or do as they do.

Obstinacy of the gentry.

"As for the gentlemen, and those of the richer sort, I have always found them very obstinate, which hath proceeded from the priests resorting unto their houses and company, and continuing to hammer them upon their superstitious anvil.

The king's pleasure concerning recusants.

"Touching the second course, since his majesty signified his express pleasure, that the censures of the Church should be by us practised against recusants, after often" . . . . [here the MS. is torn, so that there are only to be read, with intervals, the words] "plain and mild manner, but all to no purpose, I" . . . . . "to repair unto their parish church on days" . . . . . [Then, after the word "sheriff," the document proceeds as follows:]

The bishop's persuasions with the recusants.

"I caused to be brought before me, hoping, then, that my persuasions and reasons, together with their apparent and present danger, would make them relent; myself prevailing nothing with them, I intreated their landlord, Sir Henry Wallop, to try what he could do with them, but all in vain. This done, I singled them out one by one, and afforded each of them this favour, to give them any reasonable time to bethink themselves, upon these conditions; first, that they would repair to their curate's house twice or thrice a-week, and hear our service privately in his chamber read unto them; next, that they would put me in good security for the delivery of their bodies unto the sheriff, at the end of the time to be granted, if they conformed not themselves: but they jumped all in one answer, as if they had known beforehand what offer I would tender unto them, and had been catechised by some priest, what answer to make, viz., 'that they were resolved to live and die in that religion, and that they knew they must be imprisoned at the length, and, therefore,' said they, 'as good now as hereafter[6].'"

Their prompt and unanimous answer.

[6] *Publick Records of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 264.

Other curious particulars in this account.

There are several other particulars mentioned in this account, which are valuable and curious, as illustrative of the general condition of the Church, so far as it may be inferred from the affairs of a single diocese.

Continual residence of the bishop.

An example of the opinions entertained concerning the discharge of episcopal duties is furnished by the statement of the bishop, that he "continually resided either in the diocese of Ferns or Leighlin, sometimes in the one and sometimes in the other; and, in whichever he had been, he had exercised the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his own person; when he was not there, his official supplied his room:" that, "having been about seven years bishop, he had

His yearly visitations.

every year once visited each of his dioceses in person, and had called before him his clergy in each deanery, and two, at the least, of the laity out of every parish, for sidesmen, upon their oaths, to detect all the offences and defects of ecclesiastical cognizance, committed within their several parishes, and had accordingly proceeded therein: "that, if he were authorized under the seal to tender the oath of allegiance to every man of sort within his diocese, he was most

His willingness to tender the oath of allegiance.

ready and willing to put it in execution, to persuade them in the best and serious manner that he could to take the oath, and duly and truly to certify the Lord Deputy, from time to time, the names both of the takers and refusers thereof:" and that "there was never any yet admitted, by him or his official, unto any spiritual living within either of his dioceses, but he did distinctly with his mouth pronounce,

Oath of supremacy taken by all beneficed clergymen in his diocese.

and," adds the bishop, "I doubt not but truly and willingly with his heart, embrace and take the oath of supremacy."

It appears, that there were several popish priests

at this time resorting to, or harbouring in, the dioceses of Ferns and Leighlin, of whom this document enumerates sixteen in the former, and ten in the latter diocese. Each of these is mentioned with the title of "Sir" prefixed to his name; a title which is commonly understood as generally descriptive of a priest, but of which Fuller, in his *Church History*, says, "Such priests, as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian name, were men not graduated in the university, being in *orders*, but not in *degrees;* whilst others, intituled *masters*, had commenced in the arts[1]." And this sense of the word appears probable in its application to the persons here spoken of. Of these two are particularly noted, as having been ministers of the Church: "Sir John Quiltey, a roving priest, sometime one of our clergy, but long since keeping here and there in the parishes of Old Rosse and the parishes adjoining; and Sir William Barrick, a very old man, keeping at New Rosse, in the house of William Bennett. This man, about ten years since, was one of our clergy, and was vicar of New Rosse." Another gives occasion for the following remark: "This Richard is now beginning to build a mass-house in Rosse, upon the land of his brother James. Mine humble suit is, that some present course may be taken for the hindering thereof; as also for the nailing up of the door of another chapel in that town of New Rosse, formerly built by Sir David Dowle aforesaid."

Popish priests in the dioceses.

Why intituled "Sir."

Two of them formerly ministers of the Church.

Objection made to the building of new mass-houses.

"No popish priest," observes the bishop, "hath ever been admitted either to church living or cure within either of my dioceses during my incumbency; neither, God willing, during my time ever shall."

Objection to the admitting of Popish priests.

[1] *Church History*, b. vi. p. 352.

State of the churches.

Concerning the state of the churches in these dioceses, the following notice occurs.

"All the churches within both my dioceses are builded according to the country fashion, or bonds taken for the building of those few that are unbuilded, except some few parishes, wherein there is yet little or no habitation, and except the cathedral church of Ferns, which, having been burnt by Feagh M'How in the time of rebellion, is so chargeable to re-edify, that the dean and chapter are not able to compass that work, neither is it indeed fit, that the cathedral church should be at Ferns, being now but a poor country village; but either at Wexford, or at New Rosse, being both incorporate towns, very populous of themselves, especially Wexford, and of much resort by strangers. Yet there is an ile of the cathedral churbh builded, wherein divine service is duly celebrated."

Ferns not a good situation for the cathedral.

Account of schools in the diocese.

The bishop then makes report of two schools, one in Wexford for Ferns, the other in Maryborough for Leighlin; the schoolmaster being maintained by himself and his clergy, according to the statute. "Neither," he observes, "have I ever licensed any schoolmaster to teach, but such as have first entered bonds to teach none other books, but such as are agreeable to the king's injunctions. But these schools, established by authority, are to small purpose, if all the Popish priests in this kingdom take that course, as in all probability they do, which a priest, called Laghlin Oge, took not long since after the celebration of his mass. For he taught the people first, that whosoever did send their children or pupils to be taught by a schoolmaster of our religion, they were excommunicated *ipso facto*, and should certainly be damned, without they did undergo great penance for their so doing. Next, (though not appertaining to this branch) that the infants, which were by us baptized, if they were not brought

Mischievous interference of the Popish priests.

to them to be rebaptized, both the parents so doing, and the children so baptized, were damned."

"Lastly," the bishop thus continues, "though I have used my best endeavour, according to my simple skill, to reform recusants, yet have I come far short of what I ought to have done; and I must needs acknowledge myself to be an unprofitable servant. But by the grace of God I am what I am; and by the said grace assisting me, I will endeavour myself more and more to root out Popery, and to sow the seed of true religion in the hearts of all the people committed to my charge: which though I have no hope to effect as I would, yet '*est aliquid prodire tenus, cum non datur ultrá.*'" The bishop's desire to root out Popery, and plant true religion.

The bishop, having thus answered particularly each branch of the first article of inquiry, proceeds to return, as near as he can learn, the true value, *communibus annis*, of the benefices of each diocese, and the names and qualities of present incumbents. Value of the benefices in the diocese.

Of the bishoprick of Ferns, he states "the present incumbent to be Thomas Ram, who at his first coming to the place found it worth, by the year, one hundred marks, 66*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, sterling penny rent. But by his recovery of the manor of Fethard, by a long and chargeable suit at law, though ended by composition at length, it is now bettered per annum by 40*l.*" Recent improvement of the bishoprick of Ferns.

"This bishoprick," he adds, "hath been worth four or five hundred pounds by the year; but by the many fee-farms made thereof by his predecessors, especially by Alexander Devereux and John Devereux to their kindred and bastards, at very small rents, it is reduced unto this small pittance aforesaid. This bishoprick of Ferns and the other of Leighlin lie both together; and the dwelling-houses of them Injury done to it by former bishops.

both, namely Fethard (seated in the remotest part from Leighlin of the whole diocese of Ferns,) and Old Leighlin, are but twenty-seven English miles asunder."

Value of the bishoprick of Leighlin.

He afterwards states himself to hold the bishoprick of Leighlin, by union with that of Ferns, "*durante vitâ*, by virtue of his majesty's letters patent. The annual rent thereof is 24*l.* ster., besides the demesnes, which are very large, if the bishop might enjoy his right. But in respect they are almost all mountain ground, and much of them is withholden by the neighbours thereof, yield very little profit."

Number and average value of the benefices in Ferns.

The benefices in Ferns were twenty-seven, consisting of the deanery and seven prebends; seven rectories and twelve vicarages. The value of them is given in two parallel columns, in time of peace and as reduced by rebellion. The highest value in the former time is 50*l.*, and in the latter 30*l.*; being the deanery: the next highest, respectively, is 25*l.* and 20*l.* The lowest value is 4*l.*, reduced by rebellion to 40*s.* But in one case 7*l.* is reduced to nothing. The united amount is 380*l.* or 261*l.*: yielding an average in the twenty-seven benefices of about 14*l.*, or 9*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in peace or rebellion.

Residence and other particulars of the incumbents.

With two or three exceptions, the incumbents were residing on their benefices. Some are specified as being "preachers," and some as being "reading ministers." One of the incumbents was "a student in Trinity College, near Dublin, aged about twenty years." Of the vicarages one was "of so small worth, that no man would pass the patent for it, and thereupon the curate enjoyed the profit." Seven of the incumbents are reported as "ministers of Irish birth, skilful in, or having, the English, Irish, and

Latin tongues:" two "of Irish birth, having the English and Irish."

Benefices and incumbents in Leighlin.

In Leighlin were the treasurership and archdeaconry, and four prebends, eleven rectories, and thirty-four vicarages; one of the rectories being as high as 30*l.* But the benefices in general varied between 12*l.* and 3*l.* in time of peace; but so much affected by rebellion, that twenty-five of them are returned as worth nothing. The same distinction occurs between "preachers" and "reading ministers," there being, however, very few of the former class. There were about twelve "of Irish birth, having the English, Irish, and Latin tongues." And two are mentioned of "English birth," of whom one had "some skill in the Irish tongue," and the other was "skilful" in that language. One of the vicarages was holden "*in commendam* by the Bishop of Kerry;" and two of the rectories of very small value, by two scholars respectively of sixteen and seventeen years of age, or thereabouts, "dispensed withall *gratia studii*."

Explanation of several of the foregoing particulars.

The bishop explains some of the foregoing particulars, as well as his own practice in matters connected with them, in the following observations appended to his return.

The bishop's care to provide ministers.

"At my first preferment unto these bishopricks, and finding such want of clergymen within both my dioceses, especially of Leighlin, that some of the parishioners, being by me blamed for carrying their children to Popish priests to be christened, answered (though rather for excuse, as I found afterwards, in that they reformed not themselves, than for conscience sake), that they were compelled so to do, in regard they had no curate of our religion near unto them: in imitation of the reverend bishops, living in the beginning of the reign of our late queen of happy memory, I entreated three or four men of English birth, and staid English,

carriage, and good report, being well able to give an account of their faith in the English tongue, and to instruct the people by reading, to enter orders of the Church; and provided for them first cures among the English parishes, afterward small vicarages, which they enjoy at this time, and reside upon them. And whereas two or three of the natives of this country, being well able to speak and read Irish unto their countrymen, sought unto me for holy orders, I thought likewise fit, in the great scarcity of men of that quality, to admit them thereunto (being likewise of honest life, and well reported of amongst their neighbours), and to provide them some small competency of living in the Irish parts. Furthermore, being desirous, *serere alteri seculo*, by providing a learned ministry, which shall be able to preach unto the people hereafter, I have also, according to the ancient custom of my diocese, dispensed with three or four youths of fifteen or sixteen years of age, to hold each of them a church living under ten pounds in true value *studii gratia*, having taken order with the churchmen adjoining, to discharge the cures of the same, and having had a watchful eye over these young men, that they did and do *bonâ fide* follow . . . . .

And Irish.

His provision of candidates for the ministry.

[Rest of the sheet mutilated.]

Impropriations destitute of vicars.

The subjoined recommendation of the bishop's was well worthy of attention, and touched a point which has been fruitful in mischief to the Irish Church.

"There being divers impropriations within each of my dioceses, which have no vicars endowed, whose possessioners are bound by their leases, or fee-farms to find sufficient curates: mine earnest request is, that a competent stipend may be raised out of every such impropriation, whereby the curate thereof may be maintained. And that two or three of the impropriations of small value may be united among themselves, if they be together; and a competency raised out of them all so united for an incumbent. But, if they be asunder, that then they may be united to the next parsonage or vicarage adjoining, and contribute towards the bettering thereof: provided always, that in whichsoever of

The Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin's advice for the supply of the defect.

the united churches divine service is celebrated, thither all the parishioners of the churches united be compelled every sabbath and holyday to repair in their course and turn. Now the competency which I conceive will be fittest for the impropriators to yield, and for the curates to receive, is the small tithes of every such parish.

(Signed) "Tho. Ferness and Leighlin."

Section III.

Christopher Hampton advanced to the Primacy. A Parliament and Convocation of the Clergy. Articles of Religion. Summary of their contents. Their discursive character. Exceptions taken to them at the time. Their discrepancy with those of the Church of England. Regal Visitation of the Province of Dublin. Arrogant conduct of the Papists.

Henry Ussher succeeded in the primacy by Christopher Hampton. 1613.

On the death of Henry Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, in 1613, Christopher Hampton was advanced to the primacy, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, with three assistant bishops, on the 8th of May. He was born at Calais, had been a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, and elected to the see of Derry, the year of his elevation to the primacy. He is recorded as a prelate of great gravity and learning. A handsome palace at Drogheda, then the principal residence of the archbishops of Armagh, was indebted to him for its foundation and erection, as well as an old episcopal house at Armagh for its reparation, the addition of sundry new buildings, and the annexing to the see of three hundred acres of land near the town of Armagh, for mensal lands. By his care also the cathedral of Armagh, which had been destroyed by Shane O'Neal, was restored; the walls with their windows reconstructed, the aisles reroofed, and the steeple rebuilt,

His character and good deeds.

and again furnished with the great bell, newly cast for the occasion. And he appears to have been particularly assiduous in repairing and rebuilding the parochial churches of his diocese[1].

Opening of the parliament.

A few days after his consecration, on the opening of the parliament in great state by the Lord Deputy, Arthur, Lord Chichester, May the 13th, the primate, after divine service, preached in St. Patrick's cathedral before the other prelates and temporal peers of the realm, with the exception of the recusant nobility, who "went not into the church, neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding they were lords of the parliament-house, and rode towards the church with the lords of estate: yet they stayed without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the Lord Deputy returned back to the castle: and those recusant lords joined themselves again with rest of the estate, and rode to the castle in manner as before they came from thence[2]."

Conduct of the recusant nobility.

Sir John Davies elected speaker of the House of Commons.

Notwithstanding an ineffectual attempt to place in the chair of the House of Commons a Popish speaker, Sir John Davies was elected to the office: in discharging the duties of which he made an excellent speech to the Lord Deputy concerning the condition of the country, observing with regard to its former and its actual ecclesiastical state, as represented in parliament, that in former times "the bishops and archbishops, though their number was greater than now it is, in respect to the divers unions made of latter years, yet such as were resident in the more Irish countries, and did not acknowledge the king to be their patron, were never summoned

[1] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 97.

[2] Letter from Sir Christ. Plunket, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.*, i. 167.

to any parliament;" but that "this parliament is called when all the lords spiritual do acknowledge the king of England to be their undoubted patron[3]." On the present occasion twenty-five spiritual lords were in attendance.

Patronage of the king acknowledged by all the spiritual peers.

Although the meeting of the parliament had been accompanied by this and some other attempts on the part of the Papists in furtherance of their own projects, it passed without any act or other occurrence particularly affecting the Church. But together with the parliament was assembled a convocation of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of the Church of Ireland, to deliberate solemnly with united efforts and counsels on matters relating to religion.

A convocation of the clergy.

From the language of those, who have transmitted to us this information, it should seem that the assembling of a convocation of the clergy was a customary accompaniment of the assembling of a parliament in Ireland as well as in England. Dr. Bernard and Dr. Parr, in their lives of Archbishop Ussher, relate, "Anno 1615, there was a parliament in Dublin, and so a convocation of the clergy:" apparently assuming the latter as a consequence of the former. The writer of the Archbishop's life, among Sir JAMES WARE'S *Bishops*, says, "A parliament was held in Ireland, and, according to custom, a convocation of the clergy." And this appears to be the foundation of Dr. Smith's statement, in his life of the same prelate, "Ordinibus regni Hiberniæ parlamento Dublinii A. M.DCXV. habito coactis, pro more indicta erat nationalis archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, reliquique cleri Hiberniæ

Question whether Irish convocations were customary.

The fact asserted,

[3] DAVIES'S *Tracts*, pp. 302, 306.

But questionable.

synodus." This statement of the custom may be correct, perhaps also it may be questionable; at least I find no authority, in fact, for maintaining the existence of the custom; in other words, I cannot call to mind any earlier example than the present of a convocation being holden.

Church of Ireland in constant agreement with that of England.

To proceed, however, to the business of this convocation. The Church of Ireland, from the earliest days of the Reformation under King Edward the Sixth, and especially during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had depended in a principal degree, if not altogether, on the Church of England, and had been in agreement with that church in all things. Her bishops had been in a great measure either Englishmen, sent over from England, or the descendants of English parents, though of Irish birth. Her Liturgy, her forms of ordination, and her sacred rites and ceremonies, were the same. Her clergy practised an entire and regular conformity, so far as the different customs of the two countries would allow, to the articles and constitutions of the English Church: and whether on their admission to holy orders, or on their appointment to the cure of souls, or on their promotion to any ecclesiastical dignity, subscribed from the year 1562, the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, to the English articles of faith. In common with others, James Ussher had thus subscribed, as appears from his sermon before the parliament of England, in which he most earnestly urges all to maintain the unity and peace of the church, from this just consideration, that those very articles ought to be accounted and were the measure, rule, and ground of our communion[4].

Irish clergy subscribed the English Articles of Religion.

[4] *Vita Jacobi Usserii*, Script. THOMA SMITHO, pp. 40, 72.

But whether they wearied of their dependence, or abated of their reverence for the Church of England, there were at this time some of the clergy of the Irish Church who were ambitious of establishing an independent character; of framing articles of religion of their own, and by their own authority, and so of distinguishing themselves and their successors by their own peculiar character as a free national church. But the more powerful and the really actuating motive was that innovating spirit, which, having failed some years before in the attempt to ingraft the doctrine of Calvin on the profession of faith of the Anglican Church by means of the notorious Lambeth Articles, was now to be employed in attempting to substitute in the Irish Church a new profession, with which those articles should be incorporated.

Desire of introducing new articles.

The articles, which were accordingly now drawn up, consisted of one hundred and four paragraphs, or sections, under nineteen heads; each head being divided into several sections. Thus, for example, the first, which is entitled, "Of the Holy Scripture, and the three Creeds," is divided into seven parts, which relate, respectively, to the holy Scripture as the ground of our religion and the rule of faith; to the canonical books of the Old and New Testament; to the apocryphal books; to the translation of the Scriptures into all languages, for the common use of all men; to their clearness; to their sufficiency for salvation; and to the three creeds, as capable of being proved by most certain warrant of holy Scripture.

Their division into heads and sections.

They comprehended, "almost word for word," as stated in a notice prefixed, "the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, the 20th of November, anno

The Lambeth Articles.

1595:" but whereas it is stated, that they were "agreed on at Lambeth," it is omitted to be added, that they were immediately suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, withdrawn by Archbishop Whitgift, and afterwards, at the instance of such men as Bishops Overall, Andrewes, and other luminaries of the English Church, disapproved and rejected by King James, when proposed to him by Dr. Reynolds, in the conference at Hampton Court. However the attempt, which had been defeated in England, was for the present more successful in Ireland. And accordingly, under the influence of James Ussher, not yet weaned from the consequences which prevailed some time after the Reformation, of studying divinity in the systems of modern divines, instead of learning the true doctrines of Christianity, and the real sense of Scripture in difficult or controverted passages, by having recourse to the guidance of the primitive Church and the writings of the early fathers, the Lambeth Articles were adopted.

Rejected in England,

Adopted in Ireland.

Distinguished in the general arrangement.

Each of these Lambeth Articles, and its respective number, are pointed at by an index in the margin: the Nine Articles, sometimes standing apart, and forming each a separate article; and being sometimes incorporated, or closely connected, with some other proposition. Thus under the third head, which is entitled, "Of God's eternal decree and predestination," the second division is composed entirely of the first and third of the Lambeth Articles, and is expressed as follows: "By the same eternal counsel God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished." Whilst

under the same head the fifth division is compounded of two parts, the latter of which is marked by inverted commas, as here below copied, being the fourth of the Lambeth Articles: Such as are predestinated unto life be called according to God's purpose, (his Spirit working in due season,) and through grace they obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity. "But such as are not predestinated to salvation, shall be finally condemned for their sins."

Discursive character of the Irish Articles.

Some of these articles are of a more diffuse and discursive character than usually belongs to confessions of faith, and approach rather to the nature of the homily: as, for instance the seventh, "Of justification and faith;" the tenth, "Of the service of God;" and the twelfth, "Of our duty towards our neighbours:" and some refer to topicks not usually made the subject of this sort of composition, such as the primeval state, and the fall of the angels, in the fourth article; the proper dedication of the first day of the week, or the Lord's-day, in the tenth; and the state of the souls of men after this life.

Unusual topicks of some of them.

Objections to some of their doctrine.

As to the doctrine of these articles, that we may speak historically of the manner in which they were regarded at the time, "I know no cause," says Dr. Bernard, in his *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, "of some men's speaking against them, unless for that they do determine, according to St. Augustine's doctrine against the Pelagians, 'the man of sin,' in 2 Thess. ii., 'to be the Bishop of Rome, as the Morality of the Sabbath.'"

Concerning the Sabbath.

The latter of the passages here alluded to, occurs thus in the concluding section of the tenth article: "The first day of the week, which is the Lord's-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God; and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon religious exercises, both publick and private:" a sentiment, inoffensive as it might appear to us, and unexceptionable in its general bearing, although, with reference to then existing controversies, not unreasonably open to objection, as soon after it was objected to by Dr. Heylin, for appearing to inculcate the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judaical rest being necessary to be observed on the Lord's-day, and to establish that doctrine as an article of faith[5].

Concerning Anti-Christ.

The other excepted passage is at the end of the fourteenth article, which affirms that "the Bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the church universal of Christ, that his works and doctrine do plainly discover him to be 'that man of sin,' foretold in the Holy Scriptures, 'whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming:' a definitive appropriation of a difficult and much controverted text which had recently received that interpretation at a Calvinistick synod of the French Reformers at Gappe in Normandy, but concerning which it may be thought that such a decided judgment of its bearing was not discreetly introduced into a body of articles of religion, constructed for the purpose of avoiding all diversity of opinion among the ministers of a national church.

[5] *Hist. of the Sabbath*, part ii., chap. viii., p. 492.

Other exceptions were taken at the time, or not long after, against these articles, as speaking the private opinions of their composer, and as agreeable to the views, for which he also was supposed to have a predilection, both in doctrine and discipline, of many both members and opponents of the Irish church. Some of these exceptions may be seen in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii., book viii., p. 708.

Other exceptions taken at the time.

But not to dwell upon them here, it may suffice to observe, that the strongest and most general objection to this declaration of the faith of the Irish church, whether or not it were, as has been imputed to it, "an absolute plot of the Calvinians of England to make themselves a powerful party in Ireland," was its adoption of the Lambeth Articles, which had been attempted to be introduced into the Church of England, but the attempt had notoriously failed. Concerning the merit or demerit of these Lambeth Articles no opinion needs to be expressed: but it may be remarked, that, whilst much encouragement was thereby given to the puritanical party, who had been lately brought out of Scotland into Ulster, to the discouragement and prejudice of the Church of Ireland, an impediment was thereby laid also in the way of an unity of sentiment and profession in the two Churches of England and Ireland: unless the Church of England, following the example now set, should annul her former decision, and admit the peculiarities of the Lambeth system into her declaration of faith; or unless, what was at the time greatly more probable, and was eventually realized, the Church of Ireland should, by rescinding, or tacitly relinquishing, or letting pass into neglect and disuse, the questionable articles, retrace the steps

Strongest objection to them.

An impediment to union between the English and Irish churches.

which she had imprudently taken, and fall back upon the surer and safer position of the English church.

Put forth as Articles of Agreement among the clergy.

The Articles, of which some particulars have been now specified, were in the end put forth as "Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord God, 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching True Religion." And annexed to them was "The Decree of the Synod, If any Minister, of what degree or quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the Church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual promotions he doth enjoy." A question was mooted at the time relative to the authority of the Articles, but has been answered by the irrefragable evidence of Dr. Bernard, in his life of Primate Ussher: "Now whereas some have doubted whether they were fully established as the Articles of Ireland; I can testify that I have heard him say, that in the forenamed year, 1615, he saw them signed by Archbishop Jones, then lord chancellor of Ireland, and speaker of the house of bishops in convocation; signed by the prolocutor of the house of the clergy in their names; and also signed by the then Lord Deputy Chichester, by order from King James, in his name. And," he proceeds, "whereas some have rashly affirmed that they were repealed by Act of Parliament, anno 1634, or recalled by any decree of the synod then, needs no further confutation than the sight of either." But

Their authority satisfactorily established.

we need not now anticipate this question, which may be more fitly deferred till we come to the transactions of that year. Question concerning their repeal.

In the same year, wherein these articles were agreed on, there seems to have been a regal visitation of the province of Dublin. The MSS. Library of Trinity College contains the following document, with reference to the state of the diocese, and the difficulty of supplying its wants, by reason of the impropriations, and of the scarcity of sufficient ministers for the cures. The reader will notice the distinction between "preachers" and "reading ministers;" a distinction which is frequently made in similar documents of this period, as was lately observed in the diocesan report of Ferns and Leighlin. The statement is evidently that of the archbishop himself, Thomas Jones, who had been consecrated bishop of Meath in 1584, and translated to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin in 1605; and the manuscript is apparently his own rough copy of his report to the visitors. Regal visitation of the province of Dublin, 1615. Statement of his diocese by Archbishop Jones.

"I confess," he says, "here is but a slender account yielded of these two last deaneries, Omurthie and Wicklow, which lie in places remote. I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of; which is, that I cannot possibly get curates to supply the services of these churches. The rectories are impropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to administer for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers. The natives of this kingdom, being generally addicted to Popery, do train up their children in superstition and idolatry; so soon as they come to age, they send them beyond seas, from whence they return either priests, Jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to this state. Such English ministers and preachers, as come hither for relief Impossibility of procuring curates in some parishes.

out of England, we do but take them but upon credit, and many of them do prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care to their placing in the best manner I can. Some places are fallen void since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents; for the present this is our case.

Archbishop's care in furnishing the Dublin churches with preachers.

"I might add hereunto that my archiepiscopal jurisdiction was granted away by my predecessor to a civilian. The grant was confirmed by both deans and chapters. My jurisdiction hath not yielded me any manner of profit, save only my . . . . since my preferment to this see; in which time I have furnished all the churches of Dublin with sufficient preachers, which before they did want. I have preferred none but a preacher in my cathedral church, or other parts. I take God to witness, I have used my best endeavours to place a good ministry; and my care and travail shall be still employed to perform his majesty's religious directions, and to discharge a good conscience before God.

Number of ministers in the diocese.

"So within this diocese of Dublin there is the number of thirty-eight preachers, and above forty reading ministers; besides there are two publick schoolmasters within this diocese, one within the city of Dublin, and the other in St. Patrick's; which teach free schools, and their scholars do prosper well, thanks be to God[6]."

Repeated insolence of the Papists, 1616.

In 1616 the interposition of the government was again called for, by the insolent conduct of the Papists, of which a specimen was given by the publication of a book, written by David Rooth, vicar apostolick, at the instigation and charge of a Popish nobleman. The book was filled with a multitude of false and malicious accusations of the king's government in Ireland, and yet dedicated to the Prince of Wales: an example of singular shamelessness and

Calumnies on the king's government, dedicated to the prince.

[6] From the MS. E. 3, 14, Trin. Coll. Dublin, *The Regal Visitation Book of the Province of Dublin in* 1615.

folly, to dedicate to the son aspersions and slanders upon the father. But, as if the author intended to mock the son, as well as to insult the father, he added another dedication, by way of appeal, to all foreign emperors, kings, and princes; wherein he avers, that the Irish look for nothing, but that the king would use them like a king, that is, not like a tyrant: comparing King James to Julian the Apostate, and Caius Caligula; and the English to dogs and wild beasts[7].

Measures of counteraction by the government.

But generally the exorbitances of the Papists were at the time such as to constrain the government to act towards them with greater strictness. Two measures were accordingly adopted for their more effectual restraint: one was the banishing of all their regular clergy, who swarmed in vast multitudes through almost every part of the kingdom; the other was to permit no magistrates or other officers to discharge their functions, unless they had qualified themselves by taking the oath of supremacy according to law. In pursuance of these resolutions a proclamation was issued against the Popish clergy, in October, 1617. And, on the 5th of March following, the government seized on the liberties of Waterford, with all their rent-rolls, ensigns of authority, and publick revenues; for that city had rendered itself particularly obnoxious to punishment for its magisterial delinquencies. Three mayors in three successive years had refused to take the oath of supremacy, when tendered by the Lord President of the province, acting under a special commission; one of them, in the mean time, without the assistance of the Recorder, had presided at a gaol-delivery, and tried and condemned a person accused of felony,

Proclamation against the Popish clergy, 1617.

Illegal conduct of the Mayor of Waterford.

[7] Cox, ii. 33.

and by his own order caused him to be executed. It appeared also on an investigation taken in September, 1617, that the statute of Queen Elizabeth for uniformity had not been given in charge at their sessions for two years preceding[s].

SECTION IV.

Elevation of James Ussher to the Bishoprick of Meath. His Efforts for the Conversion of Papists. King's Commission for inquiring into the State of the Province of Armagh. Reports from Seven Dioceses in that Province. Presumption of the Popish Clergy exemplified. Bishop Ussher's Sermon on the Swearing-in of Lord Deputy Viscount Falkland. Primate Hampton's Letter on the occasion. Proceedings concerning the Papists. Death of Primate Hampton. Bishop of Meath appointed to succeed him. Death of the King. State of the Church.

Death of Bishop Mountgomery, 1620.

IN 1620 died George Mountgomery, bishop of Clogher, during whose incumbency King James annexed many other grants, and especially the abbey of Clogher, with its revenues, to the bishoprick, which thus became one of the richest in the kingdom. His death caused a vacancy at the same time in the see of Meath, which for ten years had been possessed by him together with that of Clogher[t].

Contest of the new Bishop of Clogher with the Primate.

In the see of Clogher he was succeeded by James Spottiswood, brother of the celebrated John Spottiswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, and chancellor of that kingdom; but before his consecration he had a contest with Primate Hampton, concerning the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction by a bishop before his solemn ordination to that office. The Primate was disposed to bring the matter to a pub-

[s] Cox, ii. 34.

[t] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 188.

lick trial; but from this he was dissuaded by Ussher, who had on the same occasion been elected to succeed Mountgomery in the see of Meath; and who, whilst he censured the unadvised contestation of the Bishop of Clogher with his metropolitan, and professed his own determination not to act to the derogation of the archiepiscopal authority, nevertheless doubted the result of a publick trial in the King's Court, however the question might be otherwise decided at a disputation in the schools. The Primate, however, maintained, in answer, his original opinion and purpose. Whether he afterwards saw cause to alter his views, or whether the bishop-elect became sensible of the scandal of such a question, between the first and an inferior member of the hierarchy, being discussed in a temporal court, and in consequence withdrew from prosecuting the contest: the dispute was not carried to that extremity, but, after some expostulation, was peaceably composed.

Mediation of Ussher.

Adjustment of the dispute.

Meanwhile Ussher, whose election to the see of Meath has been already noticed, was indebted for his elevation to the good opinion entertained by the king of his piety, wisdom, and exquisite learning. The appointment is attributed to the king's own motion; and it is said that he used often to boast that Ussher was a bishop of his own making[2]. His *congé d'élire* being sent over, "he was elected by the dean and chapter there," says Dr. Parr, without naming the cathedral. And the following extract from a letter from Oliver St. John, Viscount Grandison, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, testifies the good will entertained towards him in that kingdom: "I thank God for your preferment to the bishoprick of Meath. His majesty therein hath done a gracious

Ussher appointed by the king to the see of Meath.

Letter of congratulation from Viscount Grandison.

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 103.

favour to his poor Church here. There is none here but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto; even some papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it[3]."

Society "De Propagandâ Fide" instituted.

The erection of the society, "De Propagandâ Fide," at Rome, which has jurisdiction over missions and foreign Churches, and the influence of which has been sensibly felt by the Churches of England and Ireland, was nearly coincident with the elevation of Bishop Ussher to the episcopal order[4]. Meanwhile his high promotion rather increased than abated his desire to advance the religious reformation of Ireland, by spreading abroad, both publickly and privately, the verities of the Christian faith.

Bishop Ussher's exertions for the conversion of Papists. 1621.

On his return to his own country, in 1621, having been consecrated at Drogheda by Primate Hampton, he directed his mind and efforts especially to the conversion of the members of the Romish communion, who abounded in great numbers in his diocese, and whom he endeavoured to reclaim, by private conversation and gentle methods of reasoning. He was desirous, also, of preaching to them in publick, to which they objected, from their disinclination to take part in the Church service; but at last they consented to hear him preach, provided it were not in a church. He condescended to their exceptions; and regarding himself, we must suppose, as exempt from that local restriction which in common cases is fitly imposed on the publick ministrations of the clergy, preached to them in the sessions-house; and his sermon is said to have had such effect upon the hearers, that their priests prohibited them for the future to hear him in any place.

Effects of his preaching.

The religious ignorance and prejudices of these

[3] *Parr's Life*, p. 17.

[4] Cox, ii. 35.

poor people were indeed deeply to be deplored. A general obstinacy in clinging to their prepossessions, and a fond devotion to the reading of idle legends of the lives of their saints, were combined with utter destitution of all true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and, blinded as they were by the strong and prevailing influence of these superstitions, the most powerful arguments could draw from them only this answer, "That they followed the religion of their forefathers, and would never depart from it." What, indeed, the religion of their forefathers had been they little knew; and it was to confute this error of the Papists, and to give convincing proofs that Popery was not the old religion of the kingdom, that Bishop Ussher about this time composed his "*Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British;*" and showed that ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and purgatory, and image-worship, and the sacrifice of the mass, and half-communion, and transubstantiation, and clerical celibacy, and Papal supremacy, and the Bishop of Rome's spiritual jurisdiction in the Christian Church, did not constitute parts of that ancient religion.

Ignorance and prejudices of the Papists.

Their plea that they followed the religion of their forefathers.

Ussher's Discourse on the Religion of their ancient Irish.

In the early part of the year 1622, the king issued a commission, in obedience to which the several diocesans in the province of Ulster, or speaking ecclesiastically, of Armagh, made a report of the true state of their respective bishopricks and dioceses. These reports, with the exception of that of the Bishop of Dromore, the absence of which is not accounted for, have been preserved in a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and contain much curious information upon the usual topicks of visitatorial inquiries, rendered, however,

Royal visitation of the province of Armagh, 1622.

Account of seven of the northern dioceses.

specially valuable in the present case by the remoteness of the period, and the general scantiness of detailed intelligence concerning it, as well as by the character of authenticity which belongs to the reports. It is proposed in this place to make an abstract of the document in its leading particulars, and thus to illustrate the condition of the Church, as to several articles of statistical inquiry, in the seven northern dioceses of Armagh, Meath, Kilmore and Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Raphoe, and Down and Connor.

Diocese of Armagh.

1. Besides the dignities usually, but not always, appended to an Irish Cathedral, namely the deanery, archdeaconry, precentorship, chancellorship, and treasurership, the Archdiocese of Armagh contained

Benefices.

at the time in question forty-six rectories, and thirteen vicarages: the duties of which were discharged by forty-seven incumbents, resident or at least serving their respective cures partly or altogether, and by thirteen curates; making in the whole sixty officiating ministers, some of whom are especially noted as being "preachers;" there were also about eighteen non-resident incumbents. There

Incumbents and curates.

Parsonage-houses.

appear to have been only twenty parsonage-houses in a habitable state, and six others decayed. The remaining benefices had no such provision for the minister. For the celebration of divine worship,

Churches.

there were fifty-one churches in good or sufficient repair, of which twenty-three were newly built, or actually in building. Two or three of these are stated to have been undertaken by private generosity; but in general there is no mention of the manner in which the cost of erection was defrayed. There were also belonging to these benefices about eighteen churches, in a ruinous or decayed state.

In addition to these rectories and vicarages, there were thirty-three appropriate, or, as they are now most commonly called, impropriate curacies, the tithes being in the hands of laymen, who made some small allowance to the curates. On one of these there was a resident curate: in ten the cure was served sometimes, "or according to the means;" in the remaining twenty-two it seems not to have been served at all. Seven of the churches belonging to these cures were in repair, twenty-five were ruinous. Besides these, five other appropriate cures were without a curate, and without a church.

Appropriate or impropriate cures.

Evil of impropriations.

The value of these different benefices varied among themselves, being, on a general view, greater or less according to their respective positions in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Louth. In the county of Armagh, the highest was 120*l.*; the lowest 30*l.*, of which there was only one: the next lowest was 50*l.*, of which there were two: then several of 60*l.* or 80*l.*, and one of 100*l.*: giving on an average to each of fourteen benefices in that county the yearly income of about 73*l.* 10*s.* In Tyrone, the highest was 100*l.*, the lowest 10*l.*, between which extremes the scale was continually changing: thus, on the whole, of twenty-two benefices in that county the average was about 30*l.* 15*s.* The Louth livings, which comprised the vicarages, were, again, of inferior value: the highest being 26*l.*; several of the lowest no more than 2*l.* or 3*l.*; one of no value at all: thus the twenty-five in that county produced on an average not quite 10*l.* each. The income of the impropriate curacies graduated from 5*l.*, of which there were two, to 5*s.*, of which there were several; the average income of thirty-one of these curacies being 1*l.* 10*s.*; and the income of eight being nothing.

Value of benefices;

In the county of Armagh;

Of Tyrone;

And of Louth.

Small income of impropriate cures.

Irish readers.

It may be not unworthy of notice, that there are specified in the diocese three curates, two in the county of [illegible]e and one in that of Louth, who could read Irish, as well as English.

Diocese of Meath.

2. Of the diocese of Meath, I shall commence with giving the summary, subjoined to the detailed exposition, by Bishop Ussher, and dated the 28th of May, in the year of our Lord God 1622. The exposition itself is voluminous, and supplies the particulars relative to the churches and parsonage-houses, which will be inserted with the summary.

Summary of the diocese.

"There are in the Diocese of Meath:

"Dignities two, both belonging to the patronage of the Bishop of Meath.

"Rectories, collative, presentative, and institutive, fifty-one.

"Vicarages, collative, presentative, and institutive, sixty-three.

"Curateships, or cures belonging to impropriate rectories and others, in all seventy-three.

"Chapels of ease, forty-three.

"The patrons of every living, and the farmers of the impropriate rectories, are all set down and specified in the first column, of which such as are recusants are noted in the margent."

Benefices.

Thus the total number of benefices in Meath was two hundred and thirty-two. Of the incumbents, thirty-two were non-resident. The incumbents of the others, together with twenty curates, discharged the parochial duties in the diocese. It is not, however, by any means to be supposed, that each of these was resident on, or served, the cure of a separate benefice. The want of residences rendered the former impossible, for there were only seventy-six parsonage-houses in repair: in parishes

Incumbents and curates.

Parsonage houses.

where there had been any in former times, there remained about twenty-two in a state of ruin or decay; in the rest, forming in fact a considerable majority, there appear to have been none at all. Nor was it possible that each cure could have the services of a separate minister: this was precluded by the miserable pittance which formed the incumbent's income, amounting to a few pounds, or a few marks, or in many instances to only a few shillings a year. The practice therefore appears to have been for an incumbent to fix himself in his parsonage-house, if he possessed one, otherwise in some other parish of his cure, or in some town as near as possible; and thence to discharge his duty as he could, often, it is to be feared, very insufficiently.

Small income of incumbents.

Consequent practice.

Upon this point the following remarks of the diocesan are most important, and show the difficulties which beset him.

"If," says Bishop Ussher, "the smallness of the means which cometh to incumbents be regarded, then many of the livings in this diocese are fit to be united, to make up a competent means for the minister. But if the spaciousness of the parishes which are large, and consist of so many inhabitants, as, if they should be reformed and brought to the church, would be more in each parish than the church would hold; and the difference of the patrons, the patronages being in several men's hands; I think none of them fit to be united. But that there were power and authority given to the bishop, for the bettering of the means of the well-deserving ministers, to unite such and so many livings of the value of twenty pounds sterling per annum and under, as he shall think fitting, during the incumbency of the well-deserving minister."

Diocesan's opinion on the question of union of parishes.

In this diocese there appear to have been seventy-eight churches reported as in a state of repair, and one hundred and fifty ruinous. But the

Churches generally ruinous or ill repaired.

diocesan, in his summary, appends this observation: "All the churches specified in this certificate, are fit to be builded, repaired, and re-edified."

Diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh.

3. In the united diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh, besides the two deaneries and archdeaconries, there

Benefices.

were sixty-four benefices, on which about twenty of

Incumbents and curates.

the incumbents were non-resident; the rest being either resident, or at least serving their respective cures, as already explained, with the assistance of

Irish ministers or readers.

about ten curates. Of these, two are particularly noted, as ministers "of the country by birth," and two others as being "capable of reading divine service in the Irish tongue." Similar cases have been already stated, as existing in the diocese of Armagh; and it may be well to remark in passing, that the date of this document is antecedent to Bishop Bedell's time.

Small incomes of the clergy.

Several of the cures in this diocese were served by the same minister; and some were not served at all for want of means, the tithes in such cases being altogether subtracted from the vicar or curate by

Evil of impropriations.

the impropriator; and in one case the curate being locked out of the church, and not suffered to do the duty, by the Earl of Westmeath, an impropriator to

Churches.

a large amount. The churches in repair were fourteen, and one was in building; those that were not well repaired, or were ruinous, were fifty-five.

Parsonage-houses.

There were thirteen habitable parsonage-houses; on the other benefices there were none, but thirteen of the incumbents were "bound to build." The diocesan, Bishop Moygne, appends an observation,

Glebes laid out not according to the king's directions.

that "in the county of Leitrim, the glebes for the most part are laid out in the most unprofitable places, and remotest from the church, howsoever his majesty gave directions to the contrary."

4. In the diocese of Clogher, the diocesan, Bishop Spottiswood, reported two dignitaries, the dean and the archdeacon: and requested resolution and advice upon a difficulty which had arisen from the conduct of his predecessor, Bishop Mountgomery, who, "without warrant from his majesty, or consent of the clergy, had altered the corporation, and to the dean and archdeacon had added a precentor and chancellor, with only a verbal inauguration." Besides the two dignities, the diocese contained twenty-nine rectories and seven vicarages, the cures of which were served by fourteen resident incumbents and six curates. One of the incumbents is stated to have been non-resident, "because there was no British plantation, but he kept an Irish curate:" and in the case of another, his brother is mentioned as serving the cure, "who, because he is not in orders, hath the primate's licence." There were only four parsonage-houses in repair; none in the other parishes. The churches in repair were five; and there were four new, or in building, mass, in one case, being performed in the old church. The churches in ruin or decay were twenty-eight. In this diocese were few impropriations; one benefice was as high as 160*l.*, another as 100*l.*, two as low as 6*l.* and 8*l.* Upon the entire number of thirty-six, the average was about 32*l.* 10*s.* a year.

Diocese of Clogher.

Irregular act of the late bishop.

Benefices.

Incumbents and curates.

Parsonage-houses.

Churches.

Value of benefices.

5. The diocese of Derry, besides the archdeaconry and three prebends, contained forty-five parishes, divided into four rural deaneries. There appear to have been only two non-resident incumbents; the others, with the assistance of fifteen curates, discharged the parochial duties. One of the incumbents is described by the diocesan, Bishop Downham, as "an honest man, but no licensed

Diocese of Derry.

Benefices.

Incumbents and curates.

Irish ministers.

preacher, notwithstanding to catechise, and to speak and read Irish, and sufficient for a parish, wholly consisting of Irish:" and he describes another as "an Irishman of mean gifts, having a little Latin and no English, but thought by my predecessor sufficient for a parish consisting wholly of Irish."

Irish clerks.

The bishop also speaks of a parish where, during the temporary absence of the incumbent recently appointed, "the cure for reading was discharged by an Irish clerk, and for other occasions by neighbouring ministers:" of another, where the incumbent "dischargeth the cure as he may with the help of an Irish clerk, the whole parish consisting of Irish recusants:" of another, where the incumbent "dischargeth the cure, partly by himself every other Sabbath, and in his absence by an Irish clerk, tolerated to read either English or Irish:" of another, where, "in the incumbent's absence, if any of his parishioners would come, as I suppose few or none do, the cure would be discharged after a sort by his clerk, being an Irish scholar:" of another, where "the cure is served partly by the incumbent himself, and partly by an Irish clerk, the parish consisting wholly of Irish peasantry." One or two other instances occur, where mention is made of the

Irish scholars.

cure being "partly served by an Irish scholar," without specifying the capacity in which he acted; and in one case it is reported, that in the absence of the incumbent, who repaired to his church every other Sunday, "the clerk taketh upon him, as I now understand, to serve the cure." By "the clerk" in these instances appears to be intended the parish clerk.

Converted Popish priests.

One example in this diocese is given of a converted Popish priest, "late by the Pope's grant

dean of Derry; but now, being conformable to the Reformed religion, was by the appointment of the last Lord Deputy preferred to this small parish and another which followeth: the cure of both which is by the incumbent after a sort discharged."

Parsonage-houses.

There appear to have been thirteen parsonage-houses in the diocese of Derry, none in the other parishes. There appear also to have been nine churches repaired; seven new or in building; and thirty-three unrepaired or ruinous. Some of the churches were rebuilt by the London companies; and there occur several instances of divine service being celebrated in a private house during the temporary want of a church.

Churches.

Diocesan's advice as to the union of parishes.

The diocesan recommends eight parishes to be united, so as to form four: "and in every pair of these," he says, "one church is sufficient. All other churches are needful to be repaired, and it is lamentable to behold the desolation of the most."

His complaint of the jurisdiction usurped by Rome.

He complains of "the jurisdiction usurped by authority from Rome, to the great dishonour of God and hindrance of religion, and shame of government. The chief authority," he says, "is derived in the pretended archbishop of Dublin, and the pretended vice-primate of Armagh, by whom was made a vicar-general of Derry." "By him are priests placed in every parish, to celebrate the mass, and to execute all other priestly functions; who, though they be rude, ignorant, and vicious fellows, yet carry the natives after them generally; neither is there any hope of reformation, whiles they are suffered to reside among the people. Under the vicar-general are placed four officials, at the least, in the four deaneries, who, amongst many other abominations that they practise, do for small rewards divorce

Evil influence of Popish priests;

Especially as to marriages.

married couples, and set them at liberty to marry others; insomuch that there is scarce any of years, but he hath more wives living, and few women which have not plurality of husbands."

Insufficiency of the laws.

"For the removing of these Popish priests our laws are weak and powerless: neither can I get the assistance of the military men, as I desire. And that which discourageth me most is, that when I have got one of them apprehended and convicted, and committed, they have been by corruption set at liberty to follow their former courses. Or when I have excommunicated them, and procured the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the sheriff of the county of Londonderry, Tyrone, and Donegall, cannot be got to apprehend them, and bring them to prison."

Complaint concerning the ministers' glebes.

Occasion was also taken by the bishop to complain, in the names of the ministers, that they were not established in their new glebes by any legal assurance: and that they were laid out, for the most part, in places too remote, and divers of them in other parishes.

Diocese of Raphoe.

6. In the diocese of Raphoe, including the cures of the dean and chapter, the component parts of

Benefices.

which are specified, as four prebends, there were twenty-seven parishes, of which the cures were

Incumbents and curates.

served by twelve incumbents, assisted by ten curates. Two of these incumbents were acquainted with the

Irish language.

Irish language, and able to teach therein; three of the curates were converted priests; five were reading ministers, both in English and Irish; and there were two parish clerks, who could read the Common

Parsonage-houses.

Prayer Book in Irish. There seem to have been only two parsonage-houses, the other parishes being

Churches.

destitute of them. Of the churches, nine were repaired or repairing; three were new, or in build-

ing; seventeen were out of repair or ruinous; among these was the cathedral, of which the walls only were standing, but a new roof had been for two years in preparation, "which, God willing, was to be set up this summer, at the bishop's and parishioners' charge."

Patronage of the benefices.

The deanery of Raphoe was presentative by his majesty; the rest of the dignities and parish churches were at the bishop's collation, except nine, two of which were presentative by private patrons, and seven by the college of Dublin. "Those ministers and incumbents before mentioned have holden their several dignities and parishes, of the diocese of Raphoe, being legally instituted and inducted thereunto, since the time of his majesty's new plantation of Ulster. But," adds the bishop, "I cannot find by any record of the said diocese remaining, what admissions, institutions, and inductions, since the 10th of Henry the Eighth, have been made to the time of the said plantation. And it is like, the records, if any have been, in war-time were lost."

Want of records since 10 Henry VIII.

Diocesan's opinion on the union of parishes.

"Of the aforesaid parishes, though the most part be very small, and unable to maintain an honest minister, yet can they not be well united, albeit *tenuitatis gratiâ pro hac vice* the incumbents have them by his majesty's most gracious dispensations, for they are next joining and convenient to be united, belonging to the presentations of divers patrons, who will not possibly agree together."

Grievances stated by the bishop and clergy.

Several grievances were laid before the commissioners by the bishop and clergy of this diocese, of which two or three may be mentioned.

A warrant sought for repairing churches.

One of them set forth that "whereas the ancient parish churches of the diocese were for the most part ruinated, and none of them in good and suffi-

cient repair, and the parishioners refractory and unwilling to rectify the same;" they therefore prayed "a warrant to the bishop, assisted with the minister and churchwardens of every parish, for plotting and levying the equal taxation of the parishioners, as formerly have been done by the Lord Deputy of this kingdom, that the material churches of the said diocese may be finished as they are begun."

Inconvenient situation of the glebe lands.

Another set forth, that "the glebe lands, lately allotted to the parish churches in the diocese, do not lie near the several parish churches, nor any way conveniently for the ministers, but lie in remote places, far from the church, which is the great and only stay of not building of the minister upon the said glebes;" and they therefore pray, "that some convenient course may be taken for the exchange of parcels of land, being near the churches, with as much of the several ministers' glebes as shall be proportionable for quantity and quality."

Prayer for the maintenance of parish clerks.

Another sets forth the custom, "that there shall be parish clerks in every parish, maintained by a certain mean contribution of the parishioners; yet, notwithstanding, in the diocese of Raphoe all the parishioners are refractory and unwilling to yield any benevolence at all for the maintenance of the said clerks;" and they accordingly pray, "that some mean consideration may be set down, to be levied by yearly distress by the churchwardens from the refusers."

Prayer for indulgence towards Irish scholars.

And another sets forth, that "whereas in the said diocese there are divers Irish scholars, who have conformed themselves in religion, and are curates in divers parishes under the British ministers, and yet are fined as the rest of the multitude of the natives, for that they have their residence upon undertakers' lands, which should be planted with British

tenants;" whereupon they pray to be "relieved of such fines, seeing they serve in the Church, and endeavour, by all means, the conversion of their country-people."

Diocese of Down and Connor.

7. The report of the united diocese of Down and Connor is given with less fulness and precision, and with less of incidental information, bearing on the general history of the Church. It appears, however, that the diocese contained sixteen churches in a state of repair, and about one hundred and ten in a state of decay or ruin: added to which were forty-five chapels, also in a ruinous condition. These chapels seem to have had some local peculiarity; for, with reference to the parish of Abbevaddo, *alias* Belfast, the following remark occurs: "This church is known to have six chapels, all which make but one parish; and by this it appeareth, evidently, that these small chapels, whereof there are a great number in this diocese, were part and parcel of some church, and must yet of necessity be united and cast to the next adjacent churches." But, besides these, there were many other denominations of vicarages, curacies, or chapels, of such small value, by reason of the tithes being impropriate, as to be incapable of maintaining a minister; so that it had been necessary to unite no less than six or eight into a single benefice, and in some cases to leave the cure altogether unserved. The whole of the benefices of the diocese were under the care of about forty-three resident ministers, of whom four were curates; nearly trebling the number of the churches fit for use, but yielding an insufficient supply for the number and extent of the parishes in an extensive diocese.

Churches.

Chapels, a local peculiarity.

Necessity of unions.

Impropriations; their ill consequences.

Benefices.

Ministers.

Churches.

In 1622, the presumption and arrogance of the

Presumption of the Popish clergy in the Diocese of Meath. 1622.

Popish clergy and their adherents were exemplified by two occurrences in the diocese of Meath, and gave occasion to some publick notice and agitation[5]. It was certified to the diocesan by a letter from Mr. John Ankers, preacher of Athlone, (such is the title by which the bishop designates him,) "That, going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in West Meath, he found an old priest, and about forty with him, in the church; who was so bold as to require him, the said Ankers, to depart until the priest had done his business." The other case concerned the friars of Multifernam, who, not content to possess the house of Multifernam alone, from which they had been dislodged by the late Lord Deputy, Lord Grandison, were going about making collections for the building of another abbey at Mullingar, for the reception of a fresh body of their order.

A clergyman prevented from officiating by a Popish priest.

Friars of Multifernam.

Bishop Ussher's sermon before the Lord Deputy.

Soon after these occurrences, namely, on the 8th of September, Henry Cary, viscount Falkland, was sworn in Lord Deputy; on which occasion of his receiving the sword, Bishop Ussher was called upon to preach at Christ Church: when fitting himself, as he says, to the present occasion, he took for his text those words in the 14th to the Romans, "He beareth not the sword in vain." There he showed, 1st, what was meant by this sword; 2ndly, the subject wherein that power rested; 3rdly, the matters wherein it was exercised; 4thly, thereupon, what it was to bear the sword in vain. Whereupon, falling upon the duty of the magistrates, in seeing those laws executed, that were made for the furtherance of God's service, he first declared, that no more was to be expected herein from the subordinate magistrate than he had received in commission from the supreme, in whose power it lay to limit the

Account given of the sermon by the preacher.

[5] Cox, ii. 39.

other at his pleasure. Secondly, he wished that, if his majesty, who is, under God, our supreme governour, were pleased to extend his clemency towards his subjects that were recusants, some order, notwithstanding, might be taken with them, that they should not give us publick affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. And that it might appear that it was not without cause that he made his motion, he instanced in the two cases, which had lately fallen out, at Athlone and Multifernam. These things he only touched in general, not mentioning any circumstances of persons or places. Thirdly, he entreated, that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, that we might at leastwise keep our own, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly, he made a publick protestation, that it was far from his mind to excite the magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that naturally abhorred all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the whore of Babylon, than of the Church of God[6].

This is the account, which the preacher gives of his sermon, in a letter of Oct. 16, 1622, to the Lord Deputy, Viscount Grandison, as a particular, "which partly concerned the bishop himself, and in some sort also the state of the Church in this poor nation." And he then proceeds to state, in few words, the offence which had been taken, and his own vindication. "These points, howsoever, they were delivered by me with such limitations, as in moderate men's judgments might seem rather to intimate an allowance of a toleration in respect of the general, than

Offence taken at the sermon. The preacher's vindication.

[6] Parr's *Life of Ussher*, p. 83.

to exasperate the state into any extraordinary severity; yet did the Popish priests persuade their followers that I had said, 'The sword had rusted too long in the sheath,' whereas in my whole sermon I never made mention either of 'rust' or 'sheath:' yea, some also did not stick to give it out, that I did thereby closely tax yourself for being too remiss in prosecuting the Papists, in the time of your government. I have not such diffidence in your lordship's good opinion of me, neither will I wrong myself so much, as to spend time in repelling so lewd a calumniation. Only I thought good to mention these things unto your lordship, that if any occasion should be offered hereafter to speak of them, you might be informed in the truth of matters."

Letter from Primate Hampton to Bishop Ussher.

But the following day produced a letter from the Lord Primate, Archbishop Hampton, to the Bishop of Meath, breathing great mildness and benignity, but evidently written under the persuasion, that the sermon had been delivered indiscreetly, and required an apology in extenuation.

"*Salutem in Christo.*

"My Lord,

Recommends satisfaction to be given.

"In the exceptions taken by the recusants against your sermon, I cannot be affected, as Gallio was at the beating of Sosthenes, to care nothing for them. I am sensible of that which my brethren suffer: and if my advice had been required, I should have counselled your lordship to give lenitives of your own accord, for all which was conceived over harsh or sharp; the inquisition, whether an offence were given or taken, may add to the flame already kindled, and provoke further displeasure; it is not like to pacify anger. But let your case be as good as Peter's was, when the brethren charged him injuriously for preaching to the uncircumcised, the great Apostle was content to give them a fair publick satisfaction, Acts xi.:

and it wrought good effects, for the text saith, *His auditis, quieverunt et glorificaverunt Deum;* 'it brought peace to the congregation, and glory to God.'

Lord Deputy's way of pacification.

"My noble Lord Deputy hath propounded a way of pacification, that your lordship should here satisfy such of the lords as would be present, wherein my poor endeavours shall not be wanting. Howbeit, to say ingenuously what I think, that is not like to have success: for the Lord of Kilkenny, and your other friends, trying their strengths in that kind at Trim, prevailed not; but can tell your lordship what is expected. And, if my wishes may take place, seeing so many men of quality have something against you, tarry not till they complain, but prevent it by a voluntary retraction, and milder interpretation of the points offensive, and especially of drawing the sword, of which spirit we are not, nor ought to be; for our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. Withal it will not be amiss, in mine opinion, for your lordship to withdraw yourself from these parts, and to spend more time in your own diocese; that such, as will not hear your doctrine, may be drawn to love and reverence your lordship for your hospitality and conversation. Bear with the plainness of an old man's pen; and leave nothing undone to recover the intercourse of amity between you and the people of your charge. Were it but one that is alienated, you would put on the bowels of the Evangelical shepherd, you would seek him and support his infirmities with your own shoulders: how much more is it to be done when so many are in danger to be lost? But they are generous and noble, and many of them near unto you in blood or alliance; which will plead effectually and conclude the matter fully, whensoever you show yourself ready to give them satisfaction. In the mean time, I will not fail to pray God for his blessings unto the business; and so do rest

Course recommended by the primate.

"Your lordship's very loving brother,

"*Tredagh, October* 17, 1622." "ARMAGH[7]."

Consequence of the primate's letter not known.

What was the consequence of this beautiful and truly fatherly appeal of the primate, does not appear.

[7] PARR's *Life of Ussher*, p. 84.

The common lives, indeed, of Bishop Ussher take no notice of this expostulation; and DR. PARR's *Collection of Letters*, which contains the foregoing, makes no mention of any answer. Cox, indeed, relates, that, however groundless was the clamour of the Papists, the bishop was fain to preach an explanatory sermon to appease it. Such a sermon, if preached, probably resulted from the archbishop's advice: but I cannot verify Cox's relation.

Popish magistrates refuse to take the oath of supremacy. Nov., 1622.

In the following month, November, 1622, some Irish Papists of quality, having been promoted to certain publick offices, refused to take the oath of supremacy, in obedience to the law. For preserving the authority of the law inviolate, and for maintaining the publick tranquillity, the Lord Deputy and the privy council thought it necessary to inflict a censure upon them in the star chamber. The 22nd of November was the day appointed for their appearance. And then, the danger of the law for refusing the oath was opened by the judges; and the quality and quantity of the offence aggravated to the full by those who spoke of them: whereupon the Bishop of Meath took up the subject, being a member of the council, stating that the part, most proper for him to deal with, was the information of the conscience, touching the truth and equity of the matters contained in the oath. The positive duty of acknowledging the supremacy of the government of these realms, in all causes whatsoever, to rest in the king's highness only; and the negative duty of renouncing all jurisdictions and authorities of any foreign prince or prelate, within his majesty's dominions; were calmly and deliberately argued, and in a form calculated, as appears, not only to avoid

Censured in the star chamber.

Bishop of Meath's argument on the occasion.

offence, but to give satisfaction; for some of the persons, who had been summoned to hear the sentence of *premunire* pronounced against them, expressed themselves convinced by the bishop's reasoning, and submitted willingly to take the oath[8].

Proclamation against the Popish clergy. Jan., 1623.

In 1623, January the 21st, another proclamation was published against the Popish clergy, secular and regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days, after which all persons were forbidden to converse with them. It was probably executed after the usual manner of such proclamations[9].

Patent to the Archbishop of Armagh, giving power of granting special marriage licenses. 1623.

In the same year, 1623, King James, by letters patent, dated April the 10th, granted to Archbishop Hampton, and his successors, Archbishops of Armagh, for ever, among other things, a power of issuing licenses, or faculties for marriages at uncanonical hours and places, with a right of appointing commissaries for granting such faculties, usually called in Ireland prerogative licenses. The patent was given in virtue of two Irish statutes, which in the beginning of the grant are mentioned as the foundation of the several powers therein granted: namely, "the Act of Faculties," of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, and the Act of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth, "for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual;" by both which acts there is lodged in the crown a power to authorize such person or persons, as the crown shall think proper to exercise the several powers therein mentioned in this kingdom[10].

Office of king's almoner instituted.

Previously to this, in the year 1617, the office of king's almoner had been instituted, with the annual

[8] Cox, ii. 39. BERNARD, 53.
[9] Cox, ii. 39.
[10] PRIMATE BOULTER'S *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

fee of 100*l.* English, and the first appointment to the office conferred on the primate[11].

Death of Archbishop Hampton. 1625.

On the 3rd of January, 1625, Primate Hampton died, having lived unmarried till his death, in the 73rd year of his age. Of his learning, which is said to have been great, no fruits remain; but from the letter, which has been transcribed into these pages, the reader will probably have formed a favourable opinion of his character. Nor will the good impression be impaired by the following brief extract of another letter of his, written to Bishop Ussher, the 12th of August, 1623, and preserved in Dr. Parr's *Collection*. "The Gospel," he says, "is not supported with wilfulness, but by patience and obedience. And if your lordship light upon petulant and seditious libels, too frequent now-a-days, as report goeth, I beseech you to repress them, and advise our brethren to the like care."

His character.

The king's partiality for Bishop Ussher.

At the period of the primate's death, Bishop Ussher was in England, on a special license of absence, granted by the council of Ireland, at the instance of the king, for enabling him to prosecute the work, in which he was engaged at the king's commandment, on the antiquities of the British churches. The king had previously testified his high opinion of Ussher by promoting him, as we have seen, by his own act to the See of Meath, having previously accepted with singular gratification the elaborate work, dedicated to his majesty, on the constant succession and state of the Christian churches from the Apostles' times: and had recently returned him a special letter of commendation for his duty and affection, well expressed by his late carriage in the council chamber, "wherein," says

[11] Rolls, 14 Jac. 1.

the king, "your zeal to the maintenance of our just and lawful power, defended with so much reason and learning, deserves our princely and gracious thanks;" so that it appears to have been altogether in the natural course of events, that his majesty, on learning the vacancy in the Primacy of Ireland, promoted to that dignity the prelate, whom he had on former occasions delighted to honour. This was one of the last acts of King James's royal authority, for, about six days after, the king himself died on the 27th of March, 1625.

Appoints him to the primacy.

Death of the king.

The reign of King James has exhibited the Church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster, from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

Summary view of the Church during this reign.

General prevalence of similar events.

In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the Church by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution. And, although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to

Evils not grappled with by government.

have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy: so that the members of the Church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for publick worship and instruction, or of receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation.

Partial attempts at instructing the people.

The same observation, as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large, by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our notice of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks; but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time, they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the Popish emissaries. Thus little progress appears to have been made in bringing the people in general within the fold of the Reformed Church of Ireland: whilst on the other hand, by the encouragement afforded by the Irish government to Protestant dissenters and separatists, the foundation was laid for an accumulation, in time to come, of additional impediments and perils to the well-being of the Church: the soundness of whose religious profession was also in some degree committed by incorporating with it the modern inventions of the Genevan reformer through the medium of the Lambeth Articles. But by the blessing of

Protestant dissenters.

Providence this evil was not permitted to be of long continuance: being obliterated in the succeeding reign by a recurrence to "the Apostles' doctrine," concerning God's will in man's salvation, as avowed in the professions of the early Christians, and perpetuated in the Articles of the Church of England.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I. . . . . 1625—1649.
JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1625—

Section I.

Accession of the King followed by a Bull of the Pope. Condition of the Church in general; particularly of the Diocese of Armagh. Project of allowing Privileges to the Papists. Judgment of the Primate and other Bishops thereupon. Published by the Bishop of Derry. Its consequences. Measures of the Government. Proclamation irreverently received. Danger of the Archbishop of Dublin from an Insurrection. Proceedings concerning the Papists.

New Bull of the Pope.

THE accession of King Charles the First to the throne was soon followed by a bull of Pope Urban the Eighth, wherein he exhorted the Catholick, or speaking more properly, the Popish subjects of the king, rather to lose their lives than to take that pernicious and unlawful oath of allegiance, whereby not only provision was made for maintaining fidelity to the King of England, but for wresting the sacred sceptre of the Universal Church from the Vicars of Almighty God; and which Paul the Fifth, his predecessor, of happy memory, had condemned as such: an exhortation which did not fail to operate on the Irish subjects of the papacy, and to encourage their naturally unquiet spirits to fresh agitation[1].

Its effect on the Irish.

[1] Cox, ii. 41.

The new primate had been detained for some months in England by a quartan ague, the consequence of extraordinary professional exertions in the pulpit; and, on his return to Ireland, in 1626, he found that, whatever was his accession of dignity from his late promotion, it brought no diminution of labour or difficulty; and that the state of the Church was such as to require all the exertions of her faithful sons under the new reign.

Return of Primate Ussher to Ireland.

A letter of congratulation, addressed to him, soon after his promotion, by Thomas Moygne, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, may be here transcribed from Dr. PARR's *Collection*, as opening a general prospect of the actual condition of the Irish Church.

Letter to him from the Bishop of Kilmore, March 26, 1625.

"Most reverend, and my honourable good Lord,

"I do congratulate, with unspeakable joy and comfort, your preferment, and that both out of the true and unfeigned love I have ever borne you, for many years continued, as also out of an assured and most firm persuasion that God hath ordained you a special instrument for the good of the Irish Church, the growth whereof, notwithstanding all his majesty's endowments and directions, receives every day more impediments than ever. And that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places; so that the inheritance of the Church is made arbitrary at the council table; impropriators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they, upon whom the cure of souls is laid, are debarred; St. Patrick's Ridges, which you know belonged to the fabrick of that church, are taken away: within the diocese of Armagh, the whole clergy, being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the judges this last circuit, (by what direction I know not,) without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay: the which I rather mention because it is within your province. The more is taken away from the king's clergy, the more accrues to the Pope's: and the servitors and undertakers, who should be instruments for settling

Impediments to the growth of the Church.

Revenues of the clergy taken away.

Augmentation to the Popish clergy.

Church, do hereby advance their rents, and make the Church poor.

"In a word, in all consultations which concern the Church, not the advice of sages, but of young counsellors, is followed. With all particulars the *agents*, whom we have sent over, will fully acquaint you, to whom I rest assured your lordship will afford your countenance and best assistance. And, my good lord, now remember that you sit at the stern, not only to guide us in a right course, but to be continually in action, and standing in the watch-tower to see that the Church receive no hurt. I know my Lord's Grace of Canterbury will give his best furtherance to the cause, to whom I do not doubt, but after you have fully possessed yourself thereof, you will address yourself. And so, with the remembrance of my love and duty unto you, praying for the perfect recovery of your health,

"I rest, your lordship's most true and
"Faithful servant to command,
"Tho. Kilmore, &c."

"*March* 26, 1625[2]."

Importance of the Primate's station.

St. Patrick's Ridges,

A particular phrase in the foregoing letter, that of "St. Patrick's Ridges," appears to require some explanation. Among the duties reserved in ancient leases, that which is denominated "ridges" occurs frequently. It appears probable that the service of a certain number of days in harvest, to which the lord was entitled, was commuted, and the duty ascertained by the measure of the space, in preference to that of time; hence a "ridge" of work, in sowing or reaping, became, by mutual consent, a substitute for the service of one or more days. The economy fund of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, that is, the fund for sustaining the fabrick and other expenses of the cathedral, received from the dioceses of the suffragan bishops a revenue, not unfrequently mentioned under the name of "St. Patrick's Ridges."

[2] Parr's *Life of Ussher*, p. 322.

By an instrument of May 10, 1550, these "ridges," throughout the dioceses of Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare, and the deaneries of Omurthy, Rathmore, and Salmon-leap, were leased for an annual rent. And a pecuniary consideration was received from them so late as the year 1606, for they are noticed in the proctor's accounts of that year[3]. From the foregoing letter, it appears that these duties were recently taken away in 1625; a privation which the writer notices, amongst others, as a diminution of the inheritance of the Church.

Taken away from the Church.

The following statement, by one of his biographers, of the primate's conduct, so soon as the restoration of his health allowed him to enter on the personal discharge of the duties of his high office, may serve to throw additional light on the condition of the Church, that part of it, at least, which was especially under his metropolitical superintendence.

State of the Diocese of Armagh.

"Being now returned into his native country," says Dr. Parr, "and settled in this great charge, (having not only many churches, but dioceses, under his care,) he began carefully to inspect his own diocese first, and the manners and abilities of those of the clergy, by frequent personal visitations; admonishing those he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the rest, charging them to use the Liturgy of the Church in all publick administrations; and to preach and catechise diligently in their respective cures; and to make the Holy Scriptures the rule, as well as the subject, of their doctrine and sermons. Nor did he only endeavour to reform the clergy, among whom, in so large a diocese, and where there was so small encouragements, there could not but be many things amiss; but also the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of his ecclesiastical courts, against whom there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor's time: nor did he find that Popery and prophaneness had increased

Inspection of it by the Primate.

His exertions for its improvement.

[3] MASON'S *St. Patrick's*, p. 75.

in that kingdom by anything more than the neglect of due catechising and preaching; for want of which instruction the poor people that were outwardly Protestants, were very ignorant of the principles of religion; and the Papists continued still in a blind obedience to their leaders. Therefore he set himself with all his power to redress these neglects, as well by his own example as by his ecclesiastical discipline; all which proving at last too weak for so inveterate a disease, he obtained his majesty's injunctions to strengthen his authority, as shall be hereafter mentioned[4]."

Projected indulgences to the Papists, 1626.

An increase of the army in 1626 having been found necessary, in order to make the Papists more willing to contribute to its support, it was proposed to suspend all proceedings against them for marriages and christenings by priests, and to allow them other privileges without taking the oath of supremacy, with the design of introducing a more publick toleration of their religion. To this end a great assembly of the nation was convened by the Lord Deputy, Lord Falkland, at the castle of Dublin, without any religious distinction.

Assembly of the prelates on the occasion, Nov. 26, 1626.

But to obviate this design, the Lord Primate invited all the archbishops and bishops to his house for the purpose of consulting upon the course fit for them to take upon a question of so delicate a nature, and so abundant in the most momentous consequences to religion and the Church: and there the assembled prelates, on the 26th of November, unanimously drew up, agreed to, and subscribed the following protestation against any toleration of Popery, especially from regard to secular advantages. The instrument was entitled "The Judgment of divers of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion;" and it bore the signatures of the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel,

Their protestation against toleration of Popery.

[4] PARR's *Life of Ussher*, p. 27.

[5] COX, ii. 208.

and of the Bishops of Meath, of Ferns and Leighlin, of Down and Connor, of Derry, of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, of Killala and Achonry, of Kilmore and Ardagh, of Dromore, of Waterford and Lismore, and of Limerick. The English names of the dioceses are here recited, for some of them probably would not be obvious to many readers under their Latin appellations.

Form of their judgment.

"The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

Sinfulness of the proposed toleration.

"For, 1. It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and in a word to all the abominations of Popery; but also, which is a consequent of the former, to the sedition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholick apostasy.

Its great danger.

"2. To grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And, as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of truth to make them, who are in authority, zealous of God's glory and of the advancement of true religion: zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

Signatures to the protestation.

"Ja. Armachanus.
Mal. Caschellen.
Anth. Medensis.
Tho. Hernes and Laghlin.
Ro. Dunensis, &c.
Georg. Derens.
Richard, Corke, Cloyne, Rosses.
Andr. Alachadens.
Tho. Kilmore and Ardagh.
Theo. Dromore.
Michael Waterford and Lysmore.
Fran. Lymerick[6]."

[5] PARR's *Life of Ussher*, p. 28. BERNARD's *Life*, p. 60.

The foregoing were the signatures to this solemn protestation of the Irish episcopate against the apostate Church of Rome; for the reader's more ready identification of the individuals, I annex their family names in the foregoing order:

Family names of the protesting bishops.

"James Ussher.
Malcolm Hamilton.
Anthony Martin.
Thomas Ram.
Robert Echlin.
George Downham.
Richard Boyle.
Archibald or Andrew Hamilton[7].
Thomas Moygne.
Theophilus Buckworth.
Michael Boyle.
Francis Gough."

"All these bishops," says Dr. Bernard, in his *Life of the Archbishop of Armagh*, "are dead; and this Lord Primate, surviving them all, is now dead also; but by this they still speak."

Publication of the judgment by the Bishop of Derry.

This "judgment" of the prelates seems not to have been published at the time, and the suspension of it gave occasion for an occurrence which must have been of no ordinary or trifling effect. For at

April 23, 1627.

the next meeting of the assembly, April 23rd, 1627, George Downham, bishop of Derry, preached at Christ Church, before the Lord Deputy and council, on the subject of toleration, against which he thus remonstrated:

His sermon.

"Are not many among us, for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls, but also the souls of others?" "But," he then demanded, "what is to be thought of toleration of religion? I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, which I think

[7] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 486, 652.

good to publish unto you; that, whatsoever shall happen, the world may know that we are far from consenting to those favours, which the Papists expect."

Acclamation of the people.

And, after this preamble, he published the judgment; and the people gave their votes also with a general acclamation, and cried aloud "Amen[8]."

Bishop Downham's justification of the judgment.

The bishop then proceeded to justify the judgment against the objection, that "what was spoken for the maintenance of religion and the service of God, should be thought to be a hindrance of the king's service;" expressing their heart's desire that any army might be settled for the defence of the country; "only this," he added, "we desire, that his gracious majesty will be pleased to reserve to himself the most of those peculiar graces, which of late have been offered, the greatest whereof might much better be spared than granted for the dishonour of God and the king, to the prejudice and impeachment of true religion, and countenance of the contrary; and what is wanting may be supplied by the country, and I shall exhort all good subjects and sound Christians, to show their forwardness in this behalf." The text the bishop then took was Luke i. 23, 24, 25, when he spake much against men's subordinating religion, and the keeping of a good conscience for outward and worldly respects, and to set their souls for sale for the gain of earthly matters[9].

The primate's sermon.

The next Lord's-day, the Lord Primate preached before the same auditory. From his text, 1 John v. 19, "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world," he made the like application as the Bishop of Derry: rebuking those, who for worldly

[8] BERNARD's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 62—65. [9] *Ib.*, p. 64.

ends, as Judas, sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver, or, as Balaam, follow the wages of unrighteousness; foretelling, as he had often done, of judgments for these our inclinations to such permissions and tolerations, that, wherein men might think to be gainers, at the end they would be losers; and applying to the then present times that speech of Jeremiah to Baruch, of God's being about to pluck up what he had planted, and to break down what he had built; and his bidding him not to seek great things for himself.

Effect of the Bishops' Judgment.

The Judgment of the bishops prevailed so much with the members of the Church, that the proposals advanced slowly, and seemed to have little prospect of success. But some forces being necessary in the weak and distracted condition of the kingdom, the Lord Deputy and council besought the primate, in his capacity of a privy councillor, and in consideration of his great esteem in the assembly, to move them to an absolute grant of some competency for supplying the king's necessities, as well by his Popish as his Protestant subjects, without any conditions whatever.

Assembly at the Castle, April, 1627.

The assembly having been for this purpose summoned by the Lord Deputy to the Castle-chamber, the last day of April, 1627, the Lord Primate delivered a speech at considerable length, pressing particularly upon those who were of the Popish profession, but of English descent, the necessity for their own security of maintaining the crown against the common enemy. And he took occasion to defend the late conduct of the prelates in their Judgment, by a particular reference to the execution of the statute against recusants, which was proposed to be forborne.

"Wherein, if some of my brethren, the bishops, have been thought to have showed themselves more forward than wise, in preaching publickly against this kind of toleration; I hope the great charge, laid upon them by yourselves in the parliament, wherein that statute was enacted, will plead their excuse. For there the lords temporal, and all the commons, do, in God's name, earnestly require and charge all archbishops and bishops, and other ordinaries, that they should endeavour themselves, to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this statute may be had throughout their dioceses; and they are charged, as they will answer it before God, for such evil and plagues, as Almighty God might justly punish his people with, for neglecting these good and wholesome laws. So that, if in this case they had holden their tongues, they might have been censured little better than atheists, and made themselves accessory to the drawing down of God's heavy vengeance upon the people."

Speech of Primate Ussher.

Appeal to the statute against recusants.

It will be observed, that in this vindication of the Judgment of the bishops, the primate employed an argument, founded on the law of the land, which prescribed their duty, and personally applicable to his hearers. And this was prudently adapted to the circumstances under which he spoke. But the Judgment itself had taken the higher and holier ground of the sinfulness of the Popish superstitions and idolatries in God's sight, and of the sinfulness of their being accessory to them, and instrumental in propagating them to the seduction and perdition of the people; especially out of regard to any worldly compensation.

Difference of the grounds alleged for the Judgment.

This speech of the Lord Primate failed of attaining the effect, which had been much to be desired. Dr. Parr, whilst he records, laments the failure, with the remark, that the standing forces, then moved for, which were to have been all Protestants, would in all probability have prevented that cruel rebellion

Effects of the primate's speech.

which broke out a few years after. At the request of the Lord Deputy, a copy of the speech was given to him, and transmitted to the king, who received it with an expression of his approbation, as much conducing to his service and the publick safety. Meanwhile this zealous protestation of the bishops drew from the House of Commons of England a remonstrance to his majesty to this effect:

Publick exercise of Popery disallowed.

"That the Popish religion was publickly professed in every part of Ireland; and that monasteries and nunneries were there newly erected, and replenished with votaries of both sexes, which would be of evil consequence, unless seasonably repressed."

And these two extraordinary actions put a stop to any further attempts for the publick exercise of Popery in Ireland at that time[10].

King's acceptance of contributions unsatisfactory.

Still, in consideration of a certain payment undertaken by the Irish agents, the English government thought it reasonable that the king should signify his gracious acceptance, by conferring some uncommon favour on the agents and contributors. And this accordingly was done, much to the discontent of the Protestants, who bore above a third part of the publick charge; and felt themselves greatly aggrieved, that they should be made to purchase graces and immunities for the Papists. Whilst the Papists, on the other hand, made no account of the Protestant part of the contribution, but took to themselves the whole value and merit of the largess: and in the end proceeded to such arrogant and tumultuous behaviour, that the Lord Deputy was compelled to mortify them by a proclamation against the Popish regular clergy. This was issued the 1st of April, 1629, and imported,

[10] Cox, ii. 44.

"That the late intermission of legal proceedings against Popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and others of that sort, who derive their pretended authority and orders from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, had bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them, as he was necessitated to charge and command them in his majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their Popish rites and ceremonies[11]."

Proclamation against the Popish clergy April, 1629.

Of the manner in which this proclamation was published and observed, a memorable instance is recorded in a letter from the Lord Deputy to Primate Ussher, dated April the 24th, 1629.

Manner in which it was published and observed.

"I have received information, both of the unreverend manner of publishing the late proclamation at Droghedah, and the ill observance of the same since it was published. For the first, that it was done in scornful and contemptuous sort, a drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town: both being made, by too much drink, uncapable of that task, (and perhaps purposely put to it,) made the same seem like a May-game. And for the latter, that there is yet very little obedience showed thereto by the friars and priests; only that they have shut up the fore-doors of some of their mass-houses, but have as ordinary recourse thither by their private passages, and do as frequently use their superstitious service there, as if there were no command to the contrary: those mass-houses being continued in their former use, (though perhaps a little more privately,) without any demolishing of their altars, &c."

Lord Deputy's letter to the primate. April 24, 1629.

In continuation, the Lord Deputy prays and authorizes the primate, calling to his assistance Mr. Justice Philpot, who was then resident there, to enter into a serious examination of the premises, and to give him a full information of what he should find thereof, by the first opportunity. No further intelligence, however, appears on the subject.

His further instructions.

[11] Cox, ii. 53.

Irregular proceedings at Raphoe.

Meanwhile some irregular proceedings had been reported on the part of the titulary Bishop of Raphoe, and at an assembly of people in that town, concerning which the Lord Deputy commends the care and pains taken by the primate in searching out the truth of the matter, and in transmitting information of the proprietors and possessors of the Popish conventual-houses in that town: adding withal,

"As to their conventual-houses, we have given his majesty's attorney-general a copy of the paper inclosed in your letter to us, and gave him directions to put up informations in his majesty's Court of Exchequer, against the proprietors and possessors of those houses, that thereby way be made for such further course of proceeding as the several cases shall require[12]."

Jurisdiction exercised by Popish clergy.

Whether any other consequences followed from this proclamation, I do not find. But Cox, having related the publishing of the proclamation at Droghedah, adds the following statement:

"It was so despised and contemned by the Popish clergy, that they nevertheless exercised full jurisdiction, even to excommunication: and they not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect an university at Dublin, in the face of the government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England."

Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, 1605—1619.

On the death of Archbishop Loftus, in 1605, soon after King James's accession, the see of Dublin was occupied by Thomas Jones, an Englishman, who died in 1619: memorable chiefly for having repaired a great part of the cathedral of Christ Church which fell in his time, and for having restored the steeple which was in a decayed and ruinous condition[13]; less honourably for the injurious application to his own

[12] Cox, ii. 53.

[13] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 355.

private aggrandizement, when Dean of St. Patrick's, of the property of the deanery[14]. He was succeeded in the archbishoprick by Lancelot Bulkeley, a native of Beaumaris, in Anglesey; but educated at Brazennose College, Oxford, and a doctor of divinity of the University of Dublin.

Lancelot Bulkeley, archbishop, 1219.

About the time with which we are now engaged, this prelate incurred considerable personal danger from an insurrectionary riot of the jesuits and friars. Having been informed of their continued practice to infuse sedition by their sermons into the Popish inhabitants of the city, the archbishop applied to the lords justices for a warrant and a file of musketeers to seize the offenders. The Carmelites, in Cork Street, together with their assembly, rose in a body to oppose the execution of the warrant. They fell upon the guard, and affronted the archbishop and the mayor, who assisted with his attendants. The archbishop was obliged to cry out for help, and take to flight, and with difficulty saved himself by seeking shelter in a neighbouring house[15].

His danger in a Popish riot, 1629.

This riot was committed about Christmas, 1629. In the following month, the lords justices reported it to the king and privy council of England, and before the end of the month received the following recognition:

Measures of the government in consequence.

"By your letter we understand, how the seditious riot, moved by the friars and their adherents at Dublin, hath by your good order and resolution been happily suppressed: and we doubt not, but by this occasion you will consider, how much it concerneth the good government of that kingdom, to prevent in time the first growing of such evils."

In pursuance of this were added directions from his majesty:

[14] MASON, p. 174. [15] WARE, p. 356.

"That the house, where so many friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the reverend archbishop and the mayor of Dublin received the first publick affront, be speedily demolished, and be a mark of terror to the registers of authority: and that the rest of the houses, erected or employed there or elsewhere in Ireland to the use of superstitious societies, be converted to houses of correction, and to set idle people on work, or to other publick uses, for the advancement of justice, good art, or trade."

Proceedings against the Papists.

The lords justices at this time were Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord treasurer; having been appointed on the recall of the Lord Deputy, Viscount Falkland, in

1629.

October of this year. Immediately on coming into office, they had directed that the Papists should be prosecuted for not coming to church: and accordingly the statute of the second of Queen Elizabeth was given in charge at the assizes, but by instructions from England such prosecutions were superseded. Nevertheless, the lords justices, being

St. Patrick's Purgatory exposed.

exceedingly zealous against Popery, caused St. Patrick's Purgatory, in a small island of Lough Dergh, in the county of Donegall, to be digged up; and thereby laid open to the world that notorious imposition, to the great loss and disgrace of the Popish clergy, who had derived a high reputation and vast emoluments from that fraudulent and shameful superstition[16].

Restless spirit of the Popish clergy.

But notwithstanding this exposure and loss, and although the Popish clergy in general were so depraved and ignorant, that the severest censure ever pronounced upon the clergy of the Church of Ireland, was muttered by an Irishman, who said, "That the king's priests were as bad as the Pope's

[16] Cox, ii. 53, 54.

priests;" yet did their restless spirit of tumult and outrage rise again at this time to such a height, that a priest, being seized for some unlawful practices in Dublin, was forcibly rescued by the populace. Thus the lords justices were compelled by their insolence to take steps for their repression: and, by direction of the council of England, they seized upon fifteen of the religious houses, lately erected by the Papists in Dublin, for the king's use; and, in 1632, their principal house in Back Lane was disposed of to the University of Dublin, who placed therein a rector and scholars, and maintained there a weekly lecture, which the lords justices often countenanced by their presence. But afterwards, in the time of the next Lord Deputy, the building was allowed to return to its former use, and again became a mass-house.

Steps necessary for their repression.

Section II.

William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore. State of his Diocese. Neglect of Ecclesiastical Processes. The King's Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops on Affairs of the Church. Diligence of the Primate. His Injunctions to his Clergy. Exemplary Conduct of Bishop Bedell. Some of his Measures questionable.

It was about this period that another distinguished ornament was added to the episcopate of the Church of Ireland, in the person of William Bedell, a native of Essex, and in 1593 a fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.D. in 1599, with the reputation of singular knowledge in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; subsequently the chaplain and honoured companion of Sir Henry Wotton, King James's ambassador at Venice; and the bosom friend and most intimate intercom-

Bedell's early life.

municant of learning, of Father Paul Sarpi, the illustrious historian of the Council of Trent.

Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

From a retired and obscure benefice in the diocese of Norwich, whither he had withdrawn on his return from Italy, by an unanimous election of the fellows, he was called to the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, which, after some difficulty, he was persuaded to accept by the king's positive commands: and he applied himself to the government of the college with a vigour of mind peculiar to him; composing differences among the fellows, rectifying disorders, and improving discipline; and training the youth in religious knowledge by weekly lectures on the Church Catechism, with such a mixture of matters speculative and practical, that his discourses were regarded both as learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to piety and virtue[1].

Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

1629.

He continued in this employment about two years; when, on the recommendation of Laud, at that time Bishop of London, he was, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, advanced to the united see of Kilmore and Ardagh: the king, in the letters for his promotion, making honourable mention of the services he had done, and the reformation he had wrought in the university.

Disadvantages of his bishoprick.

There has been former occasion for remarking that the bishoprick of Kilmore had, from different causes, been subject to peculiar disadvantages. It had indeed been possessed by two successive bishops of King James's appointment since 1603; and that king, by a commission in the seventeenth year of his reign, had ordered that all lands in the county of Cavan, or within the new plantation of Longford

[1] WARE's *Bishops*, p. 232.

and Leitrim, which should be found by inquisition to have formerly belonged to the sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, should be restored to them. But, notwithstanding these means of improvement, little or no benefit had accrued from them for the publick good, however instrumental they may have been made to the emolument of Bishop Bedell's predecessors.

Bishop Burnet's account of it.

"He found his diocese," says Bishop Burnet, in his very copious life of him, "under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so sordid a manner, that it was grown to a proverb; and there was scarce enough remaining of both these revenues to support a bishop, who was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base methods[2]."

Bishop Bedell's letter to Bishop Laud. April 1, 1630.

But the general state of his diocese will be best represented by transcribing a letter, which he addressed to Bishop Laud a few months after his promotion.

"Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time the settling of the state of the college, and my Lord Primate's visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship's commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the Church; which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate; and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable.

Miserable state of the diocese.

Dilapidated churches.

"The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick,

[2] Bishop Burnet's *Life of Bishop Bedell*, pp. 34—36.

together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired.

Popish recusants.

"The people, saving a few British planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the remnant,) obstinate recusants. A Popish clergy, more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident, as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish primate's vicar-general, for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house: the bishop in another part of my diocese, further off.

Popish clergy numerous and powerful.

"Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a-piece, and so their mass-houses also; and in some places mass is said in the churches.

Mass-houses.

"Friars there are in diverse places, who go about, though not in their habits, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tithes to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these last years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which, they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform.

Friars.

Poverty of the people.

"For our own, there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese of good sufficiency; and, (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still,) English; which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them, two, or three, four, or more vicarages a-piece. Even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm.

English ministers.

Clerks.

"His majesty is now, with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, King, but at the Pope's discretion.

"Will. Kilmore and Ardagh.

"*Kilmore, April* 1, 1630."

Application of this description to the other sees.

The description in the foregoing letter, which concerns the state of the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh at that time, is applied by Cox generally to the Irish sees[3]. But whatever cause may have existed for complaint in other dioceses, and no doubt there was cause enough, the language of Bishop Bedell, true as it certainly was in his use of it, would probably have been an exaggerated representation in a general application.

Neglect of ecclesiastical processes,

With respect, however, to his complaint of the neglect of ecclesiastical processes in his court, that seems to have been experienced in others likewise: and an example is supplied in the case of Bishop Downham, of Derry, who, during the government of the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Earl of Cork, obtained a commission, by immediate warrant from himself, to arrest, apprehend, and attach the bodies of all people within his jurisdiction, who should decline the same, or should refuse to appear upon lawful citation, or, appearing, should refuse to obey the sentence given against them; and authority to bind them in recognizances, with sureties or without, to appear at the council table, to answer such contempts. The like commission was renewed to him by the Lord Deputy, Viscount Wentworth, October 23, 1633. Both were obtained on his information, that his diocese abounded with all manner of delinquents, who refused obedience to all spiritual processes[4].

Instanced in the diocese of Derry.

[3] Cox, ii. 53.

[4] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 292.

General cause of complaint.

Generally, also, there appears to have been too much cause for complaint, with respect to other ecclesiastical charges, affecting the ministers of the Church, both the bishops and their clergy. Such was the representation made by the Lords Committees for Irish Affairs to his majesty, who thereupon sent over his letters to all the archbishops of Ireland, to remind them of their duty, and to strengthen their authority.

Letter of the King to the Archbishops. 1631.

"CHARLES REX.

"Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty, and entirely beloved, we greet you well.

"Among such disorders as the Lords of our Privy Council, deputed by us to a particular care of our realm of Ireland and the affairs thereof, have observed and represented to us in that government, as well ecclesiastical as civil, we have taken in special consideration the growth and increase of the Romish faction there, and cannot but from thence collect that the clergy of that Church are not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service or the honour of themselves and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation. Wherefore, as we have by all means endeavoured to provide for them a competency of maintenance, so we shall hereafter expect on their part a reciprocal diligence; both by their teaching and example to win that ignorant and superstitious people to join with them in the true worship of God.

Growth of the Romish faction.

Want of care in the clergy.

"And for that purpose we have thought fit, by these our letters, not only to excite your care of these things, according to your duty and dignity of your place in that Church; but further to authorize you, in our name, to give, by your letters, to the several bishops in your province, a special charge, requiring them to give notice to their clergy under them, in their dioceses respectively, that all of them be careful to do their duty, by preaching and catechising in the parishes committed to their charge; and that they live answerable to the doctrine which they preach to the people.

Special charge to the bishops.

"And further we will, that in our name you write to every bishop within your province, that none of them presume to hold with their bishopricks any benefice, or other ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever in their own hands, or to their own use, save only such as we have given leave, under our broad seal of that our kingdom, to hold *in commendam*. And of this we require you to be very careful, because there is a complaint brought to the said Lords Committees for Irish Affairs, that some bishops there, when livings fall void in their gift, do either not dispose them so soon as they might, but keep the profits in their own hands, to the hinderance of God's service, and great offence of good people; or else they give them to young and mean men, which only bear the name, reserving the greater part of the benefice to themselves; by which means that Church must needs be very ill and weakly served.

Bishops forbidden to hold other benefices.

Complaint to the Lords Committees for Irish Affairs.

"Of which abuses and the like, (if any shall be practised,) we require you to take special care for the present redress of them, and shall expect from you such account of your endeavours herein, as may discharge you, not to us only, but to God, whose honour and service it concerns.

"Given, under our signet, at our palace at Westminster, the twelfth of April, in the sixth year of our reign[5]."

This command of the king fully agreed with the desires of the Lord Primate, who accordingly diligently engaged in the execution of the office committed to his care. He therefore endeavoured to reform, in the first place, the disorders complained of in his province, and which had been already under his correcting hand. And, in the next place, he made it his business to reclaim those deluded people from the religion to which they had been bred: and by frequent and familiar conversation with the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, as well as his neighbours of the inferior sort; by inviting them to his house, and mildly discoursing with them on the

The Primate's diligence in executing this command.

His exertions to reclaim Popish recusants.

[5] PARR's *Life of Ussher*, p. 33.

chief tenets of their religion; he convinced many of their errors, and brought them to a knowledge of the truth. He also advised the bishops and clergy of his province to deal with the Popish recusants in their several dioceses and cures after the same manner; the best, if not the only means, in the absence of penal laws, to restrain the publick profession of that religion. Nor was his care confined only to the conversion of the ignorant and deluded Irish Papists; but he also aimed at the reduction of the Scotch and English sectaries to the communion of the Church; conferring and arguing with divers of them, as well ministers as laymen, and showing them the weakness of their scruples and objections against joining the publick services of the Church, and submitting to its government and discipline[6].

And Protestant sectaries.

His injunctions on his clergy.

The injunctions laid by the Lord Primate on his clergy, as their guide in the instruction of their flocks, are also not undeserving of being specified, and may illustrate this portion of our narrative. Having related his practice of preaching himself every Lord's-day in the forenoon, "In the afternoon," continues Dr. Bernard, "this was his order to me; that, besides the catechising of the youth before publick prayers, I should, after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening of the principles of religion in the publick catechism; and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the Creed at once, giving but the sum of each article; then, next time, at thrice; and, afterwards, each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The

Catechetical instruction.

[6] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 103. Parr's *Life of Ussher*, p. 29.

good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people, upon their approach unto the Communion, when, as by the then order the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. An exemplary injunction for this age, having been too much neglected. His order throughout the diocese to the ministers was, to go through the body of divinity once a-year, which he had drawn out accordingly into fifty heads[7]."

Good fruit of such instructions.

Such was the exemplary diligence of the Lord Primate; and, in regard to one of his suffragans, the history of the whole Church of Christ does not in all probability contain a more perfect pattern of a Christian bishop, than may be contemplated in the life of Bishop Bedell, as to the care with which he supplied all vacancies within his diocese; the strictness with which he conducted his examinations for holy orders; his constant refusal to ordain any, without a title to a particular flock; his studious observation of the behaviour of his clergy, mixed with paternal tenderness and compassion for their weaknesses; his earnest endeavours in counteracting pluralities, and in prevailing upon all to observe parochial residence; and his constant business at his visitations in investigating the state of his diocese, and in giving good instructions and advice both to the clergy and the laity.

Exemplary conduct of Bishop Bedell in the general affairs of his diocese.

His visitations.

"The visitations in Ireland," observes Bishop Burnet, "had been matters of great pomp and much luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior clergy. Some slight inquiries were made, and those chiefly for form's sake; and, indeed, nothing was so much minded, as that which was the

[7] Bernard's *Life of Ussher*, p. 34.

reproach of them, the fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the clergy. And, as the bishop's visitation came about every year, so every third year the archbishop made his metropolitical visitation, and every seventh year the king's visitation went round; and in all these, as they were then managed, nothing seemed so much aimed at, as how to squeeze and oppress the clergy, who were glad to purchase their peace by paying all that was imposed on them by those severe exactors. But our bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by law and custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the clergy; and, when there was any overplus, he sent it always to the prisons for the relief of the poor."

Episcopal, metropolitical, and royal visitations.

Questionable alterations proposed by Bishop Bedell.

There were, however, two or three alterations of a questionable character, which Bishop Bedell was anxious to introduce into his diocese, and which should hardly be passed without notice, constituting, as they do, memorable occurrences in the history of the Church. I allude to his diocesan synods of his clergy and his synodical canons; his indignation at the undue extent, to which in his opinion the archbishop carried the exercise of the metropolitical power over his suffragans; and his attempt to introduce a correction of abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, by going, and sitting, and judging in his own courts himself.

Diocesan synods and synodical canons.

These, indeed, are matters of history as well as of biography. But, as chiefly connected with the personal events of Bishop Bedell's life, it may suffice briefly to observe, that in the first of these attempts at diocesan improvement, the legality of which was controverted at the time, he has not been imitated in subsequent periods, when convenient opportunities might have been taken, if individual bishops had judged the example fit for imitation: that, with

respect to the second, the archbishop's power of suspending the bishop's jurisdiction in his diocese, in the year of the metropolitical visitation, has been constantly perpetuated without offence or molestation, though the period, during which the suspension is continued, is now, at least in practice, limited to a few weeks, instead of being extended throughout the year, as was the case when it encountered Bishop Bedell's reprobation: and that, with respect to the third particular, namely, that of the bishop's acting as judge in his own court, though at the time "the other bishops were glad at this step our bishop had made," as Bishop Burnet relates, "and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would stand by him;" yet in the end, as related by the same biographer, "they did not stand by him, but were contented to let him fall under censure, without interposing in it as in a cause of common concern; and even the excellent primate told him, the tide went so high that he could assist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the order had done;" and although the bishop "continued, notwithstanding his censure, to go into his court, as he had done before, and although an order was given underhand to let him go on as he had begun," it has not been subsequently deemed fitting, either by the makers or the interpreters of the laws, to confer that power on the bishops, or to declare that it belongs to them; or by the bishops, in imitation of Bedell's example, to claim that power for themselves.

Archbishop's suspension of bishop's jurisdiction.

Bishop acting as judge in his own court.

SECTION III.

A Royal Visitation under Lord Wentworth. Report of it by Dr. Bramhall. Bishop Laud's Letter of Instructions to the Lord Deputy. Bramhall's account of the state of the Church. Growth of Protestant Sectarianism. Irregular Ordinations. Reprehensible conduct imputed to two Northern Bishops. Non-conforming Ministers.

Royal visitation. 1633.

IN 1633, was holden a regal visitation, of which John Bramhall, who afterwards became successively Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Armagh, was one of the commissioners, or at least one of the chief assistants and directors. Bramhall was a man of high distinction in his own country, whence he had been recently brought into Ireland by the new Lord Deputy, Thomas Viscount Wentworth, afterwards the illustrious but ill-fated Earl of Strafford. Having been educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and thence removed into Yorkshire, of which county he was a native, he had become so celebrated for a disputation with three Romish priests of the order of Jesuits, that he was appointed chaplain to the famous Primate of York, Archbishop Mathews, to whom he endeared himself by great dexterity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and civil affairs. And, after the archbishop's death, by his wisdom, eloquence, and deportment, he so gained the affections of the nobility, gentry, and commoners, of that country, that Sir Thomas Wentworth, then Lord President of York, selected him for his chaplain, and after a short time conveyed him to Ireland, as the fittest instrument to serve in the design, which for two years before his arrival he had meditated and resolved; namely, the reformation of religion,

Early life of John Bramhall.

Patronized by Lord Wentworth.

and the reparation of the broken fortunes of the Church[1].

Result of the visitation.

In the visitation, which now ensued, the revenues of the Church were found to be miserably wasted, the discipline scandalously despised, and the ministers but meanly considered. The bishopricks were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms and long leases at small rents: granted partly by the Popish bishops in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who resolved to carry away with them as much as they could, like the wise but unjust steward, gratifying their friends, that they might receive them into their habitations; and partly by their Protestant successors, who might fear, perhaps, another turn of affairs; and, following the example of their predecessors, condescended to the same arts. By these means many bishopricks were made as low as sacrilege could make them. Cloyne was reduced to five marks; hence the bishop of that see was called "Episcopus quinque marcarum." Aghadoe and Ardfert, in the county of Kerry, were reduced respectively, the latter to about 60*l.* a year, and the former to 1*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Of Limerick about five parts in six were made away in fee-farms or encroached on by the undertakers. Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, and Killaloe, all made the same complaint. Cork and Ross fared the best of any; a very good man, Bishop Lyon, having been placed there early in the Reformation, prevented any diminution in the revenues of those churches; and he was succeeded by two prelates of the family of the Boyles, who were distinguished by the like uprightness of character. But with this exception, "there was not," adds Bishop Vesey, the biographer of Primate Bramhall, "one bishoprick in the pro-

Reduced revenues of the bishopricks.

[1] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 118.

vince of Cashel, that had not the print of the sacrilegious paw upon it: and on some of them, 'vestigia nullo retrorsum.'" Simony also was another evil, which was found to prevail very generally with the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices. This state of things, however, was discovered not to be limited to the southern bishopricks; for on his appointment to the see of Derry in the following year, and on his inquiry into the condition of that diocese, Bishop Bramhall discovered there the existence of the same evils, which had been disclosed by the regal visitations.

Prevalence of simony.

A report of this visitation was duly made to the Lord Deputy, who had entered upon his office the 25th of July in the same year, 1633. The result of this report will be noticed in the parliamentary proceedings of the year 1635; in the mean time attention may be given to some other occurrences more nearly coincident with the Lord Deputy's appointment and arrival.

Report to the Lord Deputy.

Lord Wentworth, lord deputy, July, 1633.

In anticipation of his early settlement in his viceroyal station, Laud, then bishop of London, had written him a letter, April 30, 1633, wherein he prayed him "to consider of so many particulars as concern the Church and religion, with as much favour as justice can give way unto[2]."

Letter from Bishop Laud, April, 1633.

The particulars of most publick concern are these: "That in the great cause of impropriations, which are yet remaining in his majesty's gift, and which he is most graciously willing to give back to God and his service, you will do whatsoever may justly be done for the honour and service of our two great masters, God and the king; that you would

The king's willingness to give up impropriations;

[2] *Strafford Letters*, vol. i. p. 82.

countenance and assist the Lord Primate of Armagh in all things belonging to this great service; and particularly for the procuring of a true and just valuation, that the king may know what he gives the Church."

And to establish the jurisdiction of the Church.

After an interval, he adds, "I am likewise commanded by his majesty to deliver your lordship a clause of a letter, sent unto me by the Lord Primate of Armagh, March 1st, 1632, with which I acquainted his majesty. At which time his princely pleasure was that your lordship should assure the Lord Primate that he would see the jurisdiction of the Church established there to be maintained against both recusants and other factionists whatsoever; and that you should do your best endeavour to stop all such rumours as may dishearten the bishops in God's service and his."

1633, common style

Means devised for the maintenance of curates.

He adds, after another interval, "I further pray your lordship to take notice by the Lord Primate of Armagh, of the readiness of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, to set forwards the maintenance of the ministers in that kingdom, and to encourage him to advance the same. As also to move the Lord Chief Justice for his opinion, what legal course he shall think fittest may be held for the present means of curates, out of the impropriations in Ireland: which I am credibly informed his lordship is very able and willing to give."

A Jewish schoolmaster in Derry.

Together with those salutary instructions on subjects of general application, the letter embraces others, which relate to particular persons or places; of these the following is remarkable. "There is one Christopher Sands, who, as I am informed, dwells now in Londonderry, and teaches an English school there; and I much fear he doth many things

there to the dishonour of God, and the endangering of many poor souls. For the party is a Jew, and denies both Christ and his Gospel, as I shall be able to prove, if I had him here. I humbly pray your lordship that he may be seized on by authority, and sent over in safe custody, and delivered either to myself or to Mr. Mottershed, the registrar of the High Commission, that he may not live there to infect his majesty's subjects."

Letter from Bramhall to Bishop Laud, August, 1633.

Nearly coincident with the regal visitation, and explanatory of several particulars mentioned in the report of it, as well as communicative of information sought by the Bishop of London, is the following important letter written in the course of this summer by Dr. Bramhall to Bishop Laud, concerning the condition of the Church of Ireland.

"Right Reverend Father,

State of the poor church of Ireland.

"My most honoured lord, Presuming partly upon your licence, but especially directed by my Lord Deputy's commands, I am to give your fatherhood a brief account of the present state of the poor Church of Ireland, such as our short intelligence here, and your lordship's weightier employments there, will permit.

Churches ruinous and sordid.

"First, for the fabricks, it is hard to say, whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent, even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom and seat of justice. To begin the inquisition, where the reformation will begin, we find our parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling-house, the choir of a third to a tennis-court, and the vicar acts the keeper.

Parochial church the Lord Deputy's stable.

Vaults of Christ's Church tippling-rooms.

"In Christ's Church, the principal church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and Council repair every Sunday, the vaults, from one end of the minster to the other, are made into tippling-rooms for beer, wine and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of divine service, that though

there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table, used for the administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices.

Profanation of the Communion table.

"I cannot omit the glorious tomb in the other cathedral church of St. Patrick, in the proper place of the altar, just opposite to his majesty's seat, having his father's name superscribed upon it, as if it were on purpose to gain the worship and reverence, which the chapter and whole church are bound by special statute to give towards the east. And either the soil itself, or a licence to build and bury, and make a vault in the place of the altar, under seal, which is a tantamount, passed to the earl and his heirs. 'Credimus esse Deos?' This being the case in Dublin, your lordship will judge what we may expect in the country."

Tomb in St. Patrick's in place of the altar.

The tomb here complained of had been erected by the Earl of Cork, with a vault of hewn stone beneath it. As to its usurping the place of the altar, Archbishop Ussher explained, that the place of its erection was an ancient passage into a chapel within the church, which had time out of mind been stopped up with a partition of boards and lime, and he considered it a great ornament to the church. His explanation, however, did not give entire satisfaction; and in the end the monument was removed to another less offensive situation[3]. I now proceed with Dr. Bramhall's letter:

"Next, for the clergy: I find few footsteps yet of foreign differences, so I hope it will be an easier task not to admit them than to have them ejected. But I doubt much whether the clergy be very orthodox: and could wish both the articles and canons of the Church of England were established here by Act of Parliament or State; that, as we live all under one king, so we might both in doctrine and discipline observe an uniformity.

The clergy, their orthodoxy doubted.

[3] MASON'S *St. Patrick*, notes LIII. LIV.

Poverty and ignorance of inferior ministers.

"The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt, in respect of their poverty and ignorance. The boundless heaping together of benefices by *commendams* and *dispensations* in the superiors is but too apparent: yea, even often by plain usurpation, and indirect compositions made between the patrons, as well ecclesiastick as lay, and the incumbents; by which the least part, many times not above 40*s*., rarely 10*l*., in the year, is reserved for him that should serve at the altar: insomuch that it is affirmed, that by all or some of these means one bishop in the remoter parts of the kingdom doth hold three-and-twenty benefices with cure. Generally their residence is as little as their livings. Seldom any suitor petitions for less than three vicarages at a time. And it is a main prejudice to his majesty's service, and an hindrance to the right establishment of his church, that the clergy have in a manner no dependence upon the Lord Deputy, nor he any means left to prefer those that are deserving amongst them. For besides all those advowsons, which were given by that good patron of the church, King James, of happy memory, to bishops and the college here, many also were conferred upon the plantations, (never was so good a gift so infinitely abused:) and I know not how, or by what order, even in these blessed days of his sacred majesty, all the rest of any note have been given or passed away in the time of the late Lord Deputy." (Viscount Falkland.)

Evil of pluralities,

And non-residence.

Abuse of the late king's bounty.

Church revenues.

"Lastly, for the revenues: how small care hath been taken for the service of his majesty, or the good of the church, is hereby apparent, that no officer, or other person, can inform my lord, what deanery or benefices are in his majesty's gift; and about three hundred livings are omitted out of the book of tax for first-fruits and twentieth parts; sundry of them of good value, two or three bishopricks, and the whole diocese of Killfannore. The alienations of church possessions, by long leases and deeds, are infinite: yea, even since the Act of State to restrain them, it is believed that divers are bold, still to practise in hopes of secresy and impunity, and will adventure until their hands be tied by act of parliament, or some of the delinquents censured in the Star Chamber. The Earl of Cork holds the whole

Alienations of church property.

bishoprick of Lismore, at the rent of 40*s.*, or five marks, by the year: many benefices, that ought to be presentative, are by negligence enjoyed as though they were appropriate.

Remedies for these evils.

"For the remedying of these evils, next to God and his sacred majesty, I know my lord depends on your fatherhood's wisdom and zeal for the church. My duty binds me to pray for a blessing upon both your good endeavours. For the present, my lord hath pulled down the deputy's seat in his own chapel, and restored the altar to its ancient place, which was thrust out of doors. The like is done in Christ's Church. The purgation and restitution of the stable to the right owners and uses will follow next; and strict mandates to my lords the bishops, to see the churches repaired, adorned, and preserved from profanation, throughout the kingdom.

Lord Deputy's care for the church.

"For the clergy and their revenues, my lord is careful that no petitions be admitted without good certificate and diligent inquiry, (thought a strange course here:) and to enable himself and the succeeding deputies, to encourage such as shall deserve well in the church, his lordship intends, as well in the commission for defective titles, as for the plantations, to reserve the right of advowson to his majesty, and as well by diligent search in the records, as by a selected commission of many branches, to regain such advowsons as have been usurped through the negligence of officers, change of deputies, or power of great men; and by the same to inform himself of the true state of the church and clergy, to provide for the cures and residence, to perfect his majesty's tax, to prevent and remedy alienations, to restore illegal impropriations, to dispose, by way of lapse, of all those supernumerary benefices which are held unjustly, and not without infinite scandal, under the pretence of *commendams* and dispensations, and to settle, as much as in present is possible, the whole state of the church. This testimony I must give of his care, that it is not possible for the intentions of a mortal man to be more serious and sincere than his in those things, that concern the good of the poor church.

Disunion of the Romish ecclesiasticks.

"It is some comfort to see the Romish ecclesiasticks cannot laugh at us, who come behind none in point of disunion and scandal.

"I know my tediousness will be offensive, unless your lordship's licence, and my Lord Deputy's command, procure my pardon. I will not add a word more, but the profession of my humble thanks and bounden service; and so being ready to receive your lordship's commands, I desire to remain, as your noble favours have for ever bound me,

"Your lordship's

"Daily and devoted servant,

"John Bramhall[4]."

"*Dublin Castle, August the* 10*th*, 1633."

Growth of Protestant sectarianism.

Of the ecclesiastical evils, which at this time were beginning to require the attention of the government, though not specified in the foregoing report, one was the activity and growth of Protestant sectarianism, which had been for some time gaining a firmer footing in the North, where its ministers were distinguished for their opposition to the Church. But though these persons objected to the constitution and discipline of the Church, they were willing to accept of her appointments and emoluments; and for that purpose allowed themselves in the use of an expedient, which may well excite astonishment in the conduct of those, who made peculiar pretensions to the character of "godly" men. The case shall be set forth, as exemplified especially in two distinguished members of the body: and it shall be set forth in the most unexceptionable form, namely, that of their own narratives.

Opposition to the Church compatible with acceptance of her appointments.

It may be convenient, however, in the first place, to submit the following brief statement to the consideration of the reader.

[4] Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii. b. ix. p. 760.

Among the records of the Sovereign's Court of Prerogative in Dublin is deposited a Regal Visitation Book of the diocese of Down and Connor, in the year 1633. From this it appears, that amongst several other clergymen, ordained by Robert Echlin, the bishop of the diocese at that period, Robert Blair had been admitted by him in 1623 to the holy orders of deacon and of priest: and John Livingstowne had been admitted, in 1630, to the same orders by Andrew [Knox], bishop of Raphoe. This authentick document takes no notice of any deviation from the regular form of ordination as prescribed by law; that is, the form of ordination, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and no other, prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, 2nd year of Elizabeth, chap. 2, with a solemn charge of obedience on all archbishops and bishops, as they will answer before God for their neglect. No other authority for alleging such deviation exists, so far as I am aware, except in the narratives which are about to be cited. It might be reasonably questioned, therefore, how far these narratives are worthy of credit, involving, as they will be found to do, the faithfulness of two bishops, in maintaining their sacred engagements to the Church.

Record of ordinations in the dioceses of Down and Connor, and of Raphoe. 1633.

We now proceed to the narratives, contained in the lives of Mr. Robert Blair, written by himself, and of Mr. Edward Brice, by Mr. John Livingston; and of which an abstract is given in "*An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Reformation to this present year* 1713."

Authorities for the following narrative.

Mr. Robert Blair, it seems, had been invited from Scotland, in 1623, by the Lord Claneboy, son of a Presbyterian minister in Scotland, to settle in

Mr. Robert Blair's free entry into the ministry. 1623.

the parish of Bangor, in the county of Down; but he declined the offer, because he "could not submit to the use of the English liturgy, nor to episcopal government." He was assured, however, that his lordship was "confident of procuring a free entry for him, which he quickly effectuated. So all my devices," he observes, "to obstruct a settlement there did evanish, and take no effect, the counsel of the Lord standing fast in all generations: yea, his wisdom overruled all this, both to procure me a free and safe entry to the holy ministry; and that, when after some years I met with trials for my non-conformity, neither patron nor prelate could say that I had broken any condition to them."

Mode of effectuating it.

The mode of "effectuating this free entry" to the holy ministry is thus related.

"The Viscount Claneboy, my noble patron, did, on my request, inform the bishop how opposite I was to episcopacy and their liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honourable terms. Yet, lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, and found him yielding beyond my expectation. The bishop said to me, 'I hear good of you, and will impose no conditions on you: I am old, and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance; only I must ordain you, else neither I nor you can answer the law nor brook the land.' I answered him, that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles: but he replied both wittily and submissively, 'Whatever you account of episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbytery to have divine warrant; will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham, and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation, than a presbyter?' This I could not refuse, and so the matter was performed."

Conference with the Bishop of Down and Connor.

Thus an avowed opponent of episcopacy and the English liturgy was, according to his own account, in

compliance with *his* "principles," and by an "old," a "yielding," and a "submissive" bishop, whose principles are left to conjecture, "easily and honourably" admitted to the ministry of an episcopal Church, with which the English liturgy was the exclusive rule of publick worship. The complacency and self-sufficiency of the narrative might provoke a smile, if it did not relate to so sacred a subject, and excite more grave and serious feelings. But leaving the style and tone to the reader's perception, I would offer two or three remarks on the fallacy, which distinguishes this whole alleged proceeding.

His supposed unconditional ordination.

The bishop "would impose no conditions" on Mr. Blair: and so "neither patron nor prelate could say that he had broken any condition to them."

Fallacy of the opinion.

But this is a perfect delusion. In conferring holy orders, a bishop is personally nothing: he has nothing whatever to say or to do about "conditions" on his own account. He is the trustee, the representative, the minister, the organ of the Church: in her name he acts; his course of proceeding is prescribed by her, and he has promised, and is pledged to, "faithfulness" in following it. Thus he is appointed by the Church to confer "episcopal ordination:" and in so doing he is to conduct himself "by lawful authority," and according to the form of ordination, which the Church has provided; he is to enforce on the candidate the duties which the Church requires, and to demand of him an acknowledgment of the conditions which the Church imposes; he is not to "come in among others in no other relation than as a presbyter" among presbyters, an equal among equals, but he is to come prominently forward, a bishop above presbyters, a superior above ministers of a lower order; he is not to see

A bishop is trustee for the Church.

the candidate "receive ordination" from others, but he is himself to ordain him. The bishop, who should err from this line, would betray his trust, compromise the Church's character, assume an unlawful power, break his promise, and forfeit his pledge of fidelity. Thus he would commit a grievous sin. And any person, who should seduce, or tempt, or encourage him to the commission, would be a partaker of the sin; nor could he, by the supposed absence of a condition imposed by the bishop, be held excused from observing the conditions, virtually and implicitly imposed by the Church. This general view is submitted to the reader, and with him is left the particular application.

Sinfulness of betraying his trust.

Case of Mr. Livingston. Silenced in Scotland for his opposition to prelacy.

The other case is that of Mr. John Livingston, who, "in consequence of his opposition to prelacy, was silenced by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1627; but still continued to preach in Scotland occasionally and by stealth, his settlement in any parish being constantly opposed by the bishops." He however likewise had an opening in Ireland; and his mode of procuring "a free entry into the ministry" is thus described by himself.

His admission to the ministry in Ireland, August, 1630.

"About August, 1630, I got letters from the Viscount Clanniboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchy: whither I went, and got an unanimous call from the parish. And because it was needful I should be ordained to the ministry, and the Bishop of Down, in whose diocese Killinchy was, being a corrupt, humorous," [or, for different editions read differently,] "timorous man, would require some engagement; therefore my Lord Clanniboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr. Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe: who, when I came and had delivered the letters from my Lord Clanniboy, and from the Earl of Wigton, and some others, that I had for that purpose brought out of Scotland, told me he knew my errand: that I came to him

Application to the Bishop of Raphoe.

because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies' according as Mr. Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices: that if I scrupled to call him 'my lord,' he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, was, that I would preach at Ramallen the first Sabbath; and that he would send for Mr. William Cunningham, and two or three other neighbouring ministers, to be present; who after sermon should give me imposition of hands. But, although they performed the work, he behoved to be present; and although he durst not answer it to the state, he gave me the Book of Ordination; and desired that anything I scrupled at, I should draw a line over it on the margin, and that Mr. Cunningham should not read it. But I found that it had been so marked by some others before, that I needed not mark anything: so the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond anything that I had thought, or almost ever desired."

His expedients for conferring holy orders.

Here, then, we have a ceremony, under the pretext of an episcopal ordination by the Church's authority, performed in the presence, indeed, but without the participation of the bishop, by inferior ministers; the service being read, so much of it, at least, as the candidate's "scruples" allowed to be read, by one of those ministers, and imposition of hands being given by him and the rest: a practice, as it appears, not unusually sanctioned by the feeble old man, of whom it is most charitable to believe that, if the narrative be true, he was at the time in his dotage. And this dereliction of the bishop's function, and this usurpation of it by inferiors, and this violation of the law, and this treachery and fraud upon the Church, is gravely attributed to the special pleasure, the signal interposition and agency of the Lord!

Pretended episcopal ordination.

These two cases have been set forth as examples

Similar ordination of other Presbyterians.

of a practice which was prevalent, so at least it was represented, among persons of a particular class. The same "compromise,"—I use the phrase employed by the author of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, to describe the transaction,—which has been detailed in the more notorious examples of Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingston, was the resort of their obscurer brethren. Such a grievous charge however, for a grievous charge indeed it is, ought not to be alleged, but on the most unexceptionable authority. I cite, therefore, the words of the historian of the *Loyalty of the Presbyterians*, when I repeat the charge, that "all those of the same persuasion who were ordained in Ireland between that time," the time, namely, of Mr. Blair's ordination in 1622, "and the year 1642, were ordained after the same method." "And all of them," adds my author, "(Blair and all the rest,) enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained Presbyterians still, and used not the Liturgy." (Part I. chap. iii. p. 162.)

Manner of their ministrations.

Let one word be added on the manner in which the persons thus admitted to the ministry obeyed the injunctions of the Church. One of the first acts of Mr. Blair was to rebuke his patron for kneeling at the Lord's supper, the practice of those godly ministers being to communicate in a sitting posture: and "in my congregation," says he, "we had both deacons for the poor and elders for discipline." And Mr. Livingston relates, "not only had we publick worship, free of any inventions of men, but we had also a tolerable discipline." In a word, their discipline and their mode of worship appear to have been Presbyterian. Was this according to the stipulation required by the Church in her Form of Ordination, that her ministers "will give all faithful

diligence to minister the discipline and the sacraments of Christ, as this Church hath received the same?" Or was this stipulation one which scrupulous consciences evaded by "drawing a line over it in the Ordination Book?"

Other ministers connected with them.

But there is, perhaps, little cause of astonishment that persons, who had thus procured admission into the Church, should afterwards, whilst they partook of her dignities and emoluments, and were nominally comprehended within her pale, have persevered in maintaining the peculiarities of discipline and worship, which marked those who were in avowed dissent and separation from her. With these others were connected, attached to the principles of nonconformity, and adopting, in some degree, its practices, especially where they could escape detection in the retirement of rural parishes, but conforming so far as seemed necessary to meet the requisitions of the diocesans, under whose superintendence they held their preferments.

Little disposed, however, as some of these prelates were to strain too tight the obligation to conformity, and inclined rather to regard such deviations with indulgence, and to treat them with unwarrantable laxity of discipline, the boldness and recklessness, with which the rules of the Church were set at nought, and the Presbyterian peculiarities pressed upon the people, called for a stronger exercise of authority even from the more lenient bishops, upon those lawless ministrations. Even Bishop Echlin, of Down and Connor, who had been guilty, or at least is under the imputation, of such criminal weakness in Mr. Robert Blair's case, was hereby taught a lesson of greater prudence and caution, and recalled to the practice of his duty: and it appears to have

Bishop Echlin recalled to his duty.

Cause of application to Bishop Knox.

been in consequence of his requiring what the Church enjoyed, a strict conformity to her provisions from candidates for the ministry, and of his refusing to admit those who would not pledge themselves to its observance, that Mr. John Livingston and some of his brethren in irregularity, had recourse to the Bishop of Raphoe for ordination.

Exercise of episcopal jurisdiction by Bishop Echlin. 1626.

Bishop Echlin indeed proceeded to exercise episcopal jurisdiction over some of those non-conforming ministers of the church: as is shown in a remarkable example in the year 1626, when he called upon Mr. Blair to preach at the Lord Primate's triennial visitation of the diocese. Primate Ussher was then absent in England; but the visitation was holden by his officials, two of whom were bishops. And the preacher took occasion to insult those episcopal representatives of the metropolitan, his own diocesan, and the assembled episcopal clergy, by a discourse, wherein, as he bears testimony himself,

Insult offered by Mr. Blair to the bishops and episcopal clergy.

"I endeavoured specially to show, that Christ our Lord had instituted no bishops, but presbyters, or ministers: and proved this first from the Holy Scriptures; next from the testimonies of the more pure among the ancient fathers and divines, that have been seeking reformation these thirteen hundred years; and lastly, from the testimonies of the more moderate divines, both over sea and in England: not forgetting to rank the learned Dr. Ussher, their primate, among the chief. And then I concluded with an exhortation to them, to use moderately that power, which custom and human laws had put in their hand. And indeed they took with the advice, without challenging my freedom. Only the Bishop of Dromore, who was brother-in-law to Dr. Ussher, exhorted me privately to behave as moderately towards them, as they had done to me, and then bade me farewell."

Bishop of Dromore's conduct on the occasion.

Theophilus Buckworth was at that time Bishop of Dromore.

Some time afterwards, in 1630, the bishop again called upon the same minister to preach an assize sermon before the lords justices, who came annually to the northern circuit. One of these, it seems, Sir Richard Beaton, the lord chief baron of the Exchequer, was "a violent urger of conformity to the English ceremonies:" and so the preacher most uncharitably represents the call, as "a more dangerous web, woven by the crafty bishop, the former snare being broken;" but he triumphantly subjoins, "the only wise Lord, to whom I had committed myself and my ministry, did break this snare also, and brought me off with comfort and credit."

Mr. Blair's sermon before the lords justices. 1630.

It is not a little remarkable with what arrogant self-sufficiency these irregular ministers habitually speak of their own proceedings, frequently attributing their irregularities and lawlessness to a special divine interposition; and how continually they ascribe to the worst motives the conduct of the bishops and other friends of the Church, who acted agreeably to their principles and engagements as episcopalians. Episcopacy, and everything connected with it, appeared in their eyes, and is represented in their writings as a sort of spiritual leprosy; and even their most favoured Ussher could obtain from Mr. Livingston no better character than that of being "a godly man, although a bishop." No wonder, then, that when this person and Mr. Blair had availed themselves of their ministerial character in 1631, for encouraging by their presence and participation certain irregular proceedings in Scotland, and their diocesan, the Bishop of Down and Connor, had in consequence suspended them from the tem-

Language of the Presbyterian ministers in describing these occurrences.

Messrs Livingston and Blair suspended for irregularity.

porary exercise of their ministerial functions, he is stated by one of the delinquents to have been urged to it "by the means of one Mr. Henry Leslie, dean, and afterwards bishop, of Down, a violent and vainglorious man; and of Mr. John Maxwell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was gaping for a bishoprick."

Mr. Blair seeks relief from the Lord Primate.

On this occasion Mr. Blair sought relief from the interference of the Lord Primate, to whom it seems that he had been made known by Lord Claneboy, but whose courteous invitation to his table he had excused himself from accepting, because he had "once met with the English Liturgy there, and he expected other things than formal liturgies in the family of so learned and pious a man." It seems, also, that on some previous occasion the primate had "tried Mr. Blair's mind concerning ceremonies, wherein," he says, "we were not so far from agreeing as I feared. But when I had freely opened my grievances, he admitted that all these things ought to have been removed, but the constitution and laws of the place and time would not permit that to be done. He added, that he was afraid our strong disaffection to these would mar our ministry; that he had himself been importuned to stretch forth his hand against us; and that, though he would not for the world do that, he feared instruments would be found who would do it; and he added, that it would break his heart if our successful ministry in the north were interrupted. Our conference ending, he dismissed me very kindly, though I gave him no high titles; and, when trouble came upon us, he proved our very good friend."

His statement of the primate's opinions.

Doubts suggested by this narrative.

Such an admission concerning the provisions of the Church, and such patronage and commendation

of men, who were schismaticks from her communion, and avowedly hostile to her polity and laws, were surely not agreeable to one in the primate's station of dignity and trust; so that in perusing this narrative, the mind of the reader, if it does not repudiate the account at once and altogether, will probably fluctuate between doubts of the accuracy of the narrator, and misgivings as to the discretion and wisdom, not to say the integrity, of the distinguished subject of the recital. But, however this be, the friendship of the primate is stated by Mr. Blair to have been experienced on occasion of the suspension of himself and his companion: for Archbishop Ussher wrote to Bishop Echlin in terms which, if correctly reported, combined a vindication of these irregular ministers with a stricture on the judgment of their diocesan, for he required Bishop Echlin to "relax his erroneous censure."

Primate's interference in their favour.

They were less successful, however, in a case which soon after occurred, in 1632, when the bishop cited the same two offenders before him, and urged them, with two others of their sect, "to conform, and give their subscription to that effect. We answered, that there was then no law nor canon in that kingdom requiring this. Notwithstanding he had the cruelty to depose us all four from the office of the holy ministry:" an office, be it observed, to which they had been admitted upon their promise to the Church, if not expressly given, yet positively due and substantially pledged, of conformity to her laws, and from which promise no authority, but that of the Church herself, had power to exempt them.

Afterwards suspended for nonconformity.

Application, however, was now again made in their behalf to the primate. "But he told us," says Mr. Blair, "he could not interpose, because the

Ineffectual appeal to the primate.

lords justices had an order from the king respecting us. And, when we had recourse to their lordships, they remitted us to the king, from whom only remedy could be had." The interference, therefore, of his majesty was in consequence solicited: but the bishop's sentence of deposition was not removed, and for that time, at least, the non-conforming ministers were silenced.

SECTION IV.

Increase of Popery in Ireland. Bishop Bedell's plan for converting the Natives. Sentiments of the Government on the subject. Qualification of Age for Bishopricks. Bramhall made Bishop of Derry. Commission for repair of Churches. Lord Wentworth's exhibition of the state of the Church. Archbishop Laud's answer. Settlement of question of precedence between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin.

Increase of Popery.

WHILST these efforts were making by the Protestant non-conformists, there was a general increase of Popery throughout the kingdom; even in some parts which had been most conspicuous for attachment to the Church.

Letter to Lord Deputy from Mr. Justice Cressy. August, 1633.

"I find," says Mr. Justice Cressy, in a letter to the Lord Deputy, dated Wexford, August the 15th, 1633, "that this country, which doth contain the most ancient English plantators, who were lately the most forward professors of the Reformed Christian religion in the kingdom, by the pernicious confluence of priests, who here have raised amongst them a Romish hierarchy of bishops, commissaries, vicars-general, and other officials, to the overthrowing of the royal power, and to the establishing of a foreign state and jurisdiction in all causes ecclesiastical, are now in a sort become principally Romish and Popish; and so, as themselves confess, do even groan under the burden,

Romish hierarchy in Wexford.

I mean the secular and common people. Now, my lord, this being directly against the laws established, not invading only, but even abrogating, his majesty's princely government over them of his states of this kingdom of Ireland, I held myself bound, not only by my oath as a judge, and as a servant to the king, but even by my allegiance, to oppose this with all the force and strength that my place could afford; and therefore in my charge upon the jury, did declare unto them the quality and fearful consequences thereof; and, as far as I could, did endeavour to anticipate and prevent the policy of their priest's absolutions from perjury and wilful breach of their oaths: but, I fear, all in vain; for they are all recusants, not one Protestant among them[1]."

Its illegality exposed by the judge.

Such is the testimony to the increase of Popery in a particular district, borne by a layman of high legal station, who appears to have incurred, for the discharge of his duty, the risk of assassination, of a plot for effecting which he was kindly warned by a friend. Testimony to its general increase is thus borne by Bishop Bedell, who, in a letter to the Lord Deputy, significantly bearing date, "the day of our joyful deliverance from the Popish Powder Plot, 1633," affirms his knowledge,

General increase of Popery.

Bishop Bedell's letter. 1633.

"That, in this kingdom of his majesty, the Pope hath another kingdom far greater in number, and (as I have heretofore signified to the lords justices and council, which is also since justified by themselves in print,) constantly guided and directed by the orders of the new congregations 'de propagandâ fide,' lately erected at Rome, and by the means of the Pope's nuncios residing at Brussels or Paris: that the Pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us, the hands whereof are by corporal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities 'contra omnem hominem,' and to execute his mandates to their utmost forces; which accordingly they

Pope's kingdom greater than the king's.

[1] *Strafford Letters*, i. 103.

do, styling themselves in print, 'Ego, N. Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratiâ, Episcopus Fernen, Ossorien, &c.'

Irregular regulars.

"I know that there is in this kingdom, for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in better ranks than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Sorbonne is fain to be employed to curb them, which yet is called in again, so tender is the Pope of these his own creatures.

Popish college in Dublin.

"I know that his holiness hath erected a new university at Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and to breed up the youth of this kingdom to his devotion.

New friaries.

"I know, and have given advertisements to the state, that these regulars dare erect new friaries in the country, since the dissolving of these in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness, as that they care not to learn the Ten Commandments, as God himself spake and writ them, but flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitions, and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of, and at these they levy collections, three, four, five, and six pounds, at a sermon.

Oath of allegiance decreed to be not lawful.

"Shortly I know, that this clergy and these regulars have at a general meeting, like to a synod. as they themselves style it, holden at Drogheda, decreed that it is not lawful to take the oath of allegiance; and, if they be constant to their own learning, do account his majesty in their own hearts to be king, but at the Pope's discretion[2]."

Purpose of Bishop Bedell's statement.

This statement of the Bishop of Kilmore was made for the purpose of refuting an accusation, that he had opposed the service of his majesty, by objecting to the maintenance and upholding of the army. He therefore introduces his statement with the preface, "If I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majesty, but that of the Highest Majesty, and to

[2] *Strafford Letters*, i. 147.

expose with the publick peace mine own neck to the scaines of the Romish cut-throats:" and he concludes it with the inference, "In this estate of this kingdom, to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, it should be thought, not of a brainsick, but a brainless man."

His mode of proceeding with the Papists.

But whilst with this persuasion, founded on experience and careful inquiry, of the Popish interest then in Ireland, and of the numbers, the tempers, and the principles of the Papists, he was convinced of the necessity of a strong military force for their repression, it was not by any compulsory measures that Bishop Bedell aimed at their conversion. His endeavours for that end were prosecuted throughout his episcopal life, and were of the gentlest, and most conciliatory, and most persuasive kind. And opportunity may be taken of the foregoing representation of the state of Popery at a particular period, for drawing the reader's attention to the bishop's modes of proceeding, which may be found more fully detailed in Bishop Burnet's life of him.

Conversion of the Popish priests.

He lamented to observe, that the native Irish were little regarded by the clergy of the church, but were left almost entirely in the hands of their own priests. He was aware also of the extreme ignorance of these priests, most of whom could only read their offices without understanding them, and could teach them no more than to recite their "Paters and Aves" in Latin. He therefore determined to attempt the conversion of the natives. The quickest way appeared to be the gaining of some of the better informed of the Romish priesthood: and thence the hope was entertained of spreading amongst the native Irish the knowledge of the

Reformed religion, or, to speak more strictly, of Christianity itself: for of Christianity they had no other notion, except what consisted in giving their entire confidence, and confessing their sins, and paying their tythes, to their priests. He therefore persuaded several priests to change their religious profession; and, being satisfied of the truth of their conversion, provided some with ecclesiastical benefices. Near him, also, was a convent of friars, on which he bestowed much care in instructing them, and with good success.

Religious publications in English and Irish.

And, in order to furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he reduced the elements and most necessary truths of Christian knowledge into a short catechism; which he printed, together with some forms of prayer, and some instructive and edifying passages of Holy Scripture, on a sheet, one page of which was English, and the other Irish, and circulated it through the diocese, where the Irish joyfully received it. By his directions, also, the Common Prayer Book was read in Irish in his cathedral, for the benefit of his converts; and all his clergy were encouraged in setting-up parish schools.

Irish Liturgy in his cathedral.

Besides, the New Testament, and the Book of Common Prayer, having been already translated into Irish, he determined on placing in the hands of the natives the Old Testament also in the same language. And he procured a person qualified for the work; and, having made himself acquainted with the language, he employed his diligence in revising and correcting the translation, and in a few years finished it, and engaged for and set out the business of having it printed, when, by the breaking out of the Rebellion, he was interrupted before the accomplishment of this great design.

Translation of the Old Testament.

Of the attempts thus made by Bishop Bedell for the religious improvement of his diocese, similar examples have, for the most part, already fallen under our notice. The peculiar merit of his attempts appears to have been, that they were instituted on a more methodical system, and conducted on a more comprehensive scale, than those which preceded; and they have had the advantage of being recorded and set forth at length by the pen of a biographer, who to favourable opportunities of procuring intelligence added a zealous disposition in detailing it. What would have been the result of this experiment, if it had not been thus interrupted: whether it would have succeeded to any considerable extent in the diocese of Kilmore, under the patronage of its exemplary bishop; whether it would have been thus recommended to the adoption of other dioceses, and thus ultimately have been the instrument in God's hand for propagating a holier faith throughout the kingdom, if full time and opportunity had been allowed for its trial: or whether, on the other hand, as in the case of Price, bishop of Kildare, and archbishop of Cashel, at a somewhat later period, who "was very diligent and laborious in reclaiming the Papists to the communion of the Church, and for that end maintained many Irish clergymen to preach to them in their country language[3]," the praiseworthy experiment would have been defeated by the restless activity and persevering efforts of the Popish priests to counteract the design: may, after all, be matter of speculation, and probably the occasion of a variety of opinions in the speculators. But, in any result, history owes its tribute of respectful and honourable notice to the calm solicitude, the dispas-

Previous examples of similar attempts.

Their problematical success.

Credit due to Bishop Bedell for the attempt.

[3] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 487.

sionate meditation, the unwearied energy, and the Christian piety and benevolence of the venerable prelate who conceived, and, to the extent of his abilities, prosecuted and effected his design.

Principle of the Government as to religious unity.

Meanwhile it should be noticed, that this plan of religious reformation appears not to have been approved by the Government; certainly it was not countenanced by Lord Wentworth during his vice-royalty, the principle of whose administration was, to enforce religious unity by Church discipline, and to invigorate Church discipline with the secular arm. It was in those days, indeed, the prevailing and general opinion, that for suppressing vice and profaneness, for counteracting schism and sacrilege, the dishonour and bane of the Reformation, as well as for extirpating the earlier evils from which the Reformation sprang; the most effectual, if not the only expedient, was to allow the Church the free exercise of that spiritual power, which she derives from Christ only, and to render it significant and operative by civil penalties.

Bishop Vesey's account of Lord Wentworth's errand.

"This," says Archbishop Vesey, the biographer of Bishop Bramhall, "was indeed a great part of the Lord Deputy's errand into this kingdom. The policy of that age was to make the monarchy strong and redoubtable to its neighbours; and the Protestant religion healthy and long-lived, by an entire union of all his majesty's subjects in the same confession and worship: and he knew all men are not to be preached and disputed, but to be governed, into virtue and piety, peace and unity; and, but that those endeavours were unhappily misunderstood, we should not have had reason to complain of that valetudinary state which the Church now labours under."

Tyranny of Irish priests.

In the present age such policy will be deemed an infringement of personal privileges; but thus much may be observed, that surely no obligations

or restraints of the most compulsory and penal statutes could equal the tyranny exercised by Popish priests over their subjects; binding their wills as with a cart-rope, and searing their consciences with a hot iron.

Archbishop Laud's letter to the Lord Deputy. Oct., 1633.

In a letter from Archbishop Laud to the Lord Deputy, dated Lambeth, Oct. 14, 1633, the following remarks occur about the manner proposed for supplying vacancies in the Irish Episcopate.

"I heartily thank your lordship for the inclosed paper that you sent me, though you might have spared the pains; for I was never jealous that you would do anything against the good of the Church, or such intentions as I have towards it. For I am most confident (and I protest my heart and pen go together) that since the Reformation there was never any deputy in that kingdom intended the good of the Church so much as your lordship doth. And I hope you are as resolute in your thoughts for me, that, since I was the first man that humbly besought his majesty to send of his chaplains to be bishops in that kingdom, I shall not now recede from it, unless it be at some times, and on some particular occasions, when I may receive information from your lordship of some very able and discerning men on that side.

Lord Wentworth's care for the Church.

The king's chaplains.

"Concerning the age of such as should be made bishops in those parts, I see your lordship and I shall not differ much; for I did never intend, may I have free use of my own judgment, to send you any decrepid man amongst you. For I very well know, that in places where less action is necessary than in Ireland, a man may be as well too old as too young for a bishoprick. Your lordship would not have any there under thirty-five, nor above forty-five. And, truly, my lord, I am in the middle way, and that useth to be best; for I would have no man a bishop anywhere under forty. And if your lordship understood clergymen as well as I do, I know you would in this be wholly of my judgment. I never in all my life knew any more than one

Fit age for the episcopacy.

made a bishop before forty; and he proved so well, that I shall never desire to see more, nor will, if I can hinder it; but this way that I have expressed, have with you for all occasions, both for Church and State. And, if at any time I send you any of my acquaintance, and break rule of age, life, or doctrine, lay it upon me home[4]."

Bramhall made Bishop of Derry. 1634.

It is not a little remarkable, that the first vacancy, which occurred amongst the Irish bishops, caused a deviation from the rule thus formally announced. But it so happened, that precisely seven months after the date of the preceding, on the 14th of May, 1634, the archbishop wrote thus to the Lord Deputy: "Now, my lord, to your great business. Since the Bishop of Derry is dead, I have (though against the rule which I have lodged with his majesty) moved earnestly for Dr. Bramhall to succeed him; and given him the reasons why, for his own service, and the good of the Church in that kingdom, he should dispense in this particular for the doctor's being a little too young. His majesty, after some arguing on the business, and with great testimony of your lordship's good service to himself and the Church, granted him the bishoprick, as you will see by the letters which accompany these. This I have readily done to serve you, with some departure from my own judgment in matter of age, hoping the doctor will supply it with temper; and then he hath the more strength for his business, which he says he will not, and I say he must not, leave, till that Church be better settled; which I dare say must be now, when a king, a lord deputy, and a poor archbishop, set jointly to it, or never." Bramhall's biographers relate him to have been born in or about the year 1593; in which case, at the time in question, he

On Archbishop Laud's recommendation.

Observations on his age.

[4] *Strafford Letters*, i. 124.

must have been hard upon, if not rather more than, forty years of age; beyond the limit, therefore, which the archbishop had defined for the episcopal qualification.

Objection to Irish bishops holding *commendams* in England.

The case gave occasion for another important general observation from Archbishop Laud: "What Dr. Bramhall holds in England, he must leave: that bishoprick, being good, needs no *commendam;* if it did, it must be helped there. For I foresee marvellous great inconvenience, and very little less than mischief, if way be given to bishops there to hold *commendams* here[5]."

Commissions for repair of churches. Dec., 1633.

In the interval between the dates of the two letters, just cited, a communication of December, 1633, from the Lord Deputy, informs the Archbishop of Canterbury, "Commissions for repair of churches are issued over the whole kingdom, and all the life shall be given to it that possibly I can: and yet it may be, some hot-heated prelate may think, there is no good intent to religion. But I must answer him, that his brain-sick zeal would work a goodly Reformation surely, to force a conformity to a religion, whereas yet there is hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach the people. No, no, let us fit ourselves in these two."

Lord Deputy's letter to Archbishop Laud on the state of the Church Jan., 1634.

The Lord Deputy had evidently turned to the best account the time and opportunity, afforded him for investigating the state of the Church, since his arrival in Ireland. About this time, he threw together the particulars of the information he had collected, and transmitted it to Archbishop Laud, in a letter of January 31, 1634; which it is hardly

[5] *Strafford Letters*, i. 255.

possible to peruse without feelings of disappointment and astonishment, as well as of pain and sorrow.

"May it please your Grace,

Desire of religious conformity between England and Ireland.

"The reducing of this kingdom to a conformity in religion with the Church of England is no doubt deeply set in his majesty's pious and prudent heart, as well in perfect zeal to the service of the Almighty, as out of other weighty reasons of state and government.

Propositions for improving the Church of Ireland.

"But to attempt it before the decays of the material churches be repaired, and an able clergy be provided, that so there might be both, wherewith to receive, instruct, and keep the people, were as a man going to warfare without munition or arms. It being, therefore, most certain, that this to-be-wished Reformation must first work from ourselves, I am bold to transmit over to your grace these few propositions, for the better ordering this poor Church, which hath thus long laid in the silent dark: and thereupon crave your counsel, that I may understand what his majesty will be pleased to ordain further herein.

Distempered state of the Church.

"The best entrance to the cure will be clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered: an unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any ways reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage-houses utterly ruined; the people untaught, through the non-residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by *commendams;* the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in the course of their service; the possessions of the Church, to a great proportion, in lay-hands; the bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers; farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons; the Popish titulars exercising the whilst a foreign jurisdiction much greater than theirs.

Places of education ill-conducted.

"The schools, which might be a means to season the youth in virtue and religion, either ill-provided, ill-governed in the most part, or, which is worse, applied sometimes

underhand to the maintenance of Popish school-masters; lands, given to these charitable uses, and that in a bountiful proportion, especially by King James of ever blessed memory, dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing, concealed contrary to all conscience, and the excellent purposes of the founders. The college here, which should be the seminary of arts and civility in the elder sort, extremely out of order, partly by means of their statutes which must be amended, and partly under the government of a weak provost.

Abuse of publick charitics.

"All the monies, raised for charitable uses, converted to private benefits; many patronages unjustly, and by practice, gotten from the crown.

Neglect of first-fruits.

"Many of the Church livings never so much as once mentioned in the office of first-fruits; whereby the crown doth not only lose what belongs unto it, but the Church a protection and safety, which ever follows it, where her interests and the interests of the crown are thus woven together.

Families of the clergy Popish recusants.

"Here are divers of the clergy, whose wives and children are recusants: and there I observe the Church goes most lamentably to wreck, and hath suffered extremely under the wicked alienations of this sort of pastors, wherein I could already give many instances. Therefore, I judge it fit this should be inquired after, and themselves avoided and deprived, if by any legal means it can possibly be effected.

Private christenings and marriages.

"They are accustomed here to have all their christenings and marriages in their private houses; and, which is odd, they never marry till after supper, and so to bed. This breeds a great mischief in the commonwealth, which is seen in this; that, because these rites of the Church are not solemnized in the publick and open assemblies, there is nothing so common as for a man to deny his wife and children, abandon the former, and betake himself to a new task. I conceive it were fit, that these particulars should be reduced to the custom of England, which is, not only much better for the publick, but the more civil and comely. And, indeed, I hold it most needful, your lordship would take a course, that all the canons, now in force in England,

Adoption of the English canons recommended.

should be imposed upon this clergy; and the Church altogether governed under those rules for the future, for as yet they have no canons set by publick authority at all.

Use of a high commission in Dublin.

"And, finally, I hold it very fit, there were a high commission settled here in Dublin, conceiving the use of it might be very great, to countenance the despised state of the clergy; to support ecclesiastical courts and officers, much suffering by means of the overgrowth of Popery in this kingdom; to restrain the extreme extortions of officials, registers, and such like; to annul all foreign jurisdiction, which daily grows more insolent than other; to punish the abominable polygamies, incests, and adulteries, which, both in respect of the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and for the fore-mentioned reasons, are here too, too frequent; to provide for the maintenance of the clergy, and for their residence, either by themselves or able curates; to take an account, how monies given to pious uses are bestowed; to bring the people here to a conformity in religion; and, in the way to all these, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the crown. But then I could wish, there be good choice had in naming of commissioners; and that it be not set on foot, till we see what may become of a parliament, in case his majesty shall hold it fit to assemble that council[6]."

Archbishop Laud's answer. March, 1634.

On the 11th of March following, the archbishop answered the Lord Deputy, in part to this effect.

"The anatomy, which you make of the Irish ecclesiastical disease, makes it apparent, that it is spread so universally over the body, that a very wise physician can scarce tell where to begin his cure. But if you would have my foolish judgment, thus it is.

Repair both of the material and spiritual Church recommended.

"I would set upon the repair of the material and the spiritual Church together; and first I would have a general and strict command issued out, that every minister should read all divine service wholly and distinctly, in a grave and religious manner, to the people; and this I take it may be presently done without any noise, because they have the English liturgy already. And at the same time would I have an act made, that no man of what degree soever

[6] *Strafford Letters*, i. 187, 188.

should hold above two benefices with cure, and those within a limited distance, that they may the better take care of them. If these two were once settled, the rest would follow in order, especially if your lordship can reduce some more of their temporalties for maintenance; and keep them, especially the bishops, from their sacrilegious alienations, about which you are in a very good way, and his majesty commands me to thank you for that care.

Remedy concerning schools.

"For the schools, if your lordship will remedy anything, you must take the same way for restoring their temporalties, without which reward no man will take pains; and there are not many men, which deserve better or worse of a state than schoolmasters. And where abuses are grown so many and great, I do not see any Reformation possible, without some severity. Therefore, if your lordship will rectify this, you must turn out the insufficient, and especially those, which train up the youth in Popery.

Remedy, as to publick charities.

"For the third thing your lordship mentions, I conceive the remedy is more easy: for there you have nothing to do, but to turn the money, given to charitable uses, to the use intended by the donor; to reduce such patronages, as are unjustly gotten from the crown; and to enter into the first-fruit office all such benefices as are not there already, and yet are valuable in that account: which I mention so, because with us in England no benefice pays any subsidy, which is not above 6*l.* value in the king's books.

Archbishop objects to be Chancellor of the college.

"As for the college, I am very sorry they have chosen me chancellor; and, if they will follow the directions I have given them by my Lord Primate, I hope they will send me a resignation, that I may give it over, and your lordship be chosen, being upon the place, and able to do them much more good. As for their statutes, if they need any mending, I shall not refuse that pains: but, before I can enter upon that service, if they have a confirmation of their statutes under the broad seal of that kingdom, or this, I must have a commission under the same seal, to authorize me to alter or do what I think fit with them; else I may not meddle. If this shall be thought fit, I will presently send for a copy of their statutes, and such exceptions, as the wisest men in that society can make against

Its statutes to be altered.

The provost to be changed.

them, and so proceed. For the provost, if he be a weak one, the fault is not mine: for, when the Bishop of Kilmore was preferred from that government, I was resolved to make the Dean of Cashel, that now is, his successor; and though my Lord Primate writ very earnestly for a native and his kinsman, that now is provost. *with assurance of his sufficiency;* and though two of the fellows came over and petitioned his majesty; yet all this should hardly have taken me off, had not the Dean of Cashel at that time absolutely refused me: and, if now your lordship think him as fit for the place as I do, I will join with you for the preferring of the present provost; and, to be revenged of his former refusal, put in the Dean of Cashel, alway provided, that for his better encouragement, he may hold his deanery[7]."

New body of statutes for the university.

Some of the foregoing topicks will fall again under our notice hereafter. For the present, it may be stated with respect to the last paragraph of Archbishop Laud's answer, that the statutes of the university having been referred to his consideration, he drew up a body of laws for the university of Dublin, as he had already done for that of Oxford, and procured the royal authority for their establishment: and with respect to the provostship, that the Dean of Cashel, William Chappel, afterwards promoted to the united bishopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, was, in the year following the date of this correspondence, placed at the head of the academical body, on the removal of Robert Ussher, son of the former Primate of that name, and cousin of the actual Primate, to the See of Kildare. The removal of Ussher to this superior station in the Church may be judged not unmerited, if he has been correctly reported by his biographer, "as a prelate orthodox, unblameable, learned, of a meek, modest, conscientious, and gentle behaviour; constant and assiduous

Robert Ussher made Bishop of Kildare.

[7] *Strafford Letters*, i. 212.

as a preacher, and eminent for his abilities in the pulpit[8]:" although he may have been deficient in "the vigour and activity," for which his successor in the provostship was conspicuous, and "which he showed in enforcing uniformity and strict Church discipline in the college, in opposition to the schism and fanaticism of the times; in his eminent knowledge of the science of government, and his exact temper in the administration of it, which appeared in the mildness and regularity of his management of the society, and in the perfect obedience of the scholars to the rules and statutes of the house[9]."

William Chappel, his successor as provost.

Here also it may be convenient to mention, as resulting from this correspondence, that a high commission court was at no distant period established in Dublin, after the pattern of that in London, and possessed of similar powers, the principal of which are specified in the concluding paragraph of the Lord Deputy's letter to the archbishop. But the appointment of this court was suspended, according to the intention there indicated, until after the meeting of the parliament at that time in contemplation.

High commission court.

In the mean time, it was determined to hold a parliament, and withal a convocation of the clergy: and as a preliminary, to settle the question concerning the precedence of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, which had not been agitated since the reign of Queen Mary, who restored to Archbishop Dowdall the primacy, of which he had been deprived by King Edward. Recently it had been again revived by the Archbishops of Dublin, first by Thomas Jones, and then by Lancelot Bulkeley; the

Question of precedence between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin.

[8] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 392. [9] *Ib.*, p. 567.

latter of whom, soon after his consecration, took up the controversy with Primate Hampton, and now again resumed it with Primate Ussher. The ground, on which he rested his claim, was the presumption, that "a Protestant king and council would confirm the patent, granted by a Protestant king to his predecessor, Archbishop Browne, and abolish that of a Popish queen to Primate Dowdall."

Rights of his see maintained by Archbishop Hampton.

Against each of these claimants in succession, Archbishop Hampton maintained the rights of his see to precedence, both in parliament and in convocation. Among the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, are extant in his own hand-writing all the proofs which he drew on this occasion, and which he thus concludes: "I am weary, and a little ashamed, of spending so much time in matters merely formal. The Archbishop of Dublin hath compelled me. He challengeth that which is not due to him. I defend the long-continued right of my see. My defence is necessary: his challenges and encroachments are superfluous, and more than needed."

By order of the king, 1626.

The death of Primate Hampton caused at that time the suspension of the dispute. But, on its resumption against Ussher, King Charles the First, on the 8th of July, 1626, directed letters to the Lord Deputy, Viscount Falkland, and the privy council, to examine into and finally determine the difference, that the scandal, arising from such an unseemly contention between prelates, might be avoided. But nothing was done in execution of this command until June, 1634, a little before the meeting of parliament: when the Lord Deputy, Viscount Wentworth, summoned the two archbishops before the council board, and during two successive days narrowly examined into the differ-

The claims examined by Lord Wentworth, June, 1634.

ences; viewed the records; and heard all the allegations on either side[10].

He then declared, "that it appeared from divers evidences, that from all antiquity the See of Armagh had been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom; and the archbishop thereof reputed, not a provincial primate, like the other three metropolitans, but a national; that is, the sole Primate of Ireland, properly so called. That in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Dublin did constantly subscribe after the Archbishop of Armagh. That in the statute for free-schools, in the 12th of Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Armagh is nominated before the Archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the 27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the Parliament Rolls. For which reasons he decreed, that the Archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, should have precedency, and be ranked before the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings; and in all commissions, where they should be mentioned; and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin, as elsewhere; until upon better proof, on the part of the Archbishop of Dublin, it should be adjudged otherwise." And thus was finally concluded this dispute, which had from time to time perplexed and disturbed both Church and State for many hundred years.

His decision in favour of Armagh.

It may be here incidentally noticed, that the same dispute having been perpetuated between the two titular archbishops, as late as the year 1670, the question was referred to the See of Rome; when the

[10] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 79.

matter was solemnly considered, in a full meeting of Cardinals; and the congregation *de propagandâ fide*, with the approbation of the Pope, decided, that "Armagh was the chief see and metropolis of the whole island[11]."

SECTION V.

Acts of Parliament for improving the Temporal Estates of the Church. Convocation. Petition to the King in behalf of the inferior Clergy. Proposed adoption of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. Difficulty of carrying it, surmounted by the Lord Deputy. Conduct of Primate Ussher. Proceedings in Convocation. Canon for manifestation of Agreement between the two Churches. Effect on the former Articles of the Irish Church. Subscription to them abandoned. Proposal to adopt the English Canons. Composition of a new Book committed to Bishop Bramhall. Wherein differing from English Book. Omissions. Additions. Publication of the Canons. Congratulatory Letter of Archbishop Laud.

Parliament and Convocation, July, 1635.

ON the 14th of July, 1635, a Parliament met, and also a Convocation of the Clergy.

Acts for improving the temporal estates of the Church.

In this Parliament several acts were passed for improving the temporal estates of the Church, more, it has been said, than in any other parliament. The first was for the maintenance and execution of pious uses; obliging all archbishops and bishops to perform every such trust, according to the true intent of the deeds, in that behalf made or to be made. The next was a statute for confirmation of leases, made by the Lord Primate and other prelates of Ulster, of such endowments as had been granted by King James to the sees of Armagh, Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, and Kilmore; giving them power, at any

[11] STUART'S *Armagh*, p. 365.

time within five years, to make leases for sixty years of such lands.

In another session of this parliament, a third and very important act was passed for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the Church and persons ecclesiastical. This limited them to term and rent; prescribed what they might set, for what and how long; and was the great security of succession. Also in the same adjourned session another act was passed for the benefit of the inferior clergy; enabling restitution of impropriations, and tythes, and other rights ecclesiastical to the clergy, with a restraint from alienating the same, and directions for the presentations to churches[1].

Convocation.

Meanwhile business was transacting in the convocation, affecting both the temporalties and spiritualties of the Church.

Petition of the prelates to the king.

With respect to the former, the archbishops and bishops, in behalf of the inferior clergy, agreed on the following humble petition to the king. It set forth,

Distress of the inferior clergy.

"That in the whole Christian world, the rural clergy have not been reduced to such extreme contempt and beggary as in this your highness's kingdom, by the means of the frequent appropriations, commendams, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights in times of confusion; having their churches ruined, their habitations left desolate, their tythes detained, their glebes concealed, and, by inevitable consequence, an invincible necessity of a general non-residence imposed upon them, whereby the ordinary subject has been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their prince, civility

[1] Irish Stat., 10 Charles I., sess. iii., chap. 1 & 5; and 10 & 11 Charles I., chap. 2 & 3.

towards one another, and whereby former wars and insurrections have been occasionally both procreated and maintained. Whereas by settling a rural clergy, endowed with competency to serve God at his altar, besides the general protection of the Almighty, which it will most surely bring upon your majesty and this kingdom, barbarism and superstition will be expelled, the subject shall learn his duty to God and his sovereign, and true religion be propagated.

Prayer for the appropriations.

"Our most humble suit is, that your highness would be graciously pleased, for God's cause and for his Church's cause, and for the encouragement of others by your royal example, to so good a work, to perfect the pious intentions of your blessed Father, and your sacred majesty, by establishing upon a rural and resident clergy, those appropriations which are yet in the crown undisposed. So as the same may bring no diminution to your revenue, nor considerable prejudice to the rights of the imperial crown of this realm, as by a representation of the true state of these benefices made to the Lord Deputy, and hereunto annexed, may appear[2]."

Spiritual matters.

The convocation was, at the same time, actively engaged in questions affecting the spiritual condition of the Church.

General conformity of the two Churches.

The two Churches of England and Ireland were actuated by the same spirit, and presented, in a great degree, the same appearance as to their religious provisions; for indeed the reformation of the latter had followed the direction of the former. But in the construction of their respective Articles of Religion, the Church of Ireland had declined the example of the sister church; and, in particular, had defined certain speculative questions which had been in England, more wisely, perhaps, and tenderly, left undetermined. By many sincere and zealous friends

[2] Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 763.

of both churches, this absence of perfect unity was lamented, and an entire harmony of profession desired. The course to be pursued was the adoption by the Irish Church of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. This measure was strongly recommended by Bishop Bramhall: it was cordially encouraged by the English and Irish Governments: it received the concurrence, if not the zealous co-operation, of the Lord Primate: and to procure the general consent of the bishops and clergy, and so to establish a perfect and unequivocal identity in the profession of Christian doctrine, was a principal object of the present convocation.

Proposed adoption of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

The chief, if not the only, difficulty, which attended the measure, seems to have arisen out of the different body of Articles which the Church of Ireland had agreed upon in 1615. The history of the proceedings taken for accomplishing the measure, as deduced from the correspondence between the two governments, is extremely curious; and derived, as it is, from such a source, cannot but be authentick.

Difficulty presented by the Irish Articles of 1615.

The subject must have been discussed in earlier letters, which do not appear; for in one from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy, dated October 20, 1634, manifest reference is made to a former communication, to which this is an answer. "I knew how you would find my Lord Primate affected to the Articles of Ireland; but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there, without advertising of it over to us. And whereas you propose to have the Articles of England received in *ipsissimis verbis*, and leave the other as no way concerned, neither affirmed nor denied, you are certainly in the right; and so says the king, to

Letter to the Lord Deputy from Archbishop Laud, Oct., 1634.

Course with respect to them.

whom I imparted it, as well as I. Go, hold close, and you will do a great service in it[3]."

Letter from the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop. Dec. 1634.

But in a letter of December the 16th, 1634, the whole business is more fully opened to the Archbishop by the Lord Deputy, who expresses his desire of "certifying to his grace how all hath gone with us in the convocation-house."

Suggestion of the Primate.

"In a former letter of mine," remarks Lord Wentworth, "I mentioned a way propounded by my Lord Primate, how to bring upon this clergy the Articles of England, and silence those of Ireland without noise, as it were *aliud agens*, which he was confident would pass among them.

Lord Deputy's alarm.

"In my last I related to you how his grace grew fearful he should not be able to effect it; which awakened me, that had rested hitherto secure upon that judgment of his, and had indeed leaned upon that belief so long as, had I not bestirred myself, though I say it, like a man, I had been fatally surprised, to my extreme grief, for as many days as I have to live.

His previous security.

"The Popish party growing extreme perverse in the Commons House, and the Parliament thereby in great danger to have been lost in a storm, had so taken up all my thoughts and endeavours, that, for five or six days, it was not almost possible for me to take an accompt how business went among them of the clergy. Besides I reposed secure upon the Primate, who all this while said not a word to me of the matter. At length I got a little time, and that most happily too; informed myself of the state of those affairs; and found that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the Canons of the Church of England; that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops; that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum;* that into the fifth article they had brought the Articles of Ireland, to be allowed and received under the pain of excom-

Artifice of the lower house of convocation.

[3] *Strafford Letters*, i. 329.

munication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the convocation."

Lord Deputy's interview with the chairman of the committee.

Highly displeased at this contrivance, the Lord Deputy, as he goes on to relate, sent for the chairman of the committee, requiring him to bring the Book of Canons, so noted in the margin, together with the draught he was that afternoon to present to the house; expressed his indignation at the proceedings, at which he felt above measure ashamed and scandalized; and commanded him on his allegiance to report nothing from that committee to the house, till he had heard from the Lord Deputy.

Meeting of the Primate and others.

Thereupon he called a meeting of the Primate, the Bishops of Meath, Raphoe, Kilmore, and Derry, the prolocutor of the house, and all those who had been of the committee, and publickly told them, "how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard a part it was, for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of state or bishop; what a spirit of *Brownism* and contradiction he observed in their *deliberandums*, as if, indeed, they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the Church, and leave every man to choose his own high place, which liked him best."

The Lord Deputy's injunctions.

The Lord Deputy then laid his injunctions, of which these were the most important: that the prolocutor should put no question at all in the house touching the receiving or not of the Articles of the Church of Ireland; that he should put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of England, barely, content or not content. And, because there should be no question in the canon

thus to be voted, he desired the Lord Primate would be pleased to frame it: and, after the Lord Deputy had perused it, he would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of his own.

The Primate's supposed knowledge of the transaction.

"It is very true," observes the Lord Deputy, making his own comment on the transaction, "that, for all the Primate's silence, it was not possible but he knew how near they were to have brought in those Articles of Ireland to the infinite disturbance and scandal of the Church, as I conceive: and certainly could have been content I had been surprised. But he is so learned a Primate, and so good a man, as I do beseech your grace it may never be imputed to him. Howbeit I will always write your lordship the truth, whomsoever it concerns.

Canon framed to meet the exigence.

"The Primate," he continues, "accordingly framed a canon, a copy whereof you have here, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in England, which I held best for me to keep to, as close as I could, and then sent it to my lord. His grace came instantly to me, and told me, he feared the canon would not pass in such form, as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might; besought me therefore to think a little better of it.

Lord Deputy's jealousy of the Primate.

"But I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eyes upon, it was too late now, either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words; and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse them, telling him, by the sequel we should see, whether his lordship or myself better understood their minds on that point, and by that I would be content to be judged: only, for order sake, I desired his lordship would vote this canon first in the upper house of convocation; and, so voted, then to pass the question beneath also.

Canon passed by both houses.

"Without any delay then I writ a letter to Dean Leisley, (the prolocutor,) with the canon enclosed, which accordingly was that afternoon unanimously voted, first

with the bishops, and then with the clergy, excepting one man: you shall find his name amongst the committees, who singly did deliberate upon the receiving the Articles of England[4]."

The foregoing account of the proceedings of the Lord Deputy, made, as he solemnly affirms, "with an upright heart, to prevent a breach, seeming at least, betwixt the Churches of England and Ireland," discloses some of the secret springs by which their agreement was attempted respectively to be promoted or retarded. What follows is a narrative of some of the proceedings in the convocation, recorded in Bishop Vesey's *Life of Primate Bramhall*, and derived in substance from the report of Thomas Price, archbishop of Cashel, who was at the time archdeacon of Kilmore, and consequently one of the lower house of convocation.

Bishop Vesey's narration of some proceedings in convocation.

"The Bishop of Derry," says his biographer, "laboured in the convocation, to have the correspondence between the two churches more entire and accurate: and discoursed, with great moderation and sobriety, of the convenience of having the Articles of peace and communion in every national Church, worded in that latitude, that dissenting persons in those things, that concerned not the Christian faith, might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours, for an opinion, which, it may be, they could not help: that it were to be wished that such Articles might be contrived for the whole Christian world, but especially that the Protestant Churches under his majesty's dominion might 'all speak the same language;' and particularly that those of England and Ireland, being reformed by the same principle and rule of Scripture, expounded by universal tradition, councils, fathers, and other ways of conveyance, might confess their faith in the same form. For, if they were of the same opinion, wh did they not express themselves in the same words?"

Bishop Bramhall's argument for the Thirty-nine Articles.

[4] *Strafford Letters*, i. 342; ii. 16.

Answer in favour of the Articles of 1615.

But he was answered, "that, because their sense was the same, it was not material if the expressions differed; and therefore it was fitter to confirm and strengthen the Articles of this Church, passed in convocation, and confirmed by King James, in 1615, by the authority of this present synod."

Bishop Bramhall's reply.

To this the Bishop of Derry replied, "That though the sense might be the same, yet our adversaries clamoured much that they were dissonant confessions; and it was reasonable to take away the offence, when it might be done easily: but for the confirmation of the Articles of 1615, he knew not what they meant by it: and wished the propounder to consider, whether such an act would not, instead of ratifying what was desired, rather tend to the diminution of that authority, by which they were enacted, and seem to question the value of that synod, and consequently of this: for that this had no more power than that, and therefore could add no moments to it, but by so doing might help to enervate both."

The first of the Irish canons passed by the convocation.

By this prudent dressing of this objection, he avoided the blow he most feared; and therefore again earnestly pressed the receiving of the English Articles, which were at last admited. Whereupon immediately "drawing up a canon," says his biographer, rather perhaps we may suppose, bringing forward the canon which had been previously drawn up by the Lord Deputy, and with a copy of which he would naturally be intrusted for the occasion, "and proposing it, it passed accordingly." The canon is the first of those that were made in that convocation: namely, "of the agreement of the Church of England and Ireland in the profession of the same Christian religion;" and is expressed in the following terms.

English Articles received and approved.

"For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments; we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord, 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a publick recantation of his error."

Question as to the former Irish Articles.

Thus the English Articles were received and approved by the Irish convocation with the single dissentient voice of a nonconformist minister from the diocese of Down. But the agreement being thus affirmed between the two Churches, by the Irish Church's adoption of the Articles of the Church of England, a question arose, as to the effect produced by this adoption on the former Articles of the Irish Church. On this question much difference of opinion prevailed, as related by writers contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous.

Different opinions recorded by historians. Collier. Heylin.

Some persons affirmed that "the Irish Articles were formally annulled by this adoption[5]," and "the whole book now called in[6]:" but these affirmations are disproved by the preceding narrative, which shows that no proposition at all was put upon that subject.

Some alleged that those Articles were intended to be, and, in fact, were, if not formally, yet virtually repealed; others maintained that the act was intended only as a recognition of the truth of the English doctrines, but did not affect the privilege of

[5] COLLIER, *Eccl. Hist.* v. ii. 762. [6] HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, p. 492.

the Irish Church, to express her own sentiments in her own form of words.

Some held that the entire receiving of the nine-and-thirty Articles, without the least reserve, implied a virtual abrogation of their own; (and this is probably the meaning of Fuller when he states them to have been "utterly excluded[7]:") that "this was the necessary consequence, as far as there was any inconsistency between the English and the Irish Articles; for this canon, being the last act of the Irish Church, it must, like a last will, stand in force against all prior declarations of a contrary import[8]:" that, in point of fact, there was an inconsistency between the English Articles and those, which, under the title of the Lambeth Articles, had been rejected by the English Church, though subsequently embraced by the Church of Ireland, and incorporated with her own Articles of 1615; and they accordingly contended, that the adoption of the English Articles was in reality a repudiation of the Irish.

Fuller.

Collier.

Others disputed, that there was no inconsistency between the two bodies thus brought into comparison; that the English and the Irish, or Lambeth, Articles might well stand together; that the latter only contained the doctrine of the English more fully set forth; and that, in short, the Articles of the Church of England were only received in the sense of, and as they might be expounded by, those of the Church of Ireland. This seems to have been the opinion of Primate Ussher, who had been the original framer of the Articles, now supposed to be silently repealed. In a letter to a friend, giving, a few months afterwards, an account of the late convoca-

Opinion of Primate Ussher.

[7] *Church History*, b. xi. p. 149.

[8] COLLIER, ii. 763.

tion, he observes, "The Articles of Religion, agreed upon in our former synod, anno 1615, we let stand as they did before. But, for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your Articles also, concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our Canons." And some pains were taken by both his chaplains, Dr. Bernard and Dr. Parr, in their several lives of the primate, to show that, in his judgment, the Articles of 1615 preserved their original authority.

Report of his chaplains.

On the other hand, it appears to have been the intention of the two Governments, that, whilst no violence should be offered to the Primate's feelings, nor any slur cast upon his character, by the avowed repeal of the Articles, which he had himself composed, the establishment, nevertheless, of the English Articles, being, as they conceived them to be, inconsistent with the others, should give silently and effectually a death-blow to those previously established in the Church of Ireland. And such appears to have been the purpose of Bishop Bramhall, as intimated by the course above attributed to him by his biographer, Archbishop Vesey; and as confirmed in his funeral sermon, by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, who commends his care in "causing the Articles of the Church of England to be accepted as the rule of publick confessions and persuasions here; that they and we might be *populus unius labii*, of one heart and one lip, building up our hopes of heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that *Shibboleth* which made this Church lisp too undecently; or rather in some little degree to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan."

Apparent intention of the Governments.

Purpose of Bishop Bramhall.

This difference of opinion led for a time to a dif-

Consequent difference of practice.

ference of practice amongst the rulers of the Church. "The Lord Primate, with most of the rest of the bishops at that time," says Dr. Bernard; "some few bishops," says Bishop Vesey; required of their clergy for some time subscriptions to both sets of Articles; the others seem to have been contented with the subscription to the English only, as prescribed by the first Irish Canon.

Impropriety of two sets of Articles.

And well might they be so contented; and well might the other practice have been, as it soon was, abandoned. For, as hath been properly observed by Dr. Smith, in his *Life of Ussher*, "it must seem highly ridiculous, not to say scandalous, that two Confessions, disagreeing in various doctrines of theology, should be retained in the same Church; or that the faith and doctrine of the English Church, very recently received and approved with great solemnity, should by the admission of those former doctrines, be again disapproved and rejected."

Ineffectual petition for ratification of Irish Articles.

The double subscription was felt, indeed, by those who had adopted it, to be an insufficient subterfuge. They, therefore, petitioned the Lord Deputy that he would allow and procure the Irish Articles, which had been framed nineteen years before, to be ratified by Act of Parliament. But he was so far from granting, or patiently listening to, this unseasonable petition, which he, with his wonted sagacity, foresaw would be greatly detrimental to the publick peace, that he rejected it with extreme indignation; and in the end, if credit may be given to the Scotch Commissioners, in the articles of the most bitter crimination, which they exhibited to the English Parliament, in 1641, against Lord Strafford, he threatened Ussher, and the other advocates of the proposal, that, unless they desisted from it, he would

order those Articles to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman[9].

Difference in subscriptions discontinued in 1641.

But, however this be, the latest period, to which the difference in subscriptions was continued, was that of the confusion introduced into the Church by the Irish Rebellion in 1641, about six or seven years after the adoption of the Articles of the Church of England. On the restoration of the Church, after that disastrous period, no attempt seems to have been made for reviving the Articles of 1615; but Smith, in his *Life of Ussher*, affirms, that he had "often and often heard, from bishops and presbyters of the Church of Ireland, that they recognised and used the English Articles only. The others naturally fell into neglect, desuetude, and oblivion, as if they had never existed[9];" carrying with them the remnant or the semblance of disagreement between the two sister Churches, in all things affecting the purity of their faith.

Proposal to adopt the English Canons.

The agreement with the Church of England in doctrine having been settled in the convocation, it was further moved by the Bishop of Derry, that, as they had received the Articles, so they would likewise the Canons, of the Church of England, in order that the two Churches might have the same rule of government as well as of belief. An objection to this proposal was made with great earnestness by the Lord Primate, that it would appear to be the betraying of the privileges of a national Church: that it might lead to placing the Church of England in a state of absolute superintendence and dominion over that of Ireland: that it was convenient for some discrepancy to appear, if it were but to declare the free

Objections of the Primate.

[9] *Vita Jac. Usserii*, scrip. THOM. SMITH, p. 73.

agency of the Church of Ireland, and to express her sense of rites and ceremonies, that there is no necessity of the same in all Churches, which are independent of each other; and that different canons and modes might co-exist with the same faith, charity, and communion.

Predisposition of the convocation in their favour.

By these and similar arguments the Lord Primate prevailed with the convocation, in which the prepossessions of many of its members inclined them to a favourable reception of his reasonings. The fact, indeed, seems to have been in some degree agreeable to the statement of Mr. Carte, in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, that the convocation contained many members inclined in their hearts to the puritanical peculiarities, as distinguished from the more sober and chastised ordinances of the Church of England, and of themselves prepared to object to some of the English Canons, now offered to their judgment and approbation; particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the Sacraments, and the ornaments used therein; the qualifications for holy orders, for benefices, and for pluralities; the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligations to residency and subscription[10].

Construction of Book of Canons committed to Bishop Bramhall.

It was accordingly concluded, that such canons as were fit to be transplanted should be adopted in the Church of Ireland, and others be added to them, having been constructed afresh for the purpose, so as to form a complete rule peculiarly suited to the circumstances of the country.

The execution of this task was committed to the Bishop of Derry; and the result was the Book of Constitutions and Canons for the regulation of the

[10] CARTE'S *Life of Ormonde*, v. i. p. 78.

Church of Ireland, which, having been passed in convocation, received its final confirmation and authority from his majesty's assent, according to the form of the statute, or Act of Parliament, made in that behalf.

Agreement and difference with the English Canons.

These canons for the most part agreed in substance and intention with the English Canons, from which, however, they differed much in arrangement and construction, without any obvious improvement, rather perhaps the contrary. In number also they were less, amounting to one hundred only, whereas the English code comprised one hundred and forty-one. This diminution is attributable in a considerable degree to a combination, occasionally, of more than one of the English into one only of the Irish Canons.

Leading points of difference.

Of their contents in general it were needless and superfluous to attempt an abstract. But it is desirable to state the leading points, wherein they differed from the English; especially in regard to the objections, which are alluded to above as having been entertained by many members of the Irish convocation against the canons of the Church of England. Some differences will appear to have been introduced, probably in compliance with the prepossessions specified above; if the differences be less numerous or less important, than might have been expected, that result is reasonably to be attributed to the earnest desire for conformity between the two Churches, which actuated the distinguished prelate, to whom the construction of the new code was committed.

Substantial, but not circumstantial, uniformity of divine worship, recognized.

1. As to "the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship." That "that form of liturgy or divine service, and no other, shall be used in any

church of this realm, but which is established by law, and comprised in the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments," was as distinctly affirmed by the 3rd Irish canon, as it could possibly be by the 36th, or any other of the English; so that uniformity of divine worship was thus far apparently secured. Yet a difference is observable in the rules which relate to circumstantial uniformity, or at least to the solemnity, of such worship.

Special directions for outward reverence.

In pursuance of the Apostle's rule, "Let all things be done decently, and according to order," the 18th English canon distinctly judged and directed, that in divine service "all manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general confession, litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; and likewise, when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." It also ordains, that every "man, woman, and child," shall "say in their due places, audibly with the minister, the confession, the Lord's prayer, and the creed; and make such other answers to the publick prayers, as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer." The corresponding Irish canon, which is the 7th, directs, that all persons attending divine service, shall "use all such reverent gestures and actions as by the Book of Common Prayer are prescribed in that behalf, and the commendable use of the Church received." Thus it refrains from special notice of the postures appointed for divine service; and it omits the direction concerning "bowing at the name of Jesus," and an

Omitted in the Irish canons.

audible participation in the service, by every "man, woman, and child."

2. As to "the administration of the sacraments," the 13th English canon, which explains "the lawful use of the cross in baptism," not without an expression of sorrow at the inefficacy of the care and pains taken by King James the First, at the Hampton Court conference, for satisfying those who stuck at and impugned it, was altogether omitted from the Irish body of canons. And together with the explanation was, of course, omitted the clear language, in which the canon lays down the duty of every private man, both minister and other, to submit to publick authority in all things of themselves indifferent, which in some sort alter their nature, when lawfully commanded or forbidden.

Explanation of cross in baptism.

Duty of submitting to authority in things indifferent.

In the administration of the Lord's supper, on comparing the canons of the two Churches, I have not been struck by any deviation in the later from the solemn provisions of the earlier code. But I may remark incidentally, that the 18th Irish canon, instead of deviating from, does concur with the 27th and the 21st English in two important injunctions: namely, that "no minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any but such as kneel;" and that "the minister shall deliver both the bread and the wine to every communicant severally."

Kneeling at the holy communion.

Delivery to each communicant severally.

3. As to "the ornaments used in divine service," whereas the 58th English canon enjoins, that "every minister saying the publick prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice," there appears no corresponding Irish injunction, although in the 7th, notice is taken of the surplice, as worn in

Use of the surplice.

cathedral and collegiate churches. And under this head it may be remarked, that there is no corresponding Irish to the 82nd English canon, which orders "that the ten commandments be set up on the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same; and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels in places convenient."

Ten commandments and chosen sentences.

The 55th English canon also, intitled "The Form of a Prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons," has not any counterpart in the Irish body.

Form of prayer before sermons.

These are its chief, if not its only, omissions upon the specifick articles of divine worship.

In the other particulars enumerated above, I have perceived no deviations of moment, unless it be, that, in relation to "the quality of such as are to be made ministers," an account of the candidate's faith is required by the 34th English canon, "according to the Articles of Religion, approved in the synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two;" and by the 31st Irish, "according to the Articles of Religion, generally received in the Church of England and Ireland." The question, which has been already stated, concerning the effect of the recent adoption of the English Articles, and the jealousy which prevailed in some minds concerning them, may have given occasion for the indefinite terms of this condition.

What Articles the test of the candidate's faith.

Additional canons, suggested by the peculiar exigencies of the Irish Church, were also interwoven with those of the English code.

Additional canons.

The 8th canon directed, that the parochial minister, subject to the judgment of the ordinary, should "endeavour, that the confession of sins, and

Provision of divine worship in Irish.

absolution, and all the second service at or before the communion, to the homily or sermon, where the people all, or most, are Irish, shall be used in English first, and after in Irish." The 86th canon directed, that "where the minister is an Englishman, and many Irish in the parish, such a parish clerk shall be chosen, as shall be able to read those parts of the service, which shall be appointed to be read in Irish, if it may be." And in the 94th canon, which directs the churchwardens to provide two Books of Common Prayer and a Bible in every church, for the minister and for the clerk, it is added, that "where all or the most part of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books in the Irish tongue, so soon as they may be had. The charge of these Irish books being to be borne also, wholly by the parish."

Parish clerks allowed to read the service.

These provisions were suggested by the exigencies of the country, arising out of its peculiar condition with respect to the language of its inhabitants. But one of them in particular, the second, is a striking evidence of the obstruction presented to the reformed religion, seeing that it was deemed necessary to allow part of the service of the Church to be read by one, who was not an ordained minister.

The following were designed to counteract the prevailing religious ignorance and superstition, and to be instrumental in substituting an acquaintance with the true religion of the Gospel.

Counteractions of the prevailing religious ignorance.

By the 9th canon, preachers were instructed to "teach no vain opinions, no heresies, nor Popish errors, disagreeing from the Articles of Religion, generally received in the Churches of England and Ireland; nor anything at all, whereby the people may be stirred up to the desire of novelties or con-

Caution against heresies and Popish errors.

tention: but shall soberly and sincerely divide the word of truth, to the glory of God, and to the best edification of the people."

Catechizing enforced by special conditions.

The canon, which provided for the catechizing of the young and ignorant every Sunday, being the 11th, prohibited the minister from "admitting any to be married, or to be godfathers or godmothers at the baptism of any child, or to receive the holy communion, before they can say the articles of belief, the Lord's Prayer, and the commandments, in such a language as they understand."

Rules of preaching and catechizing.

"For the better grounding of the people in the principles of Christian religion," it was by the 12th canon ordained, "that the heads of the catechism, being divided into as many parts as there are Sundays in the year, shall be explained to the people in every parish church. In the handling whereof the ministers and curates are to use such moderation, that they do not run into curious questions or unnecessary controversies, but shortly declare and confirm the doctrine proposed, and make application thereof, to the behoof of their hearers. The ministers also in all their preachings, and catechizings, and private conferences, when need requireth, shall t each the peopleto place their whole trust and confidence in God, and not in creatures, neither in the habit or scapular of any friar, or in hallowed beads, medals, reliques, or such like trumperies. They shall do their endeavour likewise to root out all ungodly, superstitious, and barbarous customs, as using of charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, or soothsaying; and generally to reform the manners of the people committed to their charge, unto a Christian, sober, and civil conversation."

Superstitious customs to be rooted out.

And by the 97th canon, the churchwardens were

directed, "with the approbation of the ordinary of the place, to see that all rood-lofts, in which wooden crosses stood; all shrines, and all coverings of shrines, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstitions, be clean taken away and removed." Monuments of superstition to be taken away.

There were three or four other additional ordinances, supplemental to those of the English Church. Other supplemental rules.

"For remedy of the smallness of the maintenance of the clergy," it was ordained by the 36th canon, "that when there is in one parish a rectory and vicarage, or portion of tythes collative, the bishop shall unite them perpetually; and those unions the deans and chapters shall be bound to confirm, to remain perpetually as one entire benefice." Unions of rectories and vicarages.

The 43rd directed, that "as often as churches were newly built, where formerly there were not, or churchyards appointed for burial, they shall be dedicated and consecrated: provided that the ancient churches and churchyards shall not be put to any base and unworthy use." Consecration of new churches.

By the 19th, the afternoon before the administration of the holy communion, the minister was directed to "give warning by the tolling of a bell, or otherwise, to the intent that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those who need it." And the people were exhorted to special examination of the state of their own souls; and that, "finding themselves either extreme dull, or much troubled in mind, they resort unto God's ministers, as well for advice and counsel, as for the quieting of their consciences by the power of the keys which Christ hath committed to his ministers for that purpose." Preparation for the holy communion.

Prohibited times of marriage.

And by the 49th, persons were directed to marry, "neither in the time of Lent, nor of any publick fast, nor of the solemn festivities of the nativity, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, or of the descension of the Holy Ghost."

Character of the alterations.

That these additions, considered in their application to the state of religion in Ireland, were generally improvements to the English canons, may be readily admitted: that the omissions likewise were improvements, may be questioned at least, perhaps denied. Nor can I think that any good purpose was answered by the dismemberment and reconstruction of the entire body upon a different plan.

A preferable mode.

If the object was to maintain the independence and free agency of the Irish Church, that object might have been attained by appending to the English canons, or interweaving with them, such additions as appeared requisite for national purposes, and then adopting the code, in pursuance of Bishop Bramhall's proposal, in its original form, with those additions. Such a code would have been more complete in itself, and better fitted for preserving that unity of Christian profession, which was avowedly manifested by the adoption of the English Articles, than by rejecting some of the English canons, and new-modelling the whole. For, whilst the wisdom of these objections is by no means palpable or indisputable, the new-modelling of the code gives an appearance of discrepancy, which really does not exist.

Relative position of the two Churches.

I have judged it expedient to go into some detail on this subject. And the reader may thus be made aware of the general agreement between the two Churches, in their Canons as well as in their Articles; and better apprehend the position of the

Church of Ireland after the accomplishment of these important acts of legislation.

Thus various affairs of no small difficulty and delicacy, and deeply affecting the character and well-being of the Church, were finally completed: and the Lord Primate had soon afterwards the satisfaction of receiving the following letter of congratulation from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Congratulatory letter from Archbishop Laud to Archbishop Ussher, May 10, 1635.

"*Salutem in Christo.*

"My very good Lord,

"I thank you heartily for your letters; and am as heartily glad that your parliament and convocation are so happily ended, especially for the Church; and that, both for the particular of your letting leases, which is for maintenance, and for the quiet, and well ordering, and ending of your book of canons. I hope now the Church of Ireland will begin to flourish again, and that both with inward sufficiency and outward means to support it.

Prospects of benefit to the Church.

"And for your canons, to speak truth, and with wonted liberty and prudence, though I cannot but think the English canons, especially with some few amendments, would have done better; yet since you, and that Church, have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it, and you shall have my prayers, that God would bless it. As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely. And God forbid you should, upon any occasion, have rolled back upon your former controversy about the Articles. For, if you should have risen from this convention in heat, God knows when or how that church would have cooled again, had the cause of difference been never so slight. By which means the Romanist, which is too strong a party already, would both have strengthened, and made a scorn of you. And therefore ye are much bound to God that, in this nice and picked age, you have ended all things canonically, and yet in peace. And I hope you will be all careful to continue and

His opinion of the canons;

And of subscription.

Cause of thankfulness to God.

maintain that which God hath thus mercifully bestowed upon you.

"Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,
"W. CANT.

"*Lambeth, May* 10, 1635."

But if these proceedings were an occasion of thankfulness and congratulation to the Church and her friends, they produced different sentiments in her enemies. This appeared on their publication in the ensuing autumn. For in a letter from Sir George Radcliffe, principal secretary to the Lord Deputy, Dublin Castle, September 22, 1635, he observes to the Bishop of Derry, "The Canons are published in print this week: and by occasion of speaking thereof, here is a panick fear risen in this town, as if a new persecution, so they call it, were instantly to be set on foot. Here is also much talk of a book, newly come over, out of England, printed at Cambridge. The author, a country ministry, styles himself priest: and of five treatises which the book contains, one is, that charity is to be preferred before faith, hope, or knowledge: another, that Antichrist is yet to come: and a third, that the law of God, as it is qualified in the Gospel, may be performed in this life. This startles a Puritan as much as the Canons do a Papist[11]."

Letter from Sir G. Radcliffe to Bishop Bramhall, September 22, 1635.

Alarm at the publication of the Canons.

[11] *Rawdon Papers*, p. 23.

Section VI.

Measures for improving the Temporalties of the Church. Bishop Bramhall's valuable services. Petition from the Clergy in Convocation, 1636. *Improvements relative to the Clergy and Church Service. Repair of Cathedrals. Final sentence of deposition by Bishop Echlin on the Non-conforming Ministers. Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor. Five of the Clergy of that Diocese refuse to subscribe to the Canons. The Bishop's solicitude to retain them in the Church. His Visitation Sermon*, 1636. *His conference with the Dissentients, and sentence upon them. His exemplary conduct.*

Measures for improving the temporalties of the Church.

In pursuance of the Acts of Parliament, recounted in the last section, and with the support of the Lord Deputy, means were promptly taken for improving the temporalties of the Church. The Bishop of Derry was employed for this useful purpose: and Sir James Ware, or rather Mr. Harris, bears the following honourable testimony to the zeal and efficacy with which he executed his undertaking.

Bishop Bramhall's valuable services.

"The foundations being laid, the bishop immediately applied himself to the building, which he carried up with incredible expedition. The fee-farms and impropriations stuck like ivy to the old walls, and it was hard to separate them. In all the numerous controversies arising from thence, he was the moderator to state the rents, and compromise the whole differences; generally by consent of parties, sometimes by order from the council-table, which then determined many matters, especially where forms and niceties had rendered the laws incompetent for that end.

Fit persons recommended for high preferments.

"But, to carry on the work with effect, he recommended able and prudent persons to the Lord Deputy for the higher preferments of the Church. Dean Sing was made Bishop of Cloyne, of which he soon gave a good account, and raised every mark of the revenue to an hundred

pounds; and Dean Lesly was made Bishop of Down and Connor: both prelates of parts and learning."

To these specifick instances of Bishop Bramhall's profitable exertions, Sir James Ware's *History* adds the following, in correspondence with his *Life* by Bishop Vesey.

Improvement of the primacy.

"It would be an endless labour to be particular in all the services he did the Church. I shall mention only one instance of what he did in this sort, in relation to the primacy, as it appears in a letter from Archbishop Ussher to him, dated the 25th of February, 1635, not a year after the statute had passed. 'I find,' says he, 'by the catalogue of compositions, that the augmentation of the rents of this see amounteth to 735*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and that you have now passed the greater part of your journey. Not only myself, but all my successors, will have cause to honour the memory of the Lord Deputy, and yours, whom God hath used as an instrument to bring this work to such perfection.' If," observes the biographer, "so great an improvement was made in this one see, by the surrendering of fee-farms, and compositions for the rents, and that this was only the half of his journey, what may we judge was done by him through the kingdom[1]?"

Letter from Archbishop Ussher to Bishop Bramhall.

But they were not the episcopal revenues only, which were improved by Bishop Bramhall.

Benefits procured for the inferior clergy.

"He was not less industrious or successful," continues the same writer, "in behalf of the inferior clergy, whose case he often lamented, and often singly sustained. He obtained for them some few impropriations, by power of reason and persuasion; more by the law; but most of all by purchase. The king's example was of great influence upon the occasion. He had by his letter restored all impropriate tythes, as fast as the leases should expire. The Lord Deputy, in pursuance thereof, restored several livings kept by his predecessors for their provisions, reserving something to be annually paid out of them for that end; and this noble precedent had its influence on some of the

Forwarded by the King.

By the Lord Deputy.

[1] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 120. Vesey's *Life of Bramhall.*

nobility and gentry. He persuaded some into a full restitution, and others into a competent endowment of the vicarage, or at least an allocation of a decent salary for the curate. Where neither reason, religion, nor law could prevail, he dealt in the way of purchase; and, to raise a sufficient fund for this purpose, he employed his own income very liberally.

By the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury countenanced the work, and lent him both his hand, head, and purse, having designed 40,000*l.* for it. His majesty gave some money for pious uses, which his grace procured to be committed to our bishop's management. He borrowed great sums of several rich men, and secured them repayment out of the issues of the impropriations which he bought; putting them into the hands of such creditors, for a certain number of years, upon the expiration of which they were to revert to the Church. He also got money by voluntary subscriptions; and he so ordered matters, on the surrendry of fee-farms, that the surplus rents, which he gained for several bishops, should be for some years in this way employed. From such of the clergy as were rich, he had great assistance by procuring loans, which he was very just in repaying. By these and other prudent methods, he regained to the Church, in the compass of four years, 30,000*l.*, some say 40,000*l.*, per annum, whereof he gave an account to the Archbishop of Canterbury at his going into England. Many poor vicars now eat of the tree which the Bishop of Derry planted; and many have their grounds refreshed by his care and labour, who know not the source of the river that makes them fruitful[2]."

Various expedients used by Bishop Bramhall.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor's testimony to Bishop Bramhall's exertions.

"With so much care and assiduous labour," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his *Funeral Sermon*, "did the Bishop of Derry endeavour to restore the Church of Ireland to that splendour and fulness, which, as it is much conducing to the honour of God and of religion, God himself being the judge, so it is much more necessary for you, than it is for us. And so this wise prelate rarely well understood it; and having the advantage and blessing of a gracious king, and a lieutenant, patron of religion and the Church, he

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 120.

improved the *deposita pietatis*, as Origen calls them, the gages of piety, which the religion of the ancient princes and nobles of this kingdom had bountifully given, to such a comfortable competency, that, though there be place left for present and future piety to enlarge itself, yet no man hath reason to be discouraged in his duty.

Some of them intercepted.

"But the goods of this world are called waters by Solomon. Stolen waters are sweet, and they are too unstable to be stopt: some of these waters, in the recovery of which he had been greatly and principally instrumental, did run back from their proper channel, and return to another course than God and the laws intended. Yet his labours and pious counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good men: and therefore, by a thankful and honourable recognition, the convocation of the Church of Ireland hath transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honour will for ever remain to that Bishop of Derry: he had a Zerubbabel, who repaired the temple, and restored its beauty; but he was the Joshua, the high priest, who under him ministered this blessing to the congregations of the Lord."

His services acknowledged by the convocation.

Petition from the clergy in convocation.

In 1636, the clergy in convocation presented to the government a humble petition, that all Popish schoolmasters might be suppressed; that inquiry should be made by fit commissioners into the abuses of free-schools, and speedy orders given for their reformation; and that, whereas frequent burials in abbeys occasion the great contempt and neglect of parish-churches, and are mainly prejudicial to the clergy, some good course might be taken to restrain that abuse by Act of State. The Lord Deputy in consequence expressed his approbation of this petition, in a letter of June 2, 1636, to the Lord Primate and the rest of the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes; and required and authorized them to advise of some good means for preventing the

Acceded to by Lord Deputy.

said abuses in future: especially to see that publick schools, whether founded by statute or by his majesty's princely endowment, be not so extremely neglected as they are, or served by Popish, or other stipendiaries, and to proceed to the deprivation of such persons as should be found to be grossly culpable in this kind[3].

Measures for correcting non-residence of clergy.

The Lord Deputy proceeded hereupon to take notice of the general non-residence of clergymen, to the dishonour of God, the disservice of their cures, the vain expense of their means in cities and corporate towns, and the great scandal of the Church. And he required and authorized the commissioners to proceed instantly with all severity to the reformation of this great abuse; to cause all those whom they should find living idly about Dublin, or other cities or towns, or upon their farms, to repair instantly to their parish-churches, to attend that charge, whereof they owe an account both to God and man: if they should disobey commands in this respect, to sequester their livings for a year; and, if they be still negligent, to deprive them: "purposing," he adds, "upon our return to this kingdom, if it shall so please God and his majesty, to take a strict account of your proceeding and good endeavours in each of these particulars."

Neglect of keeping the holydays remedied.

Another reformation, affecting the church service, is thus mentioned by the Lord Deputy in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Dublin, this last of December, 1636: "After speech with my Lord Primate, concerning the due keeping of the holydays, according to the rules ecclesiastical, we resolved to recommend it to the four archbishops, and they to their suffragans, which I have done very

[3] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 7.

effectually: so as I am confident the former omission or neglect thereof will be recompensed by a heedful observance of them for the future[4]."

Correspondence concerning the Irish cathedrals.

In 1637 and the following year, some correspondence took place between the Lord Deputy and the Archbishop of Canterbury, relative to the repair of some of the Irish cathedrals. In a letter of August 28, 1637, the archbishop says, "My Lord of Down hath written unto me that the cathedral of his diocese lyes waste, and cannot possibly be built without the aid of a general purse, or his majesty's special favour in granting some part of the fines imposed in the Court of High Commission, towards so pious a work. I am heartily glad to see the bishop's care of that his church, but am not willing to stir far in that business, till I hear from your lordship what possibility you find for it; and the rather because you gave me a touch in your last letters of the ruinousness of Christ Church in Dublin; and whether you would be content another cathedral should be thought on before it, is in my thoughts worth asking you the question; and as I hear from you, so shall I proceed."

August, 1637.

Down Cathedral lying waste.

Christ Church, Dublin, ruinous.

Rebuilding of Down Cathedral proposed. October, 1637.

In a letter to the archbishop, October 18, 1637, the Lord Deputy thus proposes to provide for that and for similar exigencies. "For the cathedral of Down, if it shall be thought fit, (as stands with reason in my opinion,) there should be an Act of State enjoining that whole diocese to contribute their several proportions of the charge it shall be estimated at, and to be raised upon the abler sort, not upon the poor people, I assent it with all my heart; neither for that alone, but for all the cathedrals throughout

[4] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 42.

the whole kingdom. If his majesty therefore write a letter for the purpose, I will do all the service therein possible."

King's pleasure thereon, Nov., 1637.

In a letter of the following month, November 11, 1637, the archbishop informs the Lord Deputy that he had acquainted the king with the proposal concerning the cathedral of Down; that the king was well pleased that such an act should be made as had been mentioned; and prayed his lordship to cause the letter, which he would have for the cathedral, drawn here under his own eye, and sent over ready for his majesty's hand.

Building of Christ Church proposed. April, 1638.

And on the 20th of April, 1638, the Lord Deputy writes, "For the building of Christ Church, now that his majesty and your lordship approve of the way, I trust to show you, I neither sleep nor forget it;" and again, in the same letter, "By this pacquet you have the letter for the building of the cathedral of Down; which returned shall be put into action." But this subject of the cathedrals does not appear to have been resumed[5].

Sentence of deposition on the non-conforming ministers in Down.

It was during the progress of the events last recited, and not long after the convocation of the clergy, that the final sentence of deposition was pronounced by the diocesan, Bishop Echlin, against those non-conforming ministers of the Church in the diocese of Down, who had fallen under the censure of the bishop, as already related, and been suspended from their ministerial functions.

Interval of six months between suspension and deposition.

In consequence of the earnest intercession of Lord Castlestewart, distinguished for his zealous patronage of the Presbyterians of the north, the Lord Deputy was willing that the suspended mini-

[5] *Strafford Letters*, ii., 101, 120, 132, 157.

sters should be restored, though only for a limited time; and he thereupon expressed his wish to the bishop, that they might be relieved from the sentence of suspension for six months. On the arrival of that period, Lord Castlestewart renewed his entreaty for a prolongation of the term. But this was not agreeable to the governing powers: and accordingly, at the instance of the Lord Deputy, the bishop revived the sentence of suspension upon Mr. Blair, and another of the delinquents; a third having died in the interval, and Mr. Livingston, the fourth, being, for some unknown reason, not comprehended in the renewed proceedings.

Deposition pronounced.

The sentence of suspension was soon afterwards followed by that of deposition, for which they were cited to appear before the bishop at Belfast, and the sentence was read to them by the regular officer. To a remonstrance of Mr. Blair, that this sentence, as well as the preceding, was without authority, the bishop prayed that he would appeal from him, and over again prayed him to appeal. But all other appeal was declined, except to the tribunal of Christ; "and there," said Mr. Blair, "I cite you to appear, that ye may answer for your ill deeds of this kind, and for what ye are now going to do. And this citation," he adds in his narrative of the transaction, "ere long took effect, the bishop dying in fearful dumps of conscience."

Death of Bishop Echlin. July 15, 1635.

The death of Bishop Echlin, on the 15th of July, 1635, gave occasion for the promotion of Henry Lesley, from the deanery of Down to the bishoprick of Down and Connor, to which he was consecrated at Drogheda on the 4th of the following October.

Character of his successor, Bishop Henry Lesley.

He is recorded as a man of vigorous mind and large acquirements; conversant with the history and

writings of the ancient ecclesiastical fathers, and well acquainted with the constitution and qualities of the primitive Church Catholick, the features of which he saw reflected, and earnestly admired and loved them, in the national churches of Britain. As a bishop of the Irish church, he knew that she had laid upon him, and that he had undertaken, the duty of maintaining her discipline, and of punishing those "that were unquiet, disobedient, and criminous in his diocese;" he carried, therefore, at once into effect against the fourth of those ministers of the Church who had refused to submit and conform themselves to her laws, the sentence of deposition, which his predecessor had omitted with respect to that individual, who was accordingly deposed in the November following. And, in pursuance of the order of the late convocation, at his primary visitation, holden at Lisnegarvie, or Lisburn, according to its modern appellation, in July, 1636, he called upon his clergy for their subscription to the canons, which was refused by five of the number.

Visitation, July, 1635.

Refusal of five of the clergy to subscribe the canons.

The bishop was desirous of retaining these men in the Church, if it were possible; and, in order to this, of removing their scruples, of satisfying their minds of the fitness of the Church's provisions, of persuading them to conformity, and of reconciling them to the proposed subscription. Instead, therefore, of proceeding judicially against them, he took the gentler and more conciliatory method of a private conference; which not only proved ineffectual, but the report of which was put forth and spread abroad with so partial a representation of the transaction, as to deter him from repeating a similar attempt. Thus recourse to other expedients became his duty, to the discharge of which, although per-

Bishop's solicitude to retain them in the Church.

ceiving its necessity, he showed manifest reluctance, till animated and encouraged to the painful task by his brother in the episcopacy, Bishop Bramhall of Derry.

Assembly of the clergy at Belfast. August 10, 1636.

With this purpose, then, he convened an assembly of his clergy at Belfast, on the 10th of August; and addressed them in a discourse, which he published next year, 1637, at Dublin, under the title of

The bishop's sermon.

"A Treatise of the Authority of the Church, the sum whereof was delivered in a Sermon preached at Belfast, at the Visitation of the Diocese of Down and Connor, the tenth day of August, 1636. By Henry Leslie, Bishop of the Diocese: together with an Answer to certain Objections made against the Orders of our Church, especially kneeling at the Communion."

Its text and principal articles.

The text of this sermon was the 18th chapter of St. Matthew, and the 17th verse; "But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." And the principal articles of it set forth the power committed to the Church, and vested in the bishops, for keeping and propounding the sacred oracles, and applying them, by preaching and administration of the sacraments; for ordaining ministers, and appointing them their stations, and directing them in their duty; for deciding controversies; for making laws, and enacting circumstances and ceremonies in the outward worship of God; and for censuring offenders: all which articles are discussed at length. He descants upon the sin of those who take upon them the office of ministers, not being called by the Church; who, having no ordination to our calling, have taken upon them to preach; a sin the same as that of Uzziah, who intruded himself into the office of the priest-

hood. And he takes occasion to specify the errors of those sectarists, by whom many simple people are deceived, and led from the wholesome pastures of the Church, to wander in the principles of schism.

Objections of sectarists stated and controverted.

"This," he says, "must not be suffered any longer. But you will say, 'The difference is only about small matters, and it is a pity to deprive ministers, who are painful and laborious, for a ceremony.'

"For answer, I shall desire you to consider, that they do not only oppose the ceremonies, but the whole Liturgy of the Church, wherein the soul of God's publick worship doth consist. Besides, their doctrine is not sound. For they have taught that the order of bishops is anti-Christian; which we know to be apostolick: that our ceremonies are damnable; which we can prove to be both lawful and decent: that our service-book is a heap of errors; which we can justify to be the most absolute liturgy that any Church in the world hath: that the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling in the act of receiving the communion, is plain idolatry; than which hell itself could not have devised a more shameless calumny: that the Eucharist being a supper and a feast, no gesture should be used at it but a table gesture, to express our co-heirship and equality with Christ; which, if it smell not strong of Arianism, I have lost my scent: that all festival days, besides the Lord's day, and all set fasts, are Jewish, and contrary to our Christian liberty; which is the condemned heresy of Aërius. They have cried down the most wholesome orders of the Church, as Popish superstitions; namely, confirmation of children, absolution of penitents, private baptism of infants in case of necessity, the communion of the sick, and almost whatsoever hath any conformity with the ancient Church." . . . . . "If you have slandered your neighbour, you are bound in conscience to make him satisfaction; what satisfaction, then, can you make unto the Church, your mother, whom you have slandered with no less than whoredom? Whereas, even strangers have given her this testimony, that she is, of all Churches this day, for doctrine most pure; for discipline most conform unto the

Character of the Church with strangers.

primitive and apostolick Churches; for learning most eminent; for good works most fruitful; for martyrs most glorious.

Danger of conniving at objections.

"2. Albeit, their strife were only for ceremonies, yet were it not safe for the Church to wink at such persons, though they contend but for trifles; for, if the contentious humour be not let out, it will fester and spread, like a gangrene. Contention will grow a schism, and a schism will prove an heresy. So it was with the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xi.: where the Apostle complains, first of their unreverent behaviour in the church, ver. 16; then of schisms, ver. 18; after that of heresies, ver. 19. If men be suffered to disgrace ceremonies, they will proceed further to contemn and profane the Sacraments, as in Corinth: when they had sit covered at prayer, they grew as unreverent and bold with the Sacrament, eate and drunk as if they had been in their own houses, ver. 22. It is, therefore, good to quench the spark when it is first kindled, lest it increase into a great flame, and burn up Church, religion, and all.

Uniformity in national Church necessary.

"3. Consider, that albeit in Churches of divers kingdoms the unity of faith may subsist, with diversity of ceremonies and orders; yet in the same national Church we must labour, not only for unity in faith, but also for uniformity in discipline; otherwise order cannot be maintained, peace cannot be preserved: when every man hath a fashion by himself, there will follow infinite distraction and confusion. . . . . .

Intolerance of the sectarists.

"Finally, I pray you to remember, that when those men had the government in their hands, there was never any Church more zealous to vindicate her orders from contempt, nor more forward to inflict severe censures for small offences, than they were. And so much did they profess. The Church of Scotland, in their Constitutions, which were printed with their Psalm Books, say, 'A small offence may justly deserve excommunication, because of the offender's contempt and contumacy.' And, again, 'Any sin may be pardoned, rather than contempt of wholesome admonitions, and lawful constitutions of the Church.' Now, shall they inforce others to the observation of their orders, and punish the disobedient with severest censures? and shall not the

king's majesty, and the governors of our Church, inforce them to the observation of our orders, which have been established by the whole Church in a lawful Synod, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, and by his majesty's royal authority? Oh, my brethren, deceive not yourselves; think not that the Church, the king, the state, the law, and all, will stoop to your fancies! No, if you will not obey the constitutions of the Church, you must feel the weight of her censures: if you will not submit yourselves unto the Church, as to your mother, she will not own you for her children, but cast you out, as Hagar and Ismael were cast out of Abraham's house, for their mocking and proud disobedience."

Necessity of enforcing obedience to the Church.

The sermon, or treatise, from which these extracts have been taken, being rare and little known, but containing at the same time much valuable matter, clearly expressed and forcibly urged; and being, at the same time, not merely conversant with the concerns of a particular diocese, but immediately connected with the general controversy between the Church and the non-conformists, and throwing light upon the points in controversy; it has been judged not amiss to introduce the foregoing arguments of Bishop Leslie, delivered, with many others, for the purpose of keeping, if possible, the dissentient ministers in his fold. The following affectionate appeal concluded the sermon; and it cannot be read without sentiments of respect for this faithful pastor, and of concern that his exertions were rendered ineffectual by the unhappy prepossessions and pertinacity of his hearers.

Value of this treatise.

"All these things," he concluded, "deserve your consideration, and may give you occasion to repent hereafter, when it will be too late. I thought it, therefore, my duty to warn you, as Reuben did his brethren; beseeching you, for God's sake, if there be any bowels of compassion in you towards the Church your mother, your brethren, your

Affectionate appeal at its conclusion.

friends, your flock, yourselves, that you would yet lay aside all prejudice and partiality, and the spirit of contradiction, and compose yourselves to peace, unity, and love. 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem! Let peace be within her walls, and prosperity within her palaces!' Think not that you are wiser than the Church, than all Churches; as if the Word of God had come only from you, or to you, and to none besides. But remember that you are men, and so may err; that better men have erred, and have thought no shame to acknowledge the same, and retract their error. In this life we shall never be resolved of all doubts . . . . . The safest course is, where you doubt, especially about matters of this kind, concerning order and church polity, to submit yourselves peaceably to the judgment of the Church; and then, 'if ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even the same unto you.' Phil. iii. 5. 'Now the God of peace and consolation give us, that we may be like-minded one towards another; that we may all speak one thing, and that there be no dissensions amongst us; but that we be knit together in one mind, and in one judgment, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.' Amen."

The bishop's willingness to hear and discuss objections.

The bishop, having concluded his discourse, called upon the five non-conforming ministers to come forward: when, declining to hold any private conference with them, by reason of the misrepresentation which had been made of what had passed on the former occasion, he professed his willingness to meet them the following day in the presence of the persons then assembled, and to hear and discuss their objections.

His conference with the dissentients.

On meeting next day in the church, agreeably to this proposal, the bishop called upon the five dissentients "to know, if they would subscribe the first four canons; or, if they were ready to lay open their objections, and he would answer in behalf of the Church to defend all that was commanded." It was

answered by one of the party, that "seeing he had done them that favour to offer them an hearing, they were ready to lay open their doubts; and, that there might be no confusion, the company had intrusted to one of their number to lay open their minds, to whom they prayed the bishop to give audience with patience."

No authentick account of it.

And this he accordingly did, with patience most admirable. But of the conference which ensued there is no authentick account, and such as is altogether worthy to be relied on. There appears, indeed, to have been one by Mr. Patrick Adair, circulated in manuscript by the Presbyterian party, and since printed; but the bishop impeached its accuracy at the time, and contradicted its statements, and described it as a "libel," and as "falsely traducing all his proceedings." Such a document therefore is not of historical authority, and is calculated to deceive and mislead rather than to instruct and inform.

Objections made by the Presbyterians to conformity.

So far, indeed, as it sets forth the opinions of the party which it was intended to favour, it may, perhaps, be admitted: and thus it makes us acquainted with the objections of these non-conformists, being indeed the usual objections of the sectarists of the time; such as alleged corruptions in the authorized translation of the Holy Scriptures, the untruths contained in the Apocrypha, the publick reading of the Apocrypha in the Church service, the omission of reading much of the canonical Scripture, the avouching of the day of Christ's nativity, the avouching that Christ was born seven days together, the kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was the chief stumbling-block, and most fully and strongly urged.

The Bishop of Derry, who is said to have been

Result of the meeting.

not present during the greater part of the debate, but to have come into the church when the six first topicks had been discussed, is reported to have expostulated with his brother of Down, commending his charity, but not his wisdom, in suffering such open objections against the orders of the Church; and assuring him that he could not answer it, that he had given the objectors such liberty that day. The result was an adjournment of the meeting, first to the afternoon, and then to the following morning; when the non-conformists still continuing to refuse subscription to the canons, the bishop pronounced upon them the sentence of deposition.

Painfulness of the sentence.

This sentence, distressing as it may have been and doubtless was, not to the deposed ministers only, but to their friends and partisans, was, it may be safely affirmed, to no one more painful than to the bishop whose office called upon him to pronounce it. His conduct throughout the discussion was marked by patience, moderation, and forbearance, and by a spirit of good will and conciliation, which prompted him to make concessions to the prejudices of the dissentients, exceeding the strict line of his duty.

Necessity of the act of deposition.

As to the act itself of deposition, it was rendered necessary by the circumstances. For to have permitted these ministers to persist in their non-conformity, still professing themselves nevertheless ministers of the Church, would have been to abandon all pretence to ecclesiastical authority and discipline. At the same time his language in answer to one of the deposed delinquents, who appealed to the consciences of all present concerning his life and doctrine during his ministry, was kind and respectful to the individual, at the same time that it intimated the proper ground on which the whole question

Exemplary conduct of the bishop.

should be made to rest. "Mr. Cunningham, I confess your life and doctrine hath both been good. But I must say to you that which was said to a certain man at Rome, who was to be put to death for a mutiny. Some pleaded for his life, alleging that he had done good service to the commonwealth, and could do more afterwards. But one of the council replied, 'Non opus est reipublicæ eo cive qui parere nescit.' And so say I to you, 'The Church hath no need of those who cannot tell how to obey.'" The reader will judge, how far this exercise of episcopal authority, in correcting disobedience to the laws, and maintaining their authority, deserved to be stigmatized, as it has been by the historian of the *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, with the characters of "severity and tyranny," directed, to all appearance, against Bishop Leslie, in common with the other northern prelates of that period [6].

Section VII.

Scotch Covenant introduced into Ireland. Precautions of the Government. Case of a Clergyman named Galbrath. Northern counties infected. Correspondence of Bishop of Down and Connor with Lord Deputy. High character of the Bishop. His Speech, or Visitation Charge, at Lisnegarvey, 1638. *Its important contents in connexion with the History of the Church. His continued intercourse with the Government.*

Scotch Covenant introduced into Ireland.

The tumultuary and rebellious spirit which had for some time taken possession of Scotland, and desolated her Church, was now spreading itself into Ireland. The Scotch, who had acquired property in

[6] Part II. chap. i. p. 225.

that kingdom, or become inhabitants there, had originally brought with them their national prejudices in favour of non-conformity, anti-liturgical worship, anti-episcopal polity and jurisdiction in the Church, and resistance to legitimate authority: and they were now endeavouring to introduce into that country their National Covenant, which they had recently framed for the maintenance of their own discipline and worship; the precursor, at the distance of five years, of the notorious Solemn League and Covenant.

Precautions of the government.

Under these circumstances it was a very commendable, as well as a very natural, proceeding on the part of the Lord Deputy, to design that "the clergy of the Church of England and Ireland be instructed to preach to the people against the disorders and rebellions of the disaffected, as they do most impudently inveigh against the Common Prayer Book and ceremonies of our Church[1]." And it was equally natural and becoming in the government, to take all possible precautions against the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices on persons who were pledged to measures hostile to the Church's constitution and laws, as was the case with all those who had taken the Scotch Covenant. An example of this prudent precaution occurred in the summer of 1638.

Case of Mr. Galbrath. 1638.

From the Armagh Book of 1622, of which some account has been given under the former reign, it appears that at that time the Archdeacon of Raphoe was Mr. Thomas Bruce, who "possessed no living belonging to that archdeaconry, but held the parsonage and vicarage of the parish of Teaghboyne, presentative by the Duke of Lennox." On a vacancy of these preferments in 1638, a Scotchman, of the

His nomination to a benefice in Raphoe.

[1] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 192.

name of Galbrath, was brought forward to supply it. But how the disposal of the vacant preferment fell into the hands of the government, or in what way Galbrath was recommended to the vacancy, is not explained. His eligibility, however, for the appointment is thus represented as questionable in a letter of the 7th of August, from the Lord Deputy to Archbishop Laud.

His eligibility questioned.

"Your grace may not only undertake for Taboine, but for all that is in my disposal, as often as you shall be pleased to call for it. All that I heard from Dr. Bruce these three months, is very lately: and that was no more, but that a messenger employed by him into Scotland for that purpose brought certain knowledge, that Galbrath had signed and sworn the Covenant; so that we are like to have a brave archdeacon of him. Nevertheless if himself may be trusted, all will be well no doubt; or else there is more ingenuity to confess truth in this gentleman, than I ever yet observed in a Puritan. But it makes no matter; so soon as I come back, if Dr. Bruce stay upon the business, and like not his change so well as he did, I will send for and quicken him, to the intent his majesty may be sooner obeyed[2]."

Letter from Lord Deputy to Archbishop Laud.

The king's pleasure on this subject is thus communicated to the Lord Deputy by a letter from the archbishop.

"If Dr. Bruce will justify that Galbreth hath either sworn or subscribed the Covenant, your lordship is to make stay, and not to put him into possession of Taboine. And in the mean time I have, by his majesty's command, spoken with my Lord Marquis Hamilton, who is suddenly and unexpectedly come hither, to inform himself and send up present word of the truth of it; and if he have subscribed, his majesty is resolved he shall not have the benefice. In the mean time I would know his Christian name, and the place in Scotland where he subscribed[3]."

King's pleasure signified by Archbishop Laud's letter to Lord Deputy. Sept. 10, 1638.

[2] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 195. [3] As above, ii. 213.

The following extract from another letter of the archbishop, November 2, 1638, closes the correspondence on this subject.

Close of correspondence by letter from Archbishop Laud. Nov. 2, 1638.

"Galbreth, that would have your great benefice, is a Covenanter: there is certain news of it brought now to the king; and thereupon his majesty hath commanded me to signify unto you, that you shall not give him the benefice. And yet I will not give you counsel to bestow it without the king's privity. But when you have it in your power, and the time draws on for the bestowing it, if you then send me word, I'll do best to give you content. I hear further, that this Galbreth hasted out of Scotland for killing a man there; but I am not so certain of this, as I am that he is a Covenanter; that is, upon the matter, that he is a traitor[4]."

Subsequent information concerning Mr. Galbrath.

The correspondence, relating to the individual whose character had been called thus into question, seems to have terminated here; at least there is no further continuance of it in the collection of letters, from which the preceding extracts have been taken. It is probable, therefore, that the inquiry terminated here in a manner unfavourable to the subject of it. There is, however, some reason to suppose that, notwithstanding the laudable endeavours made by Lord Wentworth and Archbishop Laud, to arrive at the truth, they may have been misled by ill-founded statements; or, at all events, that the suspected person succeeded in attaining the object of his wishes: for in CARTE'S *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, an account is given of a "Mr. Archdeacon Galbraith, a Scot by original, but well affected to episcopacy and monarchy, of very good sense and learning, great prudence, and full as great resolution, well beloved and esteemed by all the British officers and gentlemen in those parts;" and who appears to

[4] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 230.

have been much trusted and employed by the duke on occasions of confidence[5].

Mischief of the Scotch Covenant in Ireland.

Whilst the government would fain have kept out any fresh importers of evil principles into Ireland through the medium of the Scotch Covenant, they had much of mischief there to contend with, and had great reason to apprehend the accumulation of more.

Especially in Down and Antrim.

The northern counties, indeed, were generally assailed: but in particular, the counties of Down and Antrim, lying opposite to the western side of Scotland, where these enormities principally prevailed, and separated from it by a narrow and uninterrupted passage, were principally exposed to this religious and moral infection. And it appears that in the year 1638, one Robert Adaire, a justice of the peace in the county of Antrim, possessing there an estate of about 500*l.* a year, and having also some estate in Scotland, had joined himself to the Scotch faction, signed the Covenant, received the oath of rebellion, and had latterly been appointed one of the commissioners for the county against the king. There was reason for believing that, on strict inquiry, other proprietors of estates in Ireland, would be found to have engaged themselves in the same confederacy.

Communication from Bishop Leslie to Lord Deputy. Sept. 22, 1638.

This intelligence having been given to Henry Leslie, then Bishop of Down and Connor, whose diocese is situated in the before-mentioned counties of Down and Antrim, he transmitted it to the Lord Deputy in a private and confidential letter, wherein he took occasion to express his sentiments, accompanied with further intelligence, concerning the

[5] CARTE'S *Life of Ormonde*, i. 531.

intended object and extent of these insurrectionary movements.

Confidence of the Irish Puritans on the Scotch rebels.

"All the Puritans in my diocese," says the bishop, "are confident that the arms, raised against the king in Scotland, will procure them a liberty to set up their own discipline here amongst themselves; insomuch that many whom I had brought to some measure of conformity, have revolted lately: and when I call them in question for it, they scorn my process; if I excommunicate them, they know they will not be apprehended, in regard of the liberty, their lords have, of excluding all sheriffs. Besides, it grieveth my heart to hear, how many who live in Scotland, who, coming over hither about matter of trade, do profess openly that they have signed the Covenant, and justify what they have done, as if the justice of this kingdom could not overtake them.

"These things I have presumed to represent unto your lordship. So humbly craving pardon for my boldness, I pray God to bless your lordship with all health and happiness, and to continue long amongst us for the good of this Church and kingdom.

"So prayeth your lordship's

"Most humble servant and daily orator,

"HEN. DUNENSIS[6].

"*Lisnegarvie*, 22*nd of Sept.*, 1638."

Lord Deputy's acknowledgment of the communication.

This communication of the bishop was properly appreciated, and graciously received by the Lord Deputy with an assurance, that he had sent for Adaire, and wished the occasion of his having done so to be kept secret. He expressed his opinion, that the bishop would do well privately to inquire the names of all others who followed the same example, and also of all such as professed themselves Covenanters, and send them to the Lord Deputy. He also requested to receive a list of such as revolted from their conformity, and stood in con-

[6] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 219.

tempt of the bishop's process, and also the places of their abode; promising that he would not fail speedily to send out pursuivants for them, who should apprehend and render them subject to the ecclesiastical courts, and under the jurisdiction of their ordinary.

His sense of the necessity of prompt correction.

"Nor," concluded the Lord Deputy, "is this a business to be neglected, or faintly to be slipped over; but quickly and roundly to be corrected in the first beginnings: lest, dandled over long, the humour grow more churlish, and difficult to be directed and disposed to the peace of Church and commonwealth, especially in a time, when the assumptions and liberty of this generation of people threaten so much distraction and unquietness to both. And, therefore, as I much recommend your lordship's zeal therein, so will it be ever becoming your lordship's piety and courage, confidently to oppose and withstand their disobedience and madness, as hitherto you have done: wherein you may be assured of all the assistance that rests in the power of

"Your lordship's very affectionate

"Faithful friend to serve you,

"Wentworth[7]."

"*Dublin, October* 4, 1638."

Biographical notice and character of Bishop Leslie.

Lord Wentworth appears to have formed no ill-founded judgment of the character of the prelate, in whom he thus reposed confidence. Henry Lesley, or Leslie, for the name is differently written at different times, a branch of the noble family of Rothes, in Scotland, had been chaplain to King Charles the First; and during the civil wars, which ensued upon the present correspondence, attached himself to his royal master's person, and followed him in his greatest extremities; attended him at Oxford, in 1644, and in several other parts of England; and patiently, loyally, and magnanimously suffered the loss of all his fortune in the common

[7] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 219.

calamity. His profession prevented him from taking up arms in person; but he had two sons, James and William Lesley, both captains, whom he equipped and encouraged in their king's and country's cause, which they assisted to the last with extraordinary valour and conduct: and afterwards, for their hospitality, and beneficial services to the publick, were universally beloved and honoured in Ulster to the days of their deaths.

But the bishop was not distinguished only in the manner just described: he has been transmitted to posterity as honourably conspicuous, for his piety, gravity, learning, loyalty, hospitality, and affability: and it has been recorded of him, that he was universally skilled in antiquity, especially in the writings of the early fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin: that he understood perfectly the primitive constitution and history of the Church Catholick; and that no man knew better, or promoted more earnestly, the reformation of religion, according to the Church of England[8].

Personal merit to be noticed in a national history.

The history of a National Church comprehends the history of her worthies: and it is pleasant and improving to bring forward to grateful observation the names and characters of men, honoured in their generation, but who in the course of time may have fallen into comparative oblivion, perhaps have been commemorated for the purpose of being maligned. Such seems to be the case with the pious and loyal, the conscientious and vigilant prelate, with whom the course of historical events has brought us into connexion; and upon a notice of whose merits I have been disposed to linger a few moments, ere we passed on.

[8] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 208.

Bishop Leslie's visitation speech. Sept., 1638.

Of his watchfulness and diligence in superintending his diocese, he gave about this time a memorable example, in the delivery of what he denominated "a speech," but which in more modern language would be termed a charge, at the visitation of Down and Connor, holden in Lisnegarvy the 26th of September, 1638. It was soon afterwards "published by authority" in London, professing to be "A full Confutation of the Covenant, lately sworn and subscribed by many in Scotland;" and the same year it appeared in a Latin translation, at Dublin, made by one of the bishop's chaplains. It is important as an historical document, affording a melancholy proof of the successful efforts which had been used for infecting the Irish Church with the innovating and disorderly spirit of Scotch Presbyterianism.

Former part has the character of a charge.

The composition is divided into two general heads, the former of which more exactly corresponds with the notion of a charge, being addressed successively to the clergy, and the churchwardens, and the assembled body of both the clergy and laity of the diocese, in regard to their several duties so far as they appeared to fall under their diocesan's pastoral inspection.

Expostulation with the clergy.

In the first place, he expostulates with the clergy for their great fault in the general neglect of catechising.

Neglect of catechising.

He reminds them that to this duty they are bound by the canons of the Church, and by his authority enforced at his first visitation; and though they should pay respect to neither of these, which he knows to be the case with many of them, yet he beseeches them to consider, that they are bound to it by their own consciences. He remarks, that preaching is now so highly accounted of, that it has excluded from the Church both the immediate

worship of God, which is the same as publick prayer, and the duty of catechising: and that it is now esteemed the chief and sole service of God, the very sum of Christianity, as if religion consisted altogether in the hearing of sermons. And he admonishes them in conclusion, that if their consciences do not hereafter prompt them to the discharge of this duty of catechising, his conscience will constrain him to the performance of his duty, by proceeding against them according to the canons of the Church.

Evil consequences of the prevailing fondness for preaching.

Twofold allegation against churchwardens.

Secondly, he alleges a double complaint against the churchwardens. The first, that, although their office calls upon them to be careful about the fabrick of the Church, most of the churches are in no better keeping than hog-styes. And he condemns an opinion, entertained by some as one of the mysteries of their religion, that God is worshipped with the greatest purity, after a slovenly manner, and in a mean and homely cottage; and that any cost is too much to be bestowed on God's service. His second complaint against them he represents as still greater: namely, their neglect of their oath, by which they are bound to present all known disorders within their parishes, especially with respect to those persons, who do not repair to church for hearing divine service, and who do not receive the holy communion as ordered by the Church. He esteems the churchwardens indeed the most disorderly men, the chief causes and ringleaders of the separation; and supposes them to be chosen in some parishes more especially, for the very purpose of preventing others from being presented. And he compares the bond formed in Scotland for defending each other by arms, with that formed by their fellows in his diocese for defending each other by oaths. Finally

Neglect of the churches.

Neglect of their oath to present disorders.

he warns them plainly, that he will proceed against them: first, for neglecting to repair their churches; secondly, for their nonconformity; thirdly, for not presenting notorious offenders; and lastly, for their perjury. And he cautions them, that, if relyiug upon the patronage, which they suppose to be used for their protection, they despise his authority as too feeble to punish them, he will deliver them over to a more powerful court.

Complaint of general non-conformity.

In the third place, he complains, both of the clergy and of the laity, for a general non-conformity, and disobedience to the Church's orders. He reminds the clergy, that they have all sworn, subscribed, and promised absolute conformity: and he remonstrates with them, that, when they are gathered together with their people, they slide back from their duty; and for a colour of obedience, read some part of the prescribed service, the lessons it may be, and a few collects, as if they were intrusted with the liberty of mincing God's service, cutting and carving it at their pleasure. And he tells them plainly, that those who refuse to be tied by oaths, subscriptions, and promises, are capable of being tied by nothing but a coercive power.

Neglect and mutilation of the prescribed service.

The laity he censures for being still worse; for refusing to hear any prayer at all. He complains, that while divine service is reading, they walk about the churchyard; and when prayer is ended, they come rushing into the church, as it were into a play-house, to hear a sermon. But he expresses a hope, that, ere it be long, a course shall be taken, that they, who will hear no prayers, shall hear no sermon.

Prevailing disobedience caused by the insurrection in Scotland.

The prevailing disobedience in all these particulars he attributes to the encouragement supplied

by the existing insurrection in Scotland; which leads them to think and say, that, the king having been forced to yield to the demands of the Scotch, a liberty will be procured for the rest of his subjects, and, amongst others, for those in Ireland, to live as they list. He warns them against such self-deceit. For, he tells them, whatever strength of resistance there may be in Scotland, they of that party in Ireland, he thanks God, are not so numerous, but that the laws and authority of the king are well able to overtake them. And he assures them, that the insolent opposition, elsewhere made against their sovereign, will cause those of the same faction here to be more narrowly looked to: for now that our neighbour's house is on fire, it is high time to look to our own.

Second general head of the speech.

The second general head of his "speech," to which the bishop then passes on, contains a statement of the origin of Presbyterianism at Geneva about eighty years before, of its transmission to Scotland, and of the results which it had produced in that country; especially as testified by the recent Covenant, the unlawful character of which, and of the confession and oath of mutual defence undertaken by the Covenanters, are ably unfolded, and clearly established, to the utter conviction of the non-conformists.

The sketch which he draws of this innovation in the Christian church is so correct as matter of history, is so tersely and forcibly delineated, and is so illustrative of this portion of our narrative, that I am induced to lay the following extract before the reader.

Six degrees of sectarianism.

"You may perceive how that sect, since the first beginning of it, which is not much above fourscore years, in the

reign of Queen Mary of England, hath proceeded from evil to worse, by six degrees.

"At first they did only manifest a dislike of episcopal government, and some ceremonies used in the Church of England, as liking better of the government of Geneva, which was devised by Master Calvin, and that cunningly enough for the state of that republick, which, being popular, could not brook any other government of the Church but that which is popular also. And yet I must tell you, that Master Calvin wanted nothing of a bishop, but only the title. For the Church of Geneva is not a parochial, but diocesan church, consisting of divers parishes, which make up one great presbytery, and he all the days of his life was moderator thereof; without whose consent no act, neither of ordination nor jurisdiction, was done. And so likewise Mr. Beza, for ten years after the other's death, held the same place of government, until Danæus set him beside the cushion, and procured the presidency to go by turns.

1. Dislike of episcopal government.

Though the government of Geneva is episcopal.

"In the next place, from dislike they proceeded to contempt of episcopal government; and this, if ye will believe St. Cyprian, hath been the very beginning of all heresies and schisms.

2. Contempt of episcopal government.

"In the third place, from contempt they did proceed unto open disobedience to all the orders of the Church. And, like those of whom Nazianzen speaks, would be pleased with nothing, but what did proceed from their own devising, esteeming him the holiest man who could find most faults.

3. Open disobedience.

"From disobedience they did proceed unto schism and open separation, accounting themselves only to be the brethren and congregation of Christ, and all others, who are not of their faction, to be the children of this world.

4. Schism.

"From schism they proceeded to heresy: for it is most true which St. Jerome did observe, that 'every schism doth devise unto itself a heresy;' some false doctrine or other to maintain their separation. And these men have devised not a few, and some that have been condemned by ancient councils and fathers, as, namely, Epiphanius reckons among the condemned heresies of Aërius, that he maintained there was no difference between a bishop and a pres-

5. Heresy.

byter, and that all set fasts are unlawful, Jewish, and superstitious. And is not this the doctrine of these men?

6. Rebellion.

"But lastly, their disobedience, schism, and heresy, have now drawn them into open rebellion, and I wonder whither they will go next. For I am deceived if they have not yet a further journey to go, and that they cannot subsist until they arrive at pure anabaptism. From which they now differ but a little. And surely if any of you will read the history of the anabaptists, you will find that their proceedings were a great deal more moderate and Christian-like than these men's are. This is the just judgment of God, that they who run out of the communion of the Church should likewise run out of their own wits."

To attempt in this place an abstract of a learned and extensive treatise, as is the sequel of the charge, would be beside our more immediate purpose. But the reader will not dislike to peruse the concluding paragraph, marked as it is by those symptoms of sincerity and impressive earnestness of language, which accompany a deep conviction of the truth in the mind of the speaker.

Earnest and affectionate conclusion of the speech.

"And now I have wearied both you and myself with a long speech. I know there are many here who think I have spoke too much. But I could not have said less, and manifest my fidelity to God and the king. And if it be true, which is grown unto a proverb, that 'Leves loquuntur curæ, ingentes stupent,' no man can expect that my speech should be eloquent; for I protest before God, that I have spoken out of the grief of my heart, and the very anguish of my soul. When I consider the fearful after-claps that are likely to ensue, it fears me that our sins are come unto a full maturity, and that we are now ripe for God's sickle to reap us. I dare not say with St. Paul, that I could wish myself anathema, or separated from Christ for my countrymen; but I can say with a sincere heart, that I could be content my life were given in a sacrifice, so that could procure the peace of the Church, redeem his majesty's honour, which is so deeply wounded, and preserve my

native country from destruction. And therefore I beseech all you, who bear good will unto Sion, that you would apply all your endeavours for quenching of this fire, especially labouring to reclaim them who are committed to your charge: 'And of some have compassion, making a difference; and others, save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.' Jude, ver. 22, 23. And let all of us be instant with God in prayer, lifting up our hearts and our hands to the heavens, and beseeching Him, who is the author of peace and lover of concord, that He would be pleased to open the eyes of that people, and turn their hearts, that they may acknowledge their duty to God and to his vice-gerent. Amen."

Continued correspondence with the Lord Deputy. October, 1638.

It is in pursuance of the same subject, which had occupied the Bishop of Down's thoughts, and prompted his address to the people of his charge at his visitation, that we now proceed to his continued intercourse with the Lord Deputy on the subject of their former communications.

Many Irish joined in the Scotch conspiracy.

"I know," affirms the bishop, in a letter dated October 8, 1638, "there are many in my diocese, and other parts of the kingdom, who have joined in this conspiracy; but I am not able to make proof against them, if they should deny it; for of late I have had no intelligence out of Scotland; all letters that come unto me are intercepted. Besides, my friends, from whom I had wont to receive my information, live at Edinburgh and Aberdeen; and know not what is done in the west parts of that country, whither only our people do resort, yet I will use all means to discover them. And, in the mean time, I dare say that these persons, whom I present to your lordship, are guilty: because they are notable non-conformists, and have been lately in Scotland.

Wilfulness of the churchwardens.

"As for those who contemn my process, and oppose my jurisdiction, they are more in number than would fill all the gaols in Ireland; but the churchwardens are the deepest in that guilt, who will present none that are disobedient to the Government; and to that purpose they are chosen. As

in Scotland they are entered into a bond to defend one another by arms, so it seems that in my diocese they have joined in a bond, to defend one another by their oaths. I have, therefore, in obedience to your lordship's commands, sent a list of these churchwardens, extracted out of my registry. If it may please your good lordship to make all or some of them examples, it will strike a terror in the rest of that faction.

Petition of the Irish Presbyterians.

"Since his majesty has been pleased to condescend so far unto them in Scotland by his last proclamation, against which, notwithstanding, they have protested; there is such insulting amongst them here, that they make me weary of my life. And, as I am informed, they are now drawing a petition to his majesty, that they may have the like favour in Ireland as is granted to their fellows in Scotland; which I hope your lordship, in your deep wisdom, will prevent.

Maltreatment of the bishop's officers.

My officers have been lately beaten in open court. I have sent a warrant for apprehending the parties, by virtue of a writ of assistance from your lordship, whereof I never made use before; and, if I apprehend them, I will keep them in restraint till your lordship's pleasure be known. They do threaten me for my life; but, by the grace of God, all their brags shall never make me faint in doing service to God and the king."

Bishop Leslie's letter submitted to the king.

This letter from the Bishop of Down was, according to the Lord Deputy's desire, submitted by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the king. The general directions, concerning the lawless proceedings of the Scotch in Ireland, were comprised in the king's resolute answer to the Lord Deputy, "that you take what order you in your wisdom may think fittest, with your refractory Scottishmen there, so you do it in time, and suppress them before they get the bit between their teeth."

King's directions to the Lord Deputy. Nov. 2, 1638.

With respect to their prayer for special indulgence, the answer is more specifick. "Whereas," says Archbishop Laud to Lord Wentworth, Nov. 2, 1638, "the bishop writes, he is informed, that some

Scots in Ireland are drawing a petition to his majesty, that they may have the like favour in Ireland which is granted to them in Scotland; to this his majesty says that you may make this answer: 'That, whatsoever he hath indulged to Scotland, is because they have there had sometime a church-government, such as it was, confused enough, without bishops. But for Ireland, it hath ever been reformed by, and to, the Church of England. And your lordship, his majesty hopes, will keep the people steady to that; and the Scottishmen, who will live there, your lordship must see that they conform themselves to it; or, if they will, they may return into Scotland, and leave honester men to fill the plantations.'"

Special indulgence not granted to Presbyterians in Ireland, and why.

Section VIII.

Renunciation of the Covenant, and Petition from divers Inhabitants of the North of Ireland. An oath framed in consequence. Ireland an asylum for Scottish Episcopal Refugees. Case of Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killalla. Irregular Conduct of a Clergyman of Raphoe. Correspondence of the Bishop with the Government. Loyalty of the Irish Clergy. Earl of Strafford's Withdrawal from the Viceroyalty. Petition to the English Parliament against Prelates and Prelacy. Petitions to the Irish Parliament against the Bishops of Raphoe, Down, and Derry. Persecution of Bishop of Derry, and his Deliverance.

Considering the distempers of the time, and the lawless and portentous conduct of the Covenanters, it was judged fit for the Government to receive from the Scottish on the Irish side of the Channel, a renunciation of the frantick Covenant contracted by some of their countrymen on the other side. This

Renunciation of the Covenant. 1639.

Petition from divers Scottish inhabitants of Ireland.

was prepared in the form of a humble petition, addressed to the Lord Deputy and Council, by "divers lords spiritual and temporal, knights, gentlemen, and others of the Scottish nation, inhabiting in the kingdom of Ireland."

Their dislike of the Covenant.

The petitioners "declared their inward sorrow, with which they had observed the disorders in Scotland, occasioned by a late Covenant, entered into by some of their countrymen there, without his majesty's authority; they avowed their utter dislike of such courses, and their apprehension that, perhaps, those inconsiderate proceedings of that faction might be understood as reflecting upon them, though innocent thereof: they, therefore, craved leave to be admitted

Prayer to be permitted to vindicate themselves.

to vindicate themselves from so great a blemish, as the contagion and malignity of the lewd and desperate trangressions of that faction; and begged their lordships to prescribe some way, whereby they might not only declare themselves free from any imputation or suspicion of consent to those proceedings, but also testify their bounden duty, faith, and allegiance to the king, and their dislike of that Covenant, and of all other covenants entered into without his majesty's authority, in vindication of which they offer their lives and fortunes against all persons whatsoever: they signify their confidence, that no man of charitable disposition will impute to the whole nation the disloyalty of that faction, and their hope that the Covenant will appear to have been by force imposed on very great numbers, who, when occasion shall enable them, will express their loyalty to the king, as becometh all Christian and faithful subjects."

Petition received with commendations by the Lord Deputy.

This petition was signed by above forty of the most respectable names in that part of Ireland; including the Viscounts Montgomery and Claneboy,

the Bishops of Clogher, Raphoe, and Down, and the Archdeacons of Down and Armagh. It was received by the Lord Deputy and council with commendations of the wisdom of the petitioners, and of the testimony thus given of their loyalty and faithfulness to the king. An oath was accordingly framed, promising all due submission and obedience to the king; and not to bear arms, or do any rebellious or hostile act against his royal commands; and renouncing and abjuring all oaths and covenants contrary to what was therein sworn, professed, and promised. This was required to be taken by all persons of the Scottish nation, of sixteen years and upwards, inhabiting or having any estate in the kingdom of Ireland; and commissioners were appointed, and sent through the country, to administer it.

Oath framed in consequence.

The Church of Ireland, at a somewhat later period, suffered under the acrimonious persecution of the intolerant sect, whose covenant was thus formally abjured by many, who were sensible of its factious and malignant nature. At the present crisis, when the flame of disaffection was so overwhelming in Scotland, as to drive many of her orthodox and loyal clergy to seek refuge in other lands, Ireland conspired with England in affording an asylum to the fugitives. In particular, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and other lawful rulers of the Church of Scotland, being driven from their episcopal seats by schismatical intruders, sought shelter in the hospitable dwelling of the Bishop of Derry, and sought it not in vain. His hospitality and bounty were largely acknowledged by them in several letters, "praying God to reward him for the relief which he gave to his distressed and persecuted brethren, of

Ireland an asylum for Scotch episcopalians.

Hospitality of Bishop Bramhall.

whom their own country was not worthy; not doubting but succeeding ages would mention it to his honour[1]."

Case of Archibald Adair, bishop of Killalla.

One of the Irish episcopacy at this time, Archibald Adair, a native of Scotland, and bishop of Killalla, fell under a charge of being favourable to the Covenanters. His character, as transmitted by history, is equivocal. If charity hesitates to adopt the appellation, which stigmatises him as a "wretched hypocrite[2]," candour can hardly deny that his claim to uprightness and sincerity comes in a very questionable shape. The case was this. A Scotch refugee, of the name of Corbet, had, with much learning and ingenuity, written a book, under the title of *Lysimachus Nicanor*, showing the parallel between the Jesuits and the Scotch Covenanters. He was in consequence removed with favour by other friends of the Church, and especially by the Bishop of Derry; and recommended for a considerable benefice, then vacant, in the gift of the Bishop of Killalla. The bishop, it seems, had a great affection for his own country; and, though he condemned the courses taken by his countrymen, he disapproved of their exposure in a strange nation, and was displeased with the man who had exposed them.

Recommendation of Corbet for his patronage.

His rejection of him.

This is the favourable view of his conduct. His sentiments, at the same time, were expressed in language personally offensive to Corbet. "He told him he was a *corby*, (with allusion to his name, that word signifying in their language, a crow or raven,) that fled out of the ark, and that he should not have where to set his foot in his diocese." He told him also, "that it was an ill bird that defiled

[1] VESEY'S *Life of Bramhall.* [2] LELAND'S *History*, vol. iii. p. 52, 72.

its own nest;" adding othere xpressions of virulence against such men as refused to covenant with their brethren[3].

Corbet, in consequence, laid informations before the High Commission Court against the bishop, whom he accused of being a partisan of the Covenanters; which, indeed, he had given some reason to suspect from the tenour of his speech, which was calculated to extenuate, at least, if not to justify, the lawless and seditious conduct of men, who had broken out into open rebellion against the sovereign, and contumaciously extirpated episcopacy from their country. His indulgence towards the conduct of his countrymen leads to the opinion, that, whatever were his profession and his station, in principle he was friendly to their cause. It was thought dangerous, therefore, whilst the Covenant was in full force in Scotland, and every exertion was making for its establishment and further propagation in Ireland, to suffer a man of his supposed principles to continue in power, and in a capacity to corrupt his clergy, and encourage such noxious principles in his diocese.

Information laid against him.

The consequence was his deprivation on the 18th of May, 1640; but the administration having soon after fallen into the hands of two puritanical lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, the king was induced to regard the sentence as exceeding the measure of the offence. He therefore directed it to be expunged; and advantage was taken of a vacancy which soon afterwards occurred in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, for advancing the deprived prelate to that bishoprick in July, 1641.

His deprivation, and promotion to Waterford.

[3] Vesey's *Life of Bramhall.* Burnet's *Life of Bedell.*

John Leslie, bishop of Raphoe.

On the death of Bishop Knox in 1632, the See of Raphoe was filled by John Lesley, or Leslie, a sound and consistent churchman, as will appear on several future occasions: and who, about this time, was called on to interpose for the correction of a gross

Irregularity of one of his clergy.

irregularity in his diocese, committed by one of his clergy, who, to other disorderly and uncanonical actions, added a vehement attack from the pulpit on the bishop's jurisdiction. His offence was aggravated by some misconduct of his wife, which is not exactly specified, but which appears to have consisted of some ecclesiastical enormities, the encouragement probably of unlawful religious assemblies; and it was patronized by a neighbouring gentleman,

Patronized by Sir William Steward.

Sir William Steward, or Stewart, whose character lay under the imputation of some previous immorality, which, as well as the countenance afforded by him to the irregularity of the minister, seems to have exposed him to legal animadversion.

Instructions from the king.

The bishop, perceiving the necessity of interposing in behalf of the episcopal authority, but cautious of moving without due support, reported the case to the Lord Deputy, to whom the following extract of a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, significantly dated "Lambeth, Wednesday, November 21st, 1638, the day of the sitting down of the Assembly in Scotland," conveyed the king's pleasure upon the subject.

Letter from Archbishop Laud. Nov. 21, 1638.

"These are briefly to let you know that I am so sensible of the business of Pont and his wife in the diocese of Raphoe, that I have put it again to his majesty's serious consideration, and thus he hath commanded me to write to your lordship.

The offenders to be proceeded against.

"He would have the Bishop of Raphoe to deprive Pont of his benefice for the wild sermon he made against the bishop's jurisdiction; and to proceed against his wife in

such way as her fault deserves, and the laws will bear; and, if the crime be not of too old a date, his majesty would have Sir William Stewart questioned for the whoredom and bastardy. But howsoever that fall out, his majesty's command is, that if Sir William Stewart do not give your letters a good answer, and yourself satisfaction in the publick way, you are to remove him from being a counsellor in that state which he serves no better. Yet if all or any part of this his majesty's direction shall seem too sharp, it is left wholly to your judgment to moderate, as you find cause upon the place[4]."

Letter from Lord Deputy to the Archbishop in continuation. Jan. 12, 1639.

A letter to the Archbishop from the Lord Deputy, on the 12th of January following, shows the further progress of this affair.

"As for this business betwixt my Lord of Raphoe and Sir William Stewart, it is put into a way of examination, and the cause will have publication this next term. There shall be all possible care taken, and if the bishop make good his charge, as in truth I am persuaded he will, believe me, the other shall smart; my eyes are open upon it, as well knowing what the consequences of such beginnings show themselves, if not early prevented and stopped.

"Pont's wife is here in the castle; and for the examination and punishment of that conventicle, I have put it to the high commission, who will effectually and roundly proceed therein. Pont himself, and some other of the principal, are gone into Scotland; and as for the bastardy, I conceive it will be best to see how Sir William acquits himself in this business, and thereupon to stir the prosecution, or let it rest, as occasion shall serve[5]."

Disturbance of the bishop's jurisdiction.

It should have been noticed, that besides the charge against Sir William Steward, arising out of Pont's misconduct, he was accused with having himself disturbed the bishop's jurisdiction, by a summons issued by him, as a justice of peace, to bring before him an officer of the bishop, whilst in attendance on the bishop's court. Ignorance of this last

[4] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 245. [5] *Ib.*, ii. 270.

Ignorance pleaded in excuse.

circumstance was pleaded, and admitted as an excuse.

Lord Deputy's letter. May, 1639.

"The cause betwixt my Lord of Raphoe and Sir William Stewart," says the Lord Deputy, in a letter of May 10, 1639, "hath been heard at the board. The bishop proved the fact as he had alleged in his petition, saving that it was not made appear, Sir William knew the bishop's court was sitting, when he and the rest of the justices sent for the apparitor, being the only circumstance that should have made it amount to a crime. Only some words Sir William spake, scandalous to the proceeding of the ecclesiastical courts, on which I took hold, and gave him a very round and publick rebuke for his pains; and in plain terms let him know that I should not endure to have those proceedings, ordained for the good government and peace of the Church, discountenanced by any persons or subjects whatsoever; and that, if it had appeared he had known the bishop's court had been sitting, when he sent to fetch their officer before him, I would have been the means to have removed him from the council board. And so the matter was ended with advantage to the bishop; and will, I am persuaded, move that sort of people to be more circumspect what they do to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical courts.

"This in present I hold sufficient, in regard Sir William took the oath readily, hath in his own person been conformable, and that his two sons, whom your lordship had heard had been Covenanters in Glasgow, have for certain been in this kingdom these last fourteen months, and that one of his sons took the oath with his father[6]."

Grant of three subsidies to the king from the clergy.

About this time the loyalty and zeal of the Irish clergy in the king's service were testified by an act, of which honourable mention is made in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Strafford, to his majesty, who had, about a twelvemonth before, graced his then well-beloved and worthily-trusted counsellor, with these additional titles of official

[6] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 337.

and transmissive dignity. The letter was written Dublin, Good-Friday morning, 1640, being the 3rd of April, when the writer was going on ship-board; thus, as in the end it proved, taking his last farewell of his viceroyalty: from which, after about a year's interval, he was transferred to the block by the enemies of the Church and monarchy.

Letter from Earl of Strafford, lord lieutenant, April 3, 1640.

"The clergy," he says, "have given your majesty the greatest gift, that was ever given the crown in our memory; for there being three subsidies of the former remaining payable these next three years, they have given six subsidies more, to be paid in three years. So as now there are nine subsidies that will be due, and come into the Exchequer, in that time. Nor doth it rest so: for they have also consented a new tax of all ecclesiastical livings in the kingdom, to be rated and set at in the king's books, at the sixth part of the full value thereof: which I am confident will double their subsidies, and so also exceedingly improve the first-fruits and twentieth parts futurely.

His favourable opinion of the kingdom;

"In few words, Sir, your person and authority here is infinitely honoured and reverenced: this people abundantly comforted and satisfied in your justice, set with exceeding alacrity to serve the crown the right way in these doubtful times, and much trusting and believing us, your majesty's poor ministers. All this in as high a measure as your own princely heart can wish. And if all this be not literally true, let the shame be mine, so wretchedly to have misinformed your majesty[7]."

Controverted by fact.

How different from the picture, drawn by the fond imagination of this generous-minded man, was the actual condition of the people's inclination, we shall soon perceive melancholy evidence!

Petition of the Presbyterians to the English parliament.

The withdrawal of the virtuous and noble Earl of Strafford from the viceroyalty of Ireland encouraged the Presbyterians of the North to indulge without

[7] *Strafford Letters*, ii. 202.

reserve their bitter enmity against the Church, the essence of which they concentrated in an address to the English Parliament under the appellation of "The petition of some Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, Tyrone, &c., in the province of Ulster in the kingdom of Ireland[8]."

Complaint of the prelates.

The petitioners set forth, that "partly by the cruel severity and arbitrary proceedings of the civil magistrate, but principally through the unblest way of the prelacy with their faction, our souls are starved, our estates undone, our families impoverished, and many lives among us cut off and destroyed."

General accusations

"The prelates," they proceed to say, "have by their canons, of late, their fines, fees, and imprisonments at their pleasure; their silencing, suspending, banishing, and excommunicating of our learned and conscionable ministers; their obtruding upon us ignorant, erroneous, and profane persons to be our teachers; their censuring of many hundreds, even to excommunication, for matters acknowledged by all to be indifferent, and not necessary; their favouring Popery, in this kingdom a double fault; their persecuting of purity, and endeavouring to bring all to a lifeless formality; divers of them being notorious incendiaries of the unquietness and unsettled estate between these kingdoms; with many the like too tedious to relate, as more fully in our ensuing grievances doth appear. These our cruel taskmasters have made of us, who were once a people, to become as it were no people," &c.

Particulars exhibited in thirty-one articles.

Then, after a prayer "for reparation, in some measure, of their unutterable damages," they go on to exhibit "a particular of manifold evils and heavy

[8] *A Sample of Jet-black Prelatick Calumny*, &c., p. 133.

pressures, caused and occasioned by the prelacy and their dependants;" this is comprised in thirty-one accusatory or rather condemnatory articles, which stand on record a disgraceful and melancholy monument of the mind and sentiments of non-conformity, as it existed in Ireland in the year 1641; of the spirit of ecclesiastical antipathy the most virulent and malevolent, expressed with the utmost acerbity of invective; and of slander putting forth her fictions, distortions, and exaggerations, with all the fearless confidence of simplicity and truth.

These allegations are wound up and concluded with the following brief peroration. "Thus they," that is, the prelates, the continual subject of the foregoing charges, "publishing and proclaiming themselves the children of Ishmael and Esau, we most humbly beseech you, as the true sons of Israel, to take order with them as God shall direct, whom we shall ever pray to be aiding and assisting unto you, in this great and glorious work of reformation."

Petition printed in a tract.

This petition was soon afterwards printed in a tract, for more convenient circulation, as an exposition of the bishops' "overruling lordly power." It was presented by Sir John Clotworthy to the Long Parliament, and accepted by them; but with what particular result does not appear, though little doubt can be entertained of the favourable inclination of those whose prepossessions are so well known concerning episcopacy and the Church.

Petitions to the Irish Parliament against the northern bishops.

In the Irish Parliament also, where the High Commission Court was abolished as illegal and unconstitutional, several petitions were presented against the Bishops of Raphoe, Down and Derry. With respect to the first in particular, a petition

from the widow of the irregular preacher, Pont, was referred to a selected committee, who made on it a report prejudicial to the bishop; which, however, being adopted by the house, and sent up to the Lords, was not made the ground of any further proceedings.

Impeachment of Bishop Bramhall.

Upon Bishop Bramhall of Derry the most vehement assault was made, an impeachment being lodged against him, together with the Lord Chancellor Bolton, the Lord Chief Justice Lowther, and Sir George Radcliffe, by Sir Bryan O'Neil, the representative of the Popish party, supported by Protestant non-conformists. The bishop's friends advised him to continue in Derry, where he was superintending his charge, and not expose himself to trial in Dublin. But, conscious of his integrity and innocence, he hastened to the metropolis; and appeared the next day in the parliament-house, greatly to the astonishment of his enemies, by whom he was made a close prisoner.

Description of his persecution, by Bishop Taylor.

The course of this persecution shall be related in the forcible and eloquent language of Bishop Taylor, who thus describes the discomfiture of malignity before uprightness and truth.

"When the numerous armies of vexed people heaped up catalogues of accusations; when the parliament of Ireland imitated the violent proceedings of the disordered English; when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences; when petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power; when there were above two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprisoned and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment, and pitiful and low considerations: yet then he himself, standing

almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, invested with enemies and covered with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced. They were therefore forced to leave their muster-rolls, and decline the particulars, and fall to their ἐν μεγα, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws; the way by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell; which was a device, when all reasons failed, to oppress the enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove."

Letter from Bishop Bramhall to Primate Ussher, April 26, 1641.

A letter written at this time, April the 26th, 1641, by the bishop to the Lord Primate, contains much of the charge against him, and of the defence which he pleaded: and an extract from it may be here fitly inserted from Bishop Vesey's *Life*.

His zeal for the king and the Church.

"It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me, to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort in this my great affliction, which has befallen me for my zeal to the service of his majesty, and the good of this Church; in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and appropriations to the crown, and to increase the revenue of the Church, in a fair just way, always with the consent of the parties, which did ever use to take away errors.

Charge against him refuted.

"But now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason and law. The scale must needs yield when weight is put into it. And your grace knows to what pass many bishopricks were brought, some to 100*l.* per annum: some 50*l.*, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to five marks, as Cloyne and Kilmacduagh: How in some dioceses, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at 2*l.*, 3*l.*, 4*l.*, or 5*l.* per annum, for a long

time, three lives, or a hundred years: How the chantries of Ardee, Dondalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents.

His vindication of his conduct.

"In all this, my part was only labour and expense: but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop men's mouths: but I challenge all the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or church preferments. I fly to your grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the Church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable. I never took the oath of judge or counsellor; yet do I not know, wherein I ever in all these passages deviated from the rule of justice. My trust is in God, that, as my intentions were sincere, so He will deliver me. . . . . Since I was a bishop, I never displaced any man in my diocese, but Mr. Noble for his professed Popery, Mr. Hugh for confessed simony, and Mr. Dunkine, an illiterate curate, for refusing to pray for his majesty.

"Almighty God bless your grace, even as the Church stands in need of you at this time; which is the hearty and faithful prayer

"Of your grace's obedient servant and suffragan,

"Jo: Derensis.

"*April* 26, 1641."

The Primate's assurance of his sympathy and exertions.

The Primate in his answer gave the bishop, among other things, an assurance of his own sympathy and exertions in his behalf; of the good will of the king; and of the interest taken in his welfare by the excellent nobleman, who had recently fallen a sacrifice to the malevolence of their enemies.

His mediation with the king.

"I assure you my care never slackened in soliciting your cause at court, with as great vigilancy as if it did touch my own proper person. I never intermitted an occasion of mediating with his majesty in your behalf, who still pitied

your case, acknowledged the faithfulness of your services both to the Church and to him, avowed that you were no more guilty of treason than himself, and assured me that he would do for you all that lay in his power. . . . . My Lord Strafford, the night before his suffering, (which was most Christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*,) sent me to the king, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you, and of the other two lords that are under the same pressure."

In the end, the king, being anxious that the bishop's death should not be added to that of the noble earl, who had made his safety one of the objects of his dying request to his majesty, sent over to Ireland a letter, to provide for the bishop's deliverance. But the word of a king was scarcely powerful enough to procure obedience. However, at length, the bishop was restored to liberty, though without any publick acquittal, the charge still lying dormant against him, to be awakened when his enemies should please. "But, alas!" says Bishop Bramhall's biographer, "these were flashes that caused more fear than hurt: the fiery matter at last burst into such thunder-claps, that the foundation of the whole kingdom reeled."

It will be our business to advert immediately to the tempest, the fury of which is thus emphatically anticipated by the biographer of the Bishop of Derry. But a contemplation of the virtues and charities of domestick life, blended with qualities of a more commanding kind, and shedding a gleam over the darkness of publick or private calamity, is soothing to the mind of the observer: and the reader will pardon me for pausing to lay before him the following letter to Mrs. Bramhall, written by the Bishop of Derry in his confinement, the 12th of March, 1640.

Letter from the Bishop of Derry to Mrs. Bramhall, March 12, 1640.

"My dearest joy,

"Thou mayest see by my delay in writing that I am not willing to write while things are in these conditions. But shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive ill? He gives and takes away, blessed be his holy name! I have been near a fortnight at the black rod, charged with a treason. Never any man was more innocent of that foul crime: the ground is only my reservedness. God in his mercy, I do not doubt, will send us many merry and happy days together after this, when this storm is blown over. But this is a time of humiliation for the present. By all the love between us, I require thee that thou do not cast down thyself, but bear it with a cheerful mind, and trust in God that He will deliver us[9]."

SECTION IX.

Rebellion of 1641. *Previous circumstances. Its objects. Its effects on the Church. Destruction of her Members. Fate of her Governors. Her Desolation. Conduct of Romish Clergy. Their temper and projects exemplified. Protestant Sectarists. Westminster Assembly of Divines. Solemn League and Covenant. Its prevalence in Ireland. Suspension of the Royal Authority.*

Rebellion of 1641.

THE thunder-storm, to which the biographer of Bishop Bramhall alludes in the extract near the conclusion of the last section, was now about to burst upon the Church.

Previous general tranquillity.

At the period preceding the year 1641, there appears to have been a general tranquillity throughout the kingdom, unless where it was molested by the Scotch innovators, and a general good agreement between the Irish and English inhabitants. The two nations had lived together for many successive years in security and comfort, and with a

[9] *Rawdon Papers*, p. 75.

mutual interchange of friendly offices. Their intermarriages were frequent, their manners had acquired a great degree of similarity, and there was much probability in the prospect of a long endurance of peace and good-will.

Free exercise of the Popish religion.

In particular, the Papists were enjoying the free exercise of their religion. By the excessive indulgence of the late governments, their titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial consistories, deans, abbots, priors, and nuns, all lived unrestrainedly, if somewhat covertly, amongst them; and exercised over them an uncontrolled and voluntary jurisdiction. Their priests, jesuits, and friars, had of late years exceedingly multiplied; and returned in vast numbers from Italy, Spain, and other foreign countries, whither the children of the native Irish, who were devoted to the sacred profession, were usually sent for education. These, without interruption, had quietly settled themselves in the chief towns and villages, as well as in the houses of the noblemen and private gentlemen throughout the kingdom: so that, notwithstanding any penalties which they might have suffered from a strict enforcement of the laws, they were allowed in fact the private, but undisturbed, exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies.

Plot for Rebellion and massacre.

It was under such circumstances as these, that for several years a deep plot was laid for a general Rebellion, and massacre of the English and Protestant inhabitants, by Popish priests and jesuits of the Continent, in conjunction with those of Ireland. For carrying it into execution, they were accustomed in their publick devotions to recommend the good success of a great design, calculated to promote the prosperity of the kingdom and the advancement of

Its religious motives.

the Catholick cause. For exciting the people to accomplish the undertaking with greater animation, they loudly declaimed everywhere against Englishmen and Protestants, impressing on the people that to kill a heretick was no more sinful than to kill a dog, but that to relieve or protect one would be an unpardonable sin. They represented also most invidiously the severe courses taken by the English Parliament for suppressing the Romish religion: and they most falsely invented a story of a secret conspiracy for seizing the principal Irish noblemen and gentlemen of that persuasion, in the ensuing November, and compelling them, under the dread of a general massacre, to embrace the Protestant faith[6].

Secular motives.

Together with these religious motives to animosity, they combined others of a secular kind. The prosperity of the English settlers; their large possessions and goodly improvements; the English property in the soil withdrawn from themselves, the ancient proprietors, and only true owners, as they esteemed themselves, whose present condition was in comparison one of extreme degradation and wretchedness; were additional motives to animosity and hostility.

Encouragement of the people by the priests.

Add to these the liberty, given by the priests to the people, upon dismissing them at mass on the eve of the Rebellion, to go forth, and take possession of all their lands, which were unjustly detained by the English; and to plunder, strip, and despoil the invaders of all their cattle and goods.

Objects of the Rebellion.

And surely the incentive must have been powerful, to prompt a whole nation, as it were, to do despite to our common nature; and to cast from them all the feelings of humanity; and to combine

[1] *Irish Rebellion*, by Sir John Temple, p. 15, 4to.

together, for the purpose of involving all the English, man, woman, and child, old and young, in one sweeping destruction, and thus extirpate them utterly from the country.

Its explosion, Oct. 23, 1641.

Such, however, was the purpose, and such the attempt, of that barbarous massacre, which, having been plotted with jesuitical malignity and artifice, and carried forward to the period of its consummation with secresy the most marvellous, at length, on the 23rd of October, 1641, suddenly burst forth and filled large districts of Ireland, more especially in the northern counties, with human sacrifices, so that "the land was defiled with blood."

Seasonable opportunity.

The period was especially favourable to the enterprise by reason of the difficulties and dangers which pre-occupied and beset the government in the other parts of the empire. This sentiment is strongly put forward by Dean Swift, in his sermon on the martyrdom of King Charles the First. "The Irish rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked English Parliament. For the leaders in the Irish Popish massacre would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the English House of Commons, which they very well knew must disable the king from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here: and, therefore, we may truly say, that the English Parliament held the king's hands, while the Irish Papists here were cutting our grandfathers' throats[2]."

Horrible atrocities.

The detail of horrible atrocities, which were then perpetrated, is too painful to be needlessly contemplated: and it is not intended in the present pages to offer them to the reader's observation. They may

[2] Swift's *Works*, v. ix. p. 179.

be found by those who seek them, in the histories of Ireland, where they stand established on the evidence of eye-witnesses, who attested them in answer to judicial inquiries, and on oath. Their general character may be set forth in language, designed to depict the revolutionary horrors of infidel France about a century and a half later:

> The savage, panting under Indian skies,
> Red with the blood of human sacrifice,
> Would list in dread amaze the wondrous tales,
> And bless his gentler tribes and happier vales[3].

Its effects on the Church.

Our more immediate business, however, with this nefarious conspiracy is to regard it in its effects upon the Church of Ireland, to the well-being of which, and even to its very being, in many parts of the kingdom, it must for a time have been fatal.

Ruin of her sacred edifices.

In numerous instances no doubt the Church was despoiled of her sacred edifices for divine worship. When we read that "the cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns laid waste, all the fair plantations made by the British left desolate," and that fire was one of the instruments of this general waste and desolation, we can hardly refrain from the inference, that other churches were involved in a similar fate to that which destroyed the cathedral of Armagh; and it is but reasonable to suppose, that in other cases the like result would follow from that spirit of plunder and sacrilege, which "forcibly broke open the doors of the cathedral church of Kilkenny; and plundered it of its property there deposited, its chalices, surplices, ornaments, books, records, and writings;" whilst "the general remonstrance of the distressed Protestants in the province of Munster," pouring forth

Instances of plunder and sacrilege.

[3] RICHARDS's *Modern France*.

to the king their griefs and supplications, commemorated the previous improvement of religion, testified "by the enlarged congregations both in cathedral and parochial churches," and lamented over "their temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by sacrifices to idols[4]."

Diminution of her congregations.

But into whatever condition, or into whosesoever hands, the churches may have fallen, their congregations were deplorably diminished by this sudden devastation.

Different statements of numbers slaughtered.

Act of Parliament 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 23.

Of the number of the members of the Church, who were swept off by this besom of destruction, it is not possible to speak with precision. The Act of Parliament, which was subsequently passed for celebrating the 23rd of October, as an anniversary of thanksgiving for deliverance from the conspiracy, recites that "many thousand British and Protestants were massacred, and many thousand others of them were afflicted and tormented with the most exquisite torments that malice could suggest." The sworn testimony of Robert Maxwell, clerk, archdeacon of Down, and subsequently bishop of Kilmore, declares, August 22nd, 1642, that "the diary, which he wrote amongst the rebels, being burned, with his house, books, and all his papers, he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the rebels themselves have upon enquiry found out and acknowledged; which, notwithstanding, will come short of all that have been murdered in Ireland, there being above one hundred and fifty-four thousand now wanting of the British, within the very precinct of Ulster." As a general summary of the whole, Sir John Temple states, that "since the Rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation, made September 15, 1643,

Robert Maxwell.

Sir John Temple.

[4] Temple, pp. 99—102.

which was not full two years after, above three hundred thousand British and Protestants were cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in Ireland, besides those few who perished in the heat of fight during the war."

Numbers reduced

It appears, however, to be by later writers more commonly thought, that those numbers are great exaggerations of the truth. A Popish writer, indeed, has extenuated the amount to eight thousand in all.

Sir William Petty.

But it was the calculation of Sir William Petty, who surveyed the kingdom soon after the war, and had, therefore, sufficient means of information, and was neither by interest nor inclination disposed to favour the Irish, that there were only thirty-seven thousand British massacred in all the first year of the troubles. This calculation is reported, discussed, and approved by Carte; and it does not vary to a great extent from the account of Lord Clarendon, adopted by Hume, that above forty thousand were murdered at the first outbreak, before any danger was apprehended. It should be observed, however, that these calculations do not extend beyond a limited space of time, and must, no doubt, receive a considerable accession, in order to reach the total amount of the British slaughter.

Carte.

Lord Clarendon.

Hume.

Members of the Church.

Of the British and Protestants thus slaughtered, whatever may have been the amount, a very large proportion, it cannot be doubted, were members of the Church of Ireland. Of the parochial clergy, at the same time, it is evident that a great number became victims of the general extermination. Several

Parochial clergy.

of these, their names, their sufferings, and their indignities, are on record; as of one who was inhumanly murdered at Killyman, in the county of Tyrone, and another, who, with his wife and four children, underwent the same fate at Limerick; of one who was stripped, and driven, like a wild beast, through Cashel, the rebels following, and pricking him on with darts and rapiers, till he fell down dead; of others, at the same place, who were thrust into a loathsome dungeon, and kept there for many weeks in abject and miserable bondage; and of others, again, who were hanged, at the same place, with circumstances of unfeeling and pitiless barbarity; of others, who, having been barbarously slaughtered, were exposed in their remains to laceration and mutilation, to indignity and insult, at Kilkenny: and of others who were refused Christian burial, after being murdered, or, having been buried, were dug out of their graves, as patrons of heresy, at Killaloe. The Vicar of Urras, in the county of Mayo, having been terrified into a profession of Popery, became a drummer in the company of an insurrectionary officer, and was then slaughtered for a recompense by the rebels[5].

Peculiar outrage on a clergyman.

Upon one of these ministers, in particular, was inflicted an act of peculiar outrage, which requires especial notice. Seven Protestant heads being triumphantly erected, on a market-day, upon the market-cross of Kilkenny, slashed, stabbed, and mangled, into the mouth of one of them, being that of a clergyman, with his cheeks slit up to the ears, was inserted a gag or carrot; and a leaf of the Bible being placed before him, he was bidden to preach, being insultingly told that his mouth was wide

[5] Temple's *Irish Rebellion*, pp. 94, 87, 111, 106, 95.

enough. The outrage, thus offered to the minister of God's word, harmonized with that which was offered to the word of God[6].

Outrages on the Holy Scriptures.

Of the irreligious treatment of the latter many other examples are recorded. In the counties of Wicklow, Tyrone, Cavan, Fermanagh, and in the Queen's County, instances might be specified of the Holy Volume being cut or torn to pieces, being cast into the fire and burned, being plunged into, and soiled with, filthy water, being leaped upon and trampled under foot, with exclamations of bitter reproach and imprecation; as that this Book was the cause of all the strife and contention in the country, and that there was good hope of all the Bibles in Ireland being polluted and trodden on, as that was, and of there being soon not one suffered to remain in the kingdom[7].

Disasters of the bishops.

During such acts of animosity against the Church, and everything connected with it, perpetrated by the Irish Papists, under the auspices of their hierarchy and their priesthood, who participated or abetted these atrocities, it is not to be supposed that the governors of the Church escaped uninjured. The disasters, indeed, which befel them in these days of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy, may be traced with considerable particularity, though not with perfect precision.

Primate Ussher.

The Primate, in the preceding year, had gone on a short visit of private business to England; whence, however, he never returned to his native country. But his absence did not exempt him from a share of the common affliction. In a very few days after the breaking out of the rebellion, his houses in the country were plundered by the rebels; his rents

[6] TEMPLE, p. 97. [7] *Ib.*, p. 99.

seized; his tenements quite ruined or destroyed; his numerous flocks and herds of cattle, to a very great value, driven away; in a word, nothing escaped their devastation, but his library and the furniture of his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of the place, notwithstanding a long and dangerous siege, and the library with much difficulty transmitted to him the following year. To pawn all the jewels and plate in his possession was necessary for his present supply.

Archbishop Bulkeley.

Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, remained in that city, which, by a marvellous interposition of God's providence, had been preserved from imminent destruction, and became the sole place of refuge for the persecuted Protestants of the country. He died some years afterwards, at Taulaght, his country residence in the neighbourhood, spent with age and grief for the calamities of the times.

Archbishop Hamilton.

Hamilton, archbishop of Cashel, appears to have sought safety in a remote country; at least, he died at Stockholm, a very aged man, in 1659.

Archbishop Boyle and Bishop Maxwell.

Boyle, archbishop of Tuam, and with him Maxwell, bishop of Killalla, retired for protection to Galway, in 1641; and were in great peril of their lives from an insurrection of the townsmen, who took up arms against the garrison. Bishop Maxwell had been forced from his episcopal palace by the rebels, plundered of his goods, attacked, with his wife, three children, and a number of Protestants, in all about a hundred, at the bridge of Shruel, when several were slain, and the bishop himself, with others, was wounded; but happily escaped, under the protection of a neighbouring gentleman, who took them to his house, and afforded them signal assistance[8].

[8] CLANRICKARDE'S *Memoirs*, pp. 72, 73.

Several bishops, whose sufferings are not particularly known.

Of several, no incidents are related, beyond the date, and, perhaps, the place, of the death of each. Spottiswood, bishop of Clogher, died at Westminster, in 1644. Richardson, bishop of Ardagh, is supposed to have died in London, August, 1654. He had taken early alarm at the Rebellion, and withdrawn, with all his substance, into England, in the summer of 1641. Buckworth, bishop of Dromore, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, also retired to England, and died in 1652. Under similar circumstances, Ussher, bishop of Kildare, died in 1642; and Adair, bishop of Waterford, at Bristol, in 1647; and Synge, bishop of Cloyne, at Bridgenorth, in 1653, having, however, not gone to England till 1647; and Dawson, bishop of Clonfert, at Kendal, his native place, 1643. Of these no particulars, having reference to the Rebellion, are related, save the fact of their having apparently sought a refuge from the storm in England.

Bishop Martin.

Of the following, more particulars are related. As that Martin, bishop of Meath, having had his house pillaged and burnt in the beginning of the troubles, and all his property seized by the rebels, who left him nothing, capable of being converted into money, but a few old gowns, continued in Dublin, under circumstances of which we shall have occasion hereafter to make honourable mention, till he died there, oppressed with poverty, and a victim to the plague, in 1650:

Bishop Henry Lesley.

That Lesley, bishop of Down and Connor, patiently and magnanimously endured the loss of all his substance in the common calamity; and having loyally attended his sovereign in his distress, was, on the restoration of that sovereign's son, promoted to the see of Meath, in 1660:

That Bramhall, bishop of Derry, having narrowly escaped a plot to circumvent him by Sir Phelim O'Neale, under a pretence of secret intelligence between them, which was intended to bring upon him a dishonourable death; and having had his carriages searched and plundered; took ship privately for England, and was of great service, by his faithful adherence to the king; and, in the end, after escaping from many and great dangers, became Archbishop of Armagh at the Restoration: Bishop Bramhall.

That Willams, bishop of Ossory, having been compelled to flee from his see within a few months of his consecration in 1641, whence he had derived no emolument, and having passed through a long succession of poverty, suffering, and persecutions, survived them all, and was reinstated in his bishoprick in 1660: Bishop Williams.

That Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, fled to England in December, 1641, to avoid the fury of the Rebellion, which had commenced about two months before; and having suffered much from captivity in his voyage, and afterwards from the loss of a choice and valuable library, died in 1649 at Derby; having, during the troubles in England, been relieved out of the alms of well-disposed persons: Bishop Chappel.

And that Henry Tilson, bishop of Elphin, retired to England, having undergone the pillage of his library and goods by the titular bishop; and was buried at Dewsbury in 1655. Bishop Tilson.

One of the Irish prelates, Lesley, bishop of Raphoe, continued in the country under circumstances hereafter to be mentioned; and one other, Jones, bishop of Killaloe, appears not to have quitted the country, as he is related to have died in Dublin in 1646. The same may perhaps be said of Sib- Bishop John Lesley.

thorp, bishop of Kilfenora, who was translated to Limerick in 1642, and died in 1649 at Dublin. In the mean time, by reason of the wars, he never received the slightest emolument from his preferment.

Bishop Webb and Bishop Bedell.

Two were taken prisoners by the rebels, Webb, bishop of Limerick, and Bedell, bishop of Kilmore; of whom Bishop Webb died the same year in captivity; and Bishop Bedell was seized and carried with his family to the castle of Loughouter, built in a small island, and encompassed with deep water, at a few miles distance. He suffered much from the ruinous state of the building, and its exposure to the inclemency of the weather and the winter's severity. There, after about twenty days' imprisonment, he was exchanged for certain prisoners of distinction among the rebels; but, although previously promised, he was not allowed to proceed to Dublin, the usual place of refuge for the outcast and distressed; and he died shortly after, his death having been hastened by the weight of his sorrow, and the hardships of his confinement. The persecutions of that excellent man are related at length in his life by Bishop Burnet; and they offer an example of piety, resignation, fortitude, and forbearance, worthy of the primitive and best days of Christian martyrdom: an example which, though it was lost upon the titular intruder, who supplanted him in his dwelling, and for a while, in a fit of intoxication, excepted against the burying of the heretick's body in the consecrated ground of his own churchyard, was more duly estimated by another minister of that communion; and contributed with his exemplary life, in drawing forth that memorable exclamation, "O may my soul be with Bedell!"

Persecutions of Bishop Bedell.

Exclamation of a Romish priest concerning him.

And surely the wish might reasonably be in-

dulged, for if it be allowable to express an opinion upon the probable condition of a departed spirit, that of Bedell may have been well supposed to be translated to the abodes of blessedness. Meanwhile over the grave, wherein were deposited his mortal remains, was laid a tombstone, with a shield, distinguished by his armorial bearings, and surmounted by a mitre; with an open book, and an hour-glass, and other emblems of mortality beneath; and with an ill-arranged, ill-spelt, and coarsely-carved inscription, which has been recorded by Bishop Burnet, though with some inaccuracy, and still exists, but is hardly legible.

Description of his tombstone.

In the year 1820, a gentleman visited the spot, and communicated the result in a letter dated July the 8th, from Cavan, about three miles distant from Kilmore, to his brother, whose kindness empowers me to mention these particulars.

"I had," he observes, "in consequence of the gross ignorance regarding Bishop Bedell in this county and town, determined to set this day apart for inquiry at the place of his remains, and in tracing accurately the inscription, and I accordingly succeeded beyond my idea. The annexed is a tolerably correct sketch of the slab. I had much difficulty in reading the inscription; indeed, it puzzled me twice, and I was perplexed, but determined to make it clear. The letters are all raised on a brownish slab, broken in pieces, and the edges of the letters are so rounded by time, that there is little shade from them, so as to recognize them from the plane surface. I accordingly awaited the bursting out of the sun, which, as the shadows from the index of a dial, relieved the letters a little for me, and made my success complete. The inscription then is *truly* and *really* this:

Gulielmi Bideli
quondem Kilmorens
is Episcopi
Depositum.

"As a few years will remove all, I wish you to keep this as the fruit of accurate inquiry, and the more especially as I could not obtain any aid in making the matter more easy. I have seen some notices of the inscription, but they are all incorrect. The grave is in a retired part of the churchyard, and a sycamore-tree, of at least twelve feet in circumference, the growth of ages, is flourishing near it, and flinging its time-honoured arms over the hallowed spot."

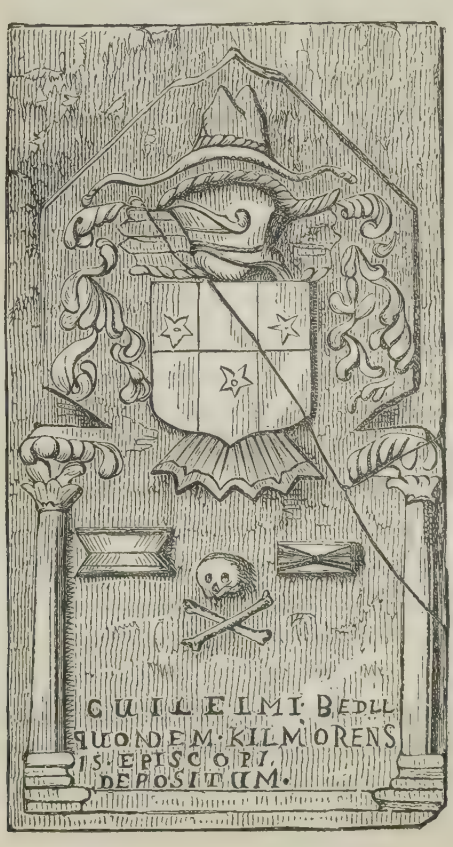
Bedell's tree.

The sycamore tree here mentioned has the traditionary character of having been planted by the hand of Bishop Bedell, and is known by the name of Bedell's tree; being situated on the outside of the churchyard wall, and at one end of a noble terrace, contiguous to the old episcopal residence. When I visited the scene in 1833, about thirteen years after the date of the foregoing narrative, it presented an appearance of singular stateliness and beauty, and extended its branches far beyond the boundary which separated the churchyard from the bishop's demesne, and over the last resting-place of the venerable prelate whose name it bore. I then transcribed the inscription with difficulty, which has been increased, no doubt, by the decay of the intervening years; for a copy of it, recently made by my desire (October, 1839), has been forwarded with the remark, "I send it as it stands: the first letter, like C, is of course G, and the first word in the second line *quondam*. But the inscription is not at first sight intelligible, and it took half an hour's constant kneeling over the stone to make out the sense by means of fingers as well as eyes."

Decayed state of the inscription.

To those who can pass with "frigid philosophy" over "scenes that have been dignified by virtue, wisdom, and piety," the foregoing detail may need some apology. To those who are alive to the influence of local associations, this digression to the resting-place

of Bedell will plead its own excuse. And they will receive with indulgence, at least, and complacency, the annexed engraving, of which the upper part exhibits the arms and accompaniments, as sketched by the visitor of 1820, and recently examined and corrected on the spot, and the lower the inscription in its actual state of decay and imperfection. The extent of the decay may be inferred from the fact, that in the two copies of the inscription, so carefully traced, the spelling of the bishop's name does not tally.



Burial of Bishop Bedell.

At the interment of Bishop Bedell many of the chief rebels assembled, out of their singular value for his excellence, and discharged a volley of shot over his grave, crying out in Latin, "Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum!" "May the last of the English rest in peace!" For they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last to survive among them. And one of a pensive and desponding mind, pondering the actual state and the immediate prospects of the Church, of which he was so distinguished a governor, might not unreasonably, perhaps, have caught in that sound the requiem for the Church herself. She was well nigh spent with her affliction. During the six years, indeed, of war and tumult, which filled up the interval between the Irish massacre and the murder of the king, she struggled, mutilated as she was and enfeebled, to keep up a precarious existence. But although, on the one side, the noble Marquis of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, was exerting his influence to secure or recover for her all that was possible of her rights and privileges, her buildings, her benefices, and jurisdiction; on the other side, the Popish hierarchy were here assuming the titles of the episcopacy of the kingdom, and occupying the Church's palaces and temples, and claiming her possessions, and asserting a paramount dominion; and there the parliament of England was putting forth its powers for depriving her of her apostolical eminence and her beauty of holiness, and reducing her to a level with the sects and systems of human and modern invention: till at length the iron hand of Cromwell, red with the blood of his sovereign, laid its strong grasp upon her, and extinguished nearly

Depressed condition of the Church.

all that remained of her spirit, and left her but the shadow of a name.

Synod of Popish bishops and clergy. March 22, 1642.

The Romish clergy, who, as the lords justices say, "had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in these works of darkness," now began openly to justify that Rebellion, which they were before supposed underhand to promote. Hugh O'Neile, titular primate of Armagh, summoned the bishops and clergy of his province to a synod at Kells. They met on the 22nd of March, 1642; and, after making some constitutions against murderers, plunderers, and the usurpers of other people's estates, they declared the war, so they called the Rebellion of the Irish, to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all persons to join in support of the cause.

Absence of titular Bishop of Meath.

Thomas Diaz, or Desse, titular bishop of Meath, had been summoned to this synod; but neither came in person, nor sent a proxy to appear for him. He had not offered so much as an excuse for his absence, nor admonished any of the dignitaries of his Church to go thither. He had laboured earnestly to keep the nobility and gentry of his diocese from embarking in the war, which he maintained to be groundless and unjust: and had succeeded so well, particularly with the Earl of Westmeath, in whose house he lived, and with several gentlemen of the Nugent family, that they had not stirred. It was necessary in policy to censure a prelate, who had done them so much mischief, and to destroy the credit which he had with his flock. They ordered him to recant an opinion, so contradictory to their own; to subscribe the acts of the synod; and to submit himself in three weeks, under pain of incurring suspicion of heresy, and of being informed

Censure passed upon him.

against to the Pope; and in case he did not submit within that time they declared him suspended *ab officio*.

General synod.

To the authority of a provincial synod it was thought proper to add that of a general synod of all the Romish bishops and clergy in Ireland, which met on the 10th of May at Kilkenny. The three titular Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, and the proxies of five more, besides vicars-general and other dignitaries, were present, and declared the war to be just and lawful.

The war declared just and lawful.

Provisions for its conduct.

Among other constitutions, they ordered an exact register to be kept in each province of the burnings, murders, and cruelties committed by the Protestant forces, and passed censures on such of their people as were guilty of the like outrages. They provided that no distinction should be made of old and new Irish, and that all who had taken arms should be united by a common oath of association: that all who should refuse to take the oath, or were neuters, or who assisted the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence, should be excommunicated, and deemed enemies of the cause and betrayers of their country. They directed all ecclesiastical revenues to be received by particular collectors; and, after a competency being allowed to the proprietor, the rest to be applied for the service of the war.

Regulation for support of the confederacy.

For the better exercise and support of their confederacy, they made several regulations with regard to the provinces; appointing provincial councils, composed of clergy and laity together, to be settled in each, and a general council of the nation to be formed at Kilkenny, to which the others were subordinate. They resolved also to apply to foreign

potentates; and ordered that, in the next general assembly a prelate, a nobleman, and a lawyer should be deputed to the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France, to solicit for assistance. These were acts purely of the clergy; but the nobility and gentry, then at Kilkenny, joined in forming the oath of association; in naming the members of the supreme council, of which Lord Mountgarret was chosen president; and in appointing a general assembly of the whole nation to meet in that city in the October following[p].

Specimens of the projects of Popish hierarchy.

Of the temper and the projects of the Popish hierarchy, with respect to the Church of Ireland, at this season, the following may be cited as specimens, which represent the objects of its ambition under various aspects, all of them, however, looking towards the same end.

Possessions of the Protestant clergy appropriated, October, 1642.

In 1642, the 24th of October, a general assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal, and others, the representatives of the confederates, was held at Kilkenny, where, amongst many other ordinances it was decreed, "That the possessions of the Protestant clergy, in right of the Church, shall be deemed the possessions of the Catholick clergy." And on the 14th of November they named their supreme council, which contained, together with others, the following prelates, thus absolutely described: "Archbishop of Dublin," "Archbishop of Tuam," "Bishop of Clonfert," "Archbishop of Armagh." And to the same effect in 1650, occurs a "Declaration of the undernamed bishops, in the name of themselves and the rest of the bishops, convoked at Limerick, as deputed by them." It professes to be "from ourselves, as the sense like-

Titles of the bishops assumed.

[p] Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, v. i. p. 316.

wise and true meaning of the rest of our brethren, other bishops of this kingdom:" and it bears annexed the signatures of persons calling themselves absolutely and without qualification, Archbishop of Tuam, Bishop of Clonfert, of Killalla, of Cork and Cloyne, Bishop of Kilmacduagh[10].

Churches seized, June, 1645.

In a meeting of the Popish clergy, June 1, 1645, for the purpose of considering certain terms of agreement with the king, it was determined, "absolutely, expressly, and clearly to set down in the said treaty of peace a special article, to the effect of keeping in their hands such churches, abbeys, monasteries, and chapels now in their hands, and recovered by them for the true worship of God;" and at a general assembly of the confederates, on the 9th of the same month, in pursuance of the foregoing decision of the clergy, it was voted, "That as to the demand of restoring the Protestant churches, there should be given a positive denial."

Jurisdiction and patronage of benefices claimed, January, 1647.

And in another congregation of the Popish clergy, in January, 1647, a paper of proposals was agreed upon, which was submitted to the general assembly of the confederates on the first day of their meeting, and contained this demand, "That they should have all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and immunities, as amply as they had in the time of King Henry the Seventh, and have all the church livings, &c., conferred upon them."

Exhortations of the Pope by his nuncio, 1645.

Such was the spirit with which the Popish clergy regarded the Church of Ireland, and such the projects which they meditated for its overthrow, in accordance with the exhortation of the pope, Innocent the Tenth, communicated to them by his nuncio at one of their assemblies in 1645, who had been

[10] Cox's *Hist.*, v. ii. pp.124, 151, 185.

instructed to assemble the bishops and prelates of the kingdom; to unite and encourage them to persist in the war, till their religion should be established, and a Romanist appointed lord lieutenant; and to induce them to receive the decrees of the Council of Trent[11]. And the overthrow of the Church, considered in the character of a National Church, must have been the consequence of the privations, to which it was their aim that she should be submitted.

Sentiments of the Lord Lieutenant.

The Marquis of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant, seems to have been duly sensible of this, and to have made that conviction the rule of his own determination: for in a letter, addressed to the Lord Digby, on Christmas Day, 1646, he thus plainly and resolutely indicates his sentiments. "I shall beseech you to be careful of one thing, which is, to take order that the commands, that shall be directed to me touching this people, if any be, thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion, for in that and in that only I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject, to obey by suffering: and particularly that there be no concession to the Papists, to perpetuate churches or church livings to them, or to take ecclesiastical jurisdiction from us. And as for other freedoms from penalties, for the quiet exercise of their religion, I am clear of opinion, it not only may, but ought to, be given them, if his majesty shall find cause to own them for anything but rebels."

His letter to Lord Digby. Dec. 25, 1646.

Protestant sectarists.

The Church, however, had enemies, little less acrimonious or dangerous than the Papists, to be encountered in the Protestant sectarian faction.

[11] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 559.

English proceedings against prelacy.

By the English Houses of Parliament, first a declaration had been made "for the taking away of bishops, deans, and chapters," and then a bill was passed for "the utter abolishing and taking away" of prelacy, having been introduced into the Lower House in December, 1642, and agreed to by the Upper on the 20th of January, 1643. To these measures, however, the king refused his assent. They also first framed a bill, which they afterwards changed into an ordinance, for "an Assembly of Divines, to meet at Westminster; and assist the Parliament in settling such a government in the Church, as may be agreeable to God's holy word, and bring it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other reformed Churches abroad." The assembly was forbidden by the king's proclamation to meet; but on the 1st of July it met notwithstanding.

1642, 1643.

Westminster Assembly of Divines.

Primate Ussher named a member.

Of this assembly the Archbishop of Armagh was nominated a member: but he approved, neither of the authority by which it was appointed, nor of the business which it was designed to execute: "so that he never troubled himself to go thither. But when that mock assembly found that he scorned to come among them, they complained of him to the House of Commons, who soon voted him out again; which yet the archbishop took more kindly," says his biographer, who might have added, which was much more to the archbishop's credit and honour, "than their choosing him into it." And it may be here noticed, as an honour to the Church of Ireland and her clergy, that of that body either no one was judged fit to be associated with the Westminster divines, or no one demeaned himself by admitting the association, with the single exception of John

His non-attendance.

Hoyle, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Professor of Divinity in that university. But let not the university or the Church feel ashamed of the fact, when it can be added:

A single Irish churchman member of that body.

. . . Faithless found
Among the faithful; faithless only he!

For what less than faithlessness can be attributed to any minister of the Church, who sanctioned the acts of an assembly, which substituted the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer, and modern Sectarianism for the Apostolical Church Polity; and instituted and established "The Solemn League and Covenant."

But although the Church of Ireland is exempt from any participation in "that bad eminence," the kingdom of Ireland was not exempt from its contamination. Among the ten peers and twenty commoners, who were lay assessors of the clerical members of the assembly, there was at least one delegate from Ireland, Sir John Clotworthy, of Antrim. Measures were taken also at an early stage of its proceedings for extending its influence to that kingdom; and there wanted not a determined band of dissenters and separatists from the Church, to strengthen by a new bond of union their efforts for the Church's destruction.

Its influence extended to Ireland.

The Solemn League and Covenant became the great instrument which was employed to forward the objects of that faction: the Solemn League and Covenant, of which the two leading articles, bound upon the confederates by oath, were these.

Solemn League and Covenant.

1. "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in

Its two first articles.

the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God, in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church-government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. "That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, (that is, Church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever else shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms."

These articles will make sufficiently apparent the tendency of the Solemn League and Covenant, as affecting the Church of Ireland, in common with that of England. The king, by a proclamation on the 9th of October, 1644, had declared it "to be a traitorous and seditious combination against him, and against the established religion and laws of the kingdom, in pursuance of a traitorous design and endeavour to bring in a foreign force to invade England;" and had commanded all his subjects not to take it.

King's proclamation against the Covenant. Oct. 9, 1644.

The Marquis of Ormonde sent directions to all the officers in those parts, that were under his command, to refuse it, showing the iniquity of the

Measures to prevent its adoption in Ireland.

oath. The lords justices and council wrote the same day to General Monroe, charging him not to suffer the Covenant to be taken by any of the officers or soldiers under his command; and four days after, on the 18th of December, they published a proclamation, condemning it as a seditious combination against his majesty, contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom, destructive to the government of the Church established, inconsistent with the liberty of the subject, and tending to create great unquietness and distraction in the kingdom; and so they forbade all persons either to tender or take it. This was followed soon after by a long declaration from the same authority; wherein, for the information of the people, they entered into a particular examination of all parts of the Covenant, fully demonstrated the unlawfulness thereof, and renewed their charge upon all persons to refuse it[12].

Inclination of the troops in its favour.

But these orders and arguments were too weak to oppose the passion, with which the Covenant was received in the North, where most of the old officers of the Scottish troops were inclined to it; and the inhabitants were so eager for its adoption, that they had dispatched a messenger to Scotland, expressly to desire that it might be sent over to them. The colonels, indeed, of all the regiments under the Marquis of Ormonde's command were averse to it; and at a meeting at Belfast, on the 2nd of January, 1645, at which were present the Lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir James Montgomery, Sir W. Cole, the Colonels Chichester, Hill, and Mervyn, and Robert Thornton, mayor of Derry, Sir W. Stewart, though absent, approving their resolutions; they all agreed privately amongst themselves, in

Resolution of commanding officers against it. Jan. 2, 1645.

[12] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 487.

resolving to preserve their allegiance to his majesty, to obey the orders of the Marquis of Ormonde, and not to accept the Covenant.

Covenant pressed by emissaries from Scotland.

But the influence of the Scottish forces was predominant with the inhabitants of the North, who were most of them Scotch by original, and Covenanters by principle. And on the arrival of four ministers of the kirk in the beginning of April, sent for the purpose of tendering and pressing the Covenant, the country, previously quiet, was thrown into a state of general disturbance.

Taken in the church of Carrickfergus;

On the 4th of that month, the Covenant was taken with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus, by Monroe and his officers, and in two days afterwards by all his soldiers, with the single exception of Major Dalzeel of his own regiment, the only person who refused. The ministers afterwards dispersed themselves over the country, to tender it to the rest of the army;

And generally in the counties of Down and Antrim.

and passing through the several parishes of the counties of Down and Antrim, recommended it everywhere; the country people, as well as the soldiery, taking it with as much zeal as if it were the only means of preserving both their souls and bodies. The inhabitants were indeed so violent for it, that they refused maintenance to the soldiers, who would not take it: and there was so strong an inclination for it with the officers of the old Scotch regiments, that they took it privately without the knowledge of their colonels, who had declared against it; and, when they came to know and inquire into the matter, found the number of them thus engaged so very great, that they wanted power to suppress or stop their progress.

Notwithstanding the decision and activity of the

government, and the general fidelity and courage of the commanding officers of the British forces in Ulster, the Covenant still continued to make its way, being urged forwards with the utmost violence by the Scotch ministers. These men preached up the Covenant in all places, and pressed it upon acceptance as no less necessary to salvation than the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and would allow no man to receive the one who refused the other. They carried all before them wherever they came, every one complying with it, except at Coleraine, a town which had been almost ruined by a Scotch garrison, and of which the chief inhabitants refused to take the test.

Refused at Coleraine.

Derry, in the mean time, presented a different scene, being too much disposed to receive the Covenant. That town was full of factious and seditious persons, who had on former occasions torn the Book of Common Prayer, and thrown libels about the streets, threatening every person who should dare to use it. So that the mayor, who had written to the itinerant ministers, with a request that they would refrain from visiting the town, was compelled, when he went to church, to take a strong guard of English soldiers of his own company, and plant them about the reader's desk, to secure himself from being insulted, and the book from being torn, as they threatened, before his face. Two of the Scotch ministers, however, were introduced into the town with a great company, and leave was demanded of the mayor, that they might preach in the church. This being refused, they preached two seditious sermons in the market-place; and their patron, Sir Frederick Hamilton, made an oration to the people, exhorting them to take the Covenant.

Tumultuous proceedings at Derry.

Correspondence between the sectarian Covenant and Popish association.

Such were some of the steps whereby the sectarian Covenant kept pace with the Popish oath of association; the great difference between them being only in the different substitutes, which they proposed to establish upon the ruins of the Church, which both of them were calculated to destroy.

It was not till the 30th of January, 1649, that the temporary triumph of rebellion and fanaticism was accomplished in England by the martyrdom of King Charles the First: but in Ireland the king's authority had been annulled two years before, and the power had passed into the hands of the Usurping Government, where it continued till 1660, during the first eleven years of the nominal and legal, but not the actual, reign of King Charles the Second. During that interval many events occurred intimately connected with the history of the Church of Ireland: but forasmuch as they occurred under the exercise, not of the kingly, but of the parliamentary authority, I am induced to take them apart from the reigns of both these sovereigns, and to dispose of them in the following chapter as occurrences during the Usurpation.

The Usurping Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHURCH OF IRELAND DURING THE USURPATION . . . . . 1647—1660.
JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . —1655.

Royal Power suspended. Dublin surrendered to Parliamentary Commissioners. Order for discontinuing the Liturgy. Declaration of Dublin Clergy. Episcopal Signatures. Memorable examples of continued use of the Liturgy. Personal dangers of Ministers of the Church. Revenues of vacant Bishopricks sequestered. Legalized plunder of Episcopal Property. Opportunities of exercising private malice against the Clergy.

King's orders concerning the surrender of Dublin.

REBELLION had been for some years successfully raging through the country; and the city of Dublin had been long besieged, and appeared incapable of a protracted defence. Whereupon the king had sent his orders to the Lord Lieutenant, "that, if he could not keep the city, he should rather surrender it to the parliament than to the Irish."

Its surrender to the parliamentary commissioners, 1647.

The Lord Lieutenant was well acquainted with the sentiments of the Protestants of that kingdom; although some of them were very fearful of the Covenant, and many of them were jealous and suspicious of each other, yet they agreed in mistrust and abhorrence of the common enemy. He acceded, therefore, to the advice of the privy council, that he would treat with the parliamentary commissioners for the surrender of Dublin, and not expose its inhabitants to the mercy of their cruel and hereditary enemies: advice to which he the more listened,

because he knew that the design of many in the Rebellion was to alienate Ireland from England, and to extirpate all the English, whatever might be their religious profession. And these evils were probably avoided by the determination. But, so far as the welfare of the Church was concerned, she can hardly be accounted a gainer from the success of the parliamentarian party.

Lord Lieutenant's exertions for the Church.

With that party, indeed, the Lord Lieutenant had exerted his influence in behalf of the Church, her ministers, and services: and had strongly represented to them the great scandal they would incur from a prohibition of the Liturgy. And of this his paternal care the clergy of Dublin testified their grateful sense: for about eighty of the body, together with Benjamin Culme, dean of St. Patrick's, assembled in the castle, and united in an affectionate address to his excellency; wherein they expressed sincere gratitude for his vigilant care, exercised to preserve, not only within the city of Dublin, but also in out garrisons, the free exercise of the true reformed religion according to the Liturgy and Canons of the Church, at a time when the use of that Liturgy was prohibited both in England and Scotland: and withal, say they, "we do ingenuously profess, that out of your piety and nobleness you have vindicated our calling and places from contempt, protected us from personal injuries, and provided for us a subsistence, without which many had undoubtedly starved[1]."

Gratitude of the Dublin clergy.

Evil disposition of the parliamentarians.

But, notwithstanding the exertions of the Marquis of Ormonde, the ministers of the Church soon became sensible of the evil disposition of those to whose keeping they were consigned, and to some of

[1] CARTE's *Ormonde*, iii. 493.

whose proceedings we have now to turn our attention; and if in so doing we shall see cause to lament the persecuted and desolate condition of the Church, we may find motives to consolation and thankfulness in the conscientious behaviour of some of her faithful sons.

Order for discontinuing the Liturgy.

On the surrender of Dublin, in 1647, to the parliamentary commissioners, an order was issued for the discontinuance of the Liturgy, and the observation of the Directory, in all churches and chapels within the city[2]. The Directory, it may be convenient to be mentioned, was a meagre and latitudinarian code of instructions to the puritanical clergy from the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, generally directing them how to regulate their publick devotions, but not stinting them to the use of a particular form of prayer. In issuing this order, the commissioners had not the warrant of any ordinance of parliament, either for prohibiting the Liturgy, which was the only form of worship established by law, or for introducing the Directory, which had no legal authority.

The Directory.

Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath.

At this time Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, was Provost of the college. His episcopal palace had been pillaged and burnt by the rebels in 1641, and all his property seized: he retired therefore to Dublin; where, being a member of the privy council, he always with courage and constancy opposed any peace with the Irish until the king's honour was vindicated from their aspersions of being a favourer of the Rebellion, and until more safe and satisfactory terms, than were at first proposed, could be procured for the Protestants.

Soon after the flight of the Provost, in conse-

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, i. 127, 153.

His election to the provostship.

quence of the Rebellion, the Bishop of Meath was appointed to the office, and with his family took up his abode in the college. January the 16th, 1642, the then present members of the council subscribed an agreement to send their plate the following day to satisfy the officers of the army, who had warmly pleaded their condition. A messenger, being sent to the absent members, presented the paper to the bishop for his subscription; when he answered, "that having been plundered by the rebels, he had neither plate nor anything else to convert into money, but a few old gowns." The bishop from his office was not agreeable to the parliamentary commissioners then in Dublin; nor to several of the council, from his activity in parliament, where he had opposed some of their extraordinary proceedings. His answer, therefore, was taken as an affront, and he was committed a prisoner to one of the sheriffs of Dublin by warrant of the lords justices and five of the council. The week following he petitioned the board to be removed to his own house, but his petition was rejected. He then applied to the king for relief, setting forth his poverty and hardships; and was at last enlarged, after a considerable restraint.

Not agreeable to the commissioners.

His perseverance in using the Liturgy.

Not long after this, appeared the parliamentary order for superseding the Liturgy by the Directory. But the Act of Uniformity, which established the Liturgy, was still unrepealed and in force. The bishop therefore stood to the law and his duty: he courageously slighted the order, and persevered in using the Liturgy in his college chapel, preaching also to a crowded auditory against the heresies of the times with an apostolical plainness and liberty of speech. He was taken off in Dublin by the

plague in July, 1650; and, it is painful to add, oppressed with poverty.

Declaration of the Dublin clergy. July 9, 1647.

Nor was he singular in his attachment to the prescript form of worship of the Church. Notwithstanding this order for abandoning it, and substituting the Directory, the clergy of Dublin in general were so tenacious of their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and their vows to their ordinaries, that they could not be weaned from the Liturgy of the Church of England, in which ministry they desired to finish their course with joy: and the 9th of July, 1647, they unanimously published a Declaration to that end, drawn up with great reason, perspicuity, and eloquence.

Message from the commissioners.

This Declaration was an answer to a message, sent by the commissioners, consisting, first, of a question, "Whether the ministers of the city of Dublin will officiate in their several churches, not using the Book of Common Prayer?" Secondly, of a concession, "That such as will officiate may use the Directory, or such service as is agreeable to the word of God: but not use the Book of Common Prayer."

Answer of the clergy.

The ministers in their answer express their grief at heart, on their own account and for their people, for the want of the daily accustomed service of God, in the two cathedrals and the parish churches of the city, and for their people being of late deprived of them and their ministry. They set forth that they have been and are debarred from their churches and the exercise of their ministry by the commissioners' injunctions of June 24, 1647, requiring the discontinuance of the Book of Common Prayer, and the receiving of the Directory, with danger of non-protection in case they disobey. And they profess that

Reasons for non-compliance.

they cannot with a good conscience obey those injunctions, for the following reasons.

Ordination promise.

I. They plead their solemn promise before God at their ordination, that they would "so minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same."

Oath of supremacy.

II. They had often taken the oath of supremacy, acknowledging "the king to be the only supreme governor of this realm in all things ecclesiastical as well as temporal;" and they did not conceive that to receive a Directory, or any other form, without the king's authority, could stand with this oath.

Act of Uniformity.

III. As the Act of Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, still in force, expressly commands the use of the Book of Common Prayer, so it forbids any other form or manner of common prayer or administration of the sacraments: and with any private dispensation thereof they could not comply for conscience sake.

Communion of the Church.

IV. The Book of Common Prayer being one main part of the Reformation in the Churches of England and Ireland, to lay it aside, and receive the Directory, or any other form, would be to depart from the communion of the Church of England and Ireland.

Lawful constitution of Book of Common Prayer.

V. The order of constituting a law in matters ecclesiastical is, first, that it pass the determination of a lawful ecclesiastical council, and then receive the sanction of the supreme civil magistrate. And the order of the promulgation and execution of such law is, first, the supreme civil magistrate remands and recommends it to the ecclesiastical governors, and they deliver it to the rest of the pastors, and they to the people. So that the immediate actual

reception of an order ecclesiastical by the ministers is from the hand of the bishop or ordinary; on which is founded the solemn promise of reverent obedience to his ordinary and other chief ministers, made before God by every minister at his ordination. These premises being all fulfilled with respect to the Book of Common Prayer, and any other form wanting all of them, they could not without breach of promise, and neglect of the judgment of their ordinaries, receive any other form, considering the king's command concerning the use of the Common Prayer only, expressed in the Act of Parliament, and the commands of their lawful convocation of bishops and clergy, confirmed also by the king, in the Canons of 1634; of which the third expresses, "That form of Liturgy or divine service, and no other, shall be used in any church of this realm, but that which is comprised in the Book of Common Prayer."

Freedom of the National Church.

VI. They added that the Reformed Church of Ireland was a free National Church, and not subordinate to or depending upon the convocation of any other Church. And should they receive or admit of any other form, without the authority of this Church, they should be guilty of betraying the liberty of the free National Church of Ireland.

People's affection for the Book of Common Prayer.

VII. The Book of Common Prayer had been in use in this Church from the beginning of the Reformation. They had preached for it, and recommended it to the people: the people of God in this city generally loved it, had been edified by it, were loath to part from it, and earnestly desired its continuance. Should they consent to take it away, they would be guilty of a sin, in destroying that which is well built, and in giving great offence and scandal to the consciences of their brethren.

Character of the Church and state.

VIII. Lastly, they commend the argument of the University of Oxford, that by leaving the Book of Common Prayer, and receiving any other form, they should condemn the Church and state for the penalties and censures against recusants; and justify them in their imputations of injustice against our Churches of England and Ireland.

Their motives for forbearing exercise of their ministry.

Having thus explained that they have not lightly or obstinately, or out of faction, or any spirit of opposition, forborne the exercise of their ministry since the commissioners' injunctions, in the end they present this petition:

Their Prayer,

"That you would be pleased in pity and compassion to the Protestants of this city, and to us the ministers, who else, by your injunction aforesaid, are endangered to be exposed to banishment, loss of estate, and of present subsistence, with our wives and families; to restore us to our churches, ministry, and exercise thereof, by permitting us

For permission to use the Book of Common Prayer.

to use the Book of Common Prayer in our several cathedral and parish churches, as formerly we used the same before your injunction aforesaid; and to grant us your protection therein, till such time as further order be taken by a convocation of the clergy, and an Act of Parliament in this kingdom. And in the mean time, we shall endeavour to demean ourselves in the whole course of our ministry with such Christian faithfulness and moderation, as that we shall, by the help of God, give no just occasion of offence."

Names subscribed to the Declaration.

The Declaration, of which the preceding sketch is an abstract, was subscribed by the following names, which I subjoin out of respect to the sound principles, the perspicuous, forcible, and eloquent exposition of them, and withal the spirit of Christian firmness and moderation of those ministers of Christ, who stood forward as the champions of the Church's Book of Common Prayer. To each name I have endeavoured to annex a description of the

station in the Church, then or subsequently borne by the individual; for which intelligence I am chiefly indebted to the aid of the Very Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Dean of Lismore, and Treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin, 1839.

Ed. Laonensis, (Edward Parry, bishop of Killaloe, and treasurer of Christ Church.)
Jac. Margetson, (Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, and then of Armagh.)
Ben. Culme, (Dean of St. Patrick's.)
Ambr. Aungier, (Chancellor of St. Patrick's.)
Ja. Sybold,
Godf. Rhodes, (Treasurer of St. Patrick's.)
Hen. Hall, (Chantor of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Killalla.)
Jos. War, (or Ware, Prebendary of Stagonil, St. Patrick's)
Jo. Brookbank, (Prebendary of Christ Church.)
Gilbert Deane, (Preb. of Tassagard, St. Patrick's.)
Dud. Boswel, (Preb. of St. Andrew's in St. Patrick's, and of St. Michael's in Christ Church.)
Rob. Parry, (Preb. of St. Andrew's in St. Patrick's.)
Joan Creighton, (Chancellor of Christ Church.)
Edw. Syng, (of St. Patrick's; afterwards Bishop of Limerick, and then of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.)
Rob. Dickson,
Rand. Ince,
Henry Byrch, (Prebendary of Monmohenock, St. Patrick's.)
Rich. Powel, (Preb. of Wicklow, St. Patrick's[3].)

Episcopal signatures to the Declaration.

Amongst the signatures to this Declaration, all of them worthy to be had in honour, it will be observed to bear the names of several clergymen, at the time or afterwards, of the episcopal order; of Edward Parry, treasurer of Christ Church, who had been consecrated to the bishoprick of Killaloe in

[3] Borlase's *Irish Rebellion*, p. 184; and App., p. 94—98.

this year, and whose subscription stands at the head of the catalogue; of James Margetson, dean of Christ Church, promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin in 1660, and Archbishop Bramhall's successor in the primacy three years later; of Edward Hall, chantor of Christ Church, who was promoted to the bishoprick of Killalla and Achonry in 1660; and of Edward Synge, who held some ecclesiastical preferment in St. Patrick's cathedral, together with some benefice in the county of Donegall. On this last he constantly resided, from the year 1647, during the remainder of the Usurpation, and continued to use the Common Prayer in all the publick offices of his ministry, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the commissioners of the English parliament. Several complaints were made of his contempt of the order of the intrusive government: but by the interest which his persuasive letters on that occasion had procured him with Dr. Gorge, then auditor-general under the usurpers, the prosecution commenced against him was stopped; and he was ever afterwards allowed in the use of the Common Prayer, of which permission he availed himself, not in his own only, but also in the neighbouring parishes, till the period of the king's restoration. On that occasion he was promoted to the see of Limerick: and in 1663, to the united bishopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross[4].

Particulars of Bishop Synge.

It may be that on other special applications an indulgence from this lawless and arbitrary injunction may have been granted by the ruling powers. Thus on a visit paid to Ireland in 1648, by Bishop Bramhall, it is related that at Portumna, in the county of Galway, he and his companions enjoyed

Occasional liberty to use the Church service.

[4] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 569.

the freedom of using the Church service, under the protection of the Marquis of Clanrickard. Certainly this freedom was not likely to be conceded out of respect for the bishop himself; for having had a very narrow escape at the revolt of Cork, his deliverance was so vexatious to Cromwell, that he declared he would have given a large sum of money for the apprehension of that Irish Canterbury[5].

John Lesley, bishop of Raphoe.

By one, however, of the episcopacy of Ireland, the illegal order of the usurpers appears to have been set at nought, in the person of John Lesley, who had been translated from the bishoprick of Orkney, or of the Isles, in Scotland, to that of Raphoe in 1633. On his removal to his new diocese, he had erected a stately episcopal residence, contrived for strength as well as for beauty; and by its means, in the Rebellion of 1641, he preserved a good part of the country, particularly those who placed themselves under his protection in his own diocese. After contributing to the support of the king's cause in Ireland, on its declension in England, he raised a company of foot for his majesty, and maintained both officers and soldiers at his own charge. He

His resistance to Cromwell.

afterwards endured a siege in his castle of Raphoe against Oliver Cromwell, and held out to the last in that country. He declared then against the Presbyterian, as well as the Popish, pretences for rebellion. He would join neither in the treasons, nor in the schisms, of the times: but unalterably adhered to the practice as well as principles of the Church, whose Liturgy he constantly used in his own family,

His constant use of the Liturgy.

after the publick use of it was interdicted; and even in Dublin he held frequent confirmations and ordinations, prosecuted by the faction in power, but

[5] Ware's *Bishops*, i. 122.

persevering in the discharge of his episcopal functions[6].

Archbishop Bulkeley.

Connected with this subject is an affecting anecdote concerning Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, then in the eighty-first year of his age. Sinking under his sense of the calamities of the time, which, the following year, brought down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave, and looking forward, as it should seem, to his early dissolution, on the 1st of November, 1649, he took an affectionate leave of the well-affected clergy in Dublin, and addressed to them a valedictory sermon in St. Patrick's cathedral. There were present two brothers of the name of Parry, John and Benjamin, sons of the Bishop of Killaloe, who has been already noticed as having taken the lead in subscribing the petition for the use of the Common Prayer-Book, and afterwards successively bishops of Ossory; Thomas Seele, afterwards provost of Trinity College, and dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; Mr. Boswell, prebendary of St. John's, Christ Church; and William Pilsworth, a minister who read the Common Prayer[7].

Affecting anecdote of his last use of the Book of Common Prayer. Nov. 1, 1649.

Censured by the ruling powers.

With the exception, perhaps, of a very few obscure and unascertained instances, and with the probable exception of Bishop Martin, in the College Chapel, this was the last time that the Liturgy was publickly read, until the Restoration of King Charles the Second. The action, however, did not escape the jealous vigilance or the severe animadversion of the ruling powers; and the venerable archbishop, together with all those who were present at the solemnity, was visited with censure and confinement for the offence[8].

[6] Ware's *Bishops*, i. 190. [7] *Ib.*, p. 356. [8] *Ib.*

During these times of consternation to the ministers of the Church, they were exposed to personal dangers alike from Papists and Puritans. Dangers of ministers of the Church.

Thus in 1648, Bishop Bramhall was in imminent peril of his life from the Romanists of Limerick, because the Earl of Roscommon, who, having met with a fatal accident, survived only so long as to make open declaration of his faith, professed, at the instance of the bishop, that he died in communion with the Church of Ireland. On his departure from Ireland, he experienced another great deliverance from the other faction; for he was closely pursued by two parliamentarian frigates; and, being nearly overtaken, was only preserved by a sudden and providential change of the wind. Soon afterwards, intending a journey into Spain, he stopped for refreshment at a house, where the hostess addressed him by his name. On his expressing astonishment at being discovered, she revealed to him the secret, showed him his picture, and assured him there were several of them on the road, in order that being thus made known, he might be carried before the Inquisition. She informed him also, that her husband, amongst others, had power to apprehend him, and would certainly execute the commission, if he found him[9]. Bishop Bramhall. Remarkable occurrence in Spain.

This narrative has been lately commented upon by Dr. Kippis, in his new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, as "very extraordinary: for unless he had done something relative to that kingdom, of which we have now no account, it seems scarcely conceivable that such measures should have been adopted for apprehending him." Yet the well-known character of the individual, his station in the Probably accounted for.

[9] Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 123, 127.

Church, his former connexion with those of the highest authority in his own country, and the influence of which he was probably still possessed, may be sufficient to account for the hostility of that jealous and watchful tribunal, and leave unsuspected the statement of the contemporaneous historian. His journey should seem to have been connected with some object relating to the then state of religion. But whether "the purpose of drawing a parallel, between the Liturgy of the Church of England and the publick forms of the Protestant Churches," was likely, as has been stated (in the *Rawdon Papers*, p. 107, note), to lead to the design of a journey into Spain, may seem questionable.

Dean Margetson.

Thus, again, Margetson, dean of Christ Church, having fled into England in 1647, was overtaken by unexpected evils, as great and general as those from which he fled. Amongst other sufferings, he was by the parliamentary party taken prisoner and thrown into confinement, until he was at last set at liberty in exchange for some military officers. The like disaster befell Williams, bishop of Ossory, on his flight from Ireland, in 1641; being intercepted by a party of the parliamentary troops, and carried a prisoner to Northampton[10].

Bishop Williams.

Episcopal revenues sequestered.

Of the sees, which became vacant during the Usurpation, it was the sacrilegious practice of the then rulers of the state, to sequestrate the revenues, and to leave the bishopricks unoccupied: partly that the property of the Church might be confiscated and appropriated by power, as it could not be by right, to secular purposes; and partly, that the constitution of the Church might be broken up and annihilated, as her episcopacy by degrees should cease to exist.

[10] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 422.

Of sixteen vacancies, which had occurred at various periods, between the assumption of the sovereign power by the parliament, and the restoration of the lawful king, all continued unsupplied at the latter epoch; so that eight bishops only were at that time surviving, to maintain and perpetuate the Apostolical succession and government in the Church. Sixteen vacant sees unsupplied.

In the mean time, the property of those, who rightfully possessed it, was liable to a sort of legalized plunder. Legalized plunder.

Thus the possessions of the Archbishop of Dublin and of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, were confided to certain trustees, by whom the church was occasionally converted to profane uses[11]. Dublin.

The church of Galway was greatly injured by the soldiery, who converted the chapels and aisles into stables, and destroyed almost the entire of the ancient and venerable monuments, insomuch that at the Restoration it was found altogether in a state of dilapidation, and in total want of repair[12]. Galway.

Of this abuse a memorable example also is recorded in the case of Williams, bishop of Ossory, to whose see belonged several houses and lands in the immediate neighbourhood of Kilkenny, rendered especially valuable by that situation. Certain commissioners having been appointed by the parliament to dispose of the land of delinquents, for paying the arrears of the soldiers, made no difference between the Church lands and the lands of the rebels; but distributed among the indigent soldiery the best houses, gardens, orchards, and lands, of the bishop, and other clergy, which one of the com- Bishoprick of Ossory.

[11] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 191. [12] Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 247.

missioners bought up at an easy and inconsiderable value[13].

General distress of the clergy.

But, not to dwell upon such cases as this, the condition of the clergy was, no doubt, one in general of great penury and distress. Archbishop Ussher, after various situations of more or less embarrassment, was fain to accept a home from the hospitable bounty of the Countess of Peterborough, whose lord he had, many years before, been the happy instrument of converting from Popery, and who now gratefully acknowledged her obligation by an asylum in her house for nine or ten years preceding his death[14]. The unexpected payment of a debt of 700*l.*, long due to Bishop Bramhall, and made "in his greatest necessity," was a very seasonable relief, both to himself and to many confessors of the royal cause, "to whom even of his penury he distributed so liberally, that the blessing of such as were ready to perish fell upon him[15]."

Archbishop Ussher.

Bishop Bramhall.

Allowance to bishops from the government. 1658.

A case, however, of such self-evident truth, as the privations and distresses, to which the clergy of the Church of Ireland must have been exposed during the Usurpation, hardly needs a fuller exemplification. But that, however, is a memorable fact, as stated in the life of Williams, bishop of Ossory, that Henry Cromwell, governor of Ireland under his brother Richard, in 1658, being informed that the bishop often preached in Dublin, was desirous of hearing him at his own house: and that, when the sermon was ended, Henry Cromwell invited him to dinner, and afterwards sent him a message, that, as he allowed the rest of the bishops each a hundred pounds a year for their maintenance, so he offered

[13] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 425.

[14] Parr's *Life of Ussher*. [15] Vesey's *Life of Bramhall*.

the like to him. The bishop owned the obligation, but answered, "that he was resolved to live contented with the small means he had of his own."

Opportunities for private malice.

Bishop Heber, in his *Life of Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, incidentally notices "the peculiar evils of the times," as giving occasion for "the effects of private malice," in disturbing the tranquillity and happiness of the clergy.

"A person named Tandy, whom Taylor calls a madman, and who appears, by Lord Conway's letters, to have been something like an agent to different noble families, out of pure jealousy that the new-comer stood more in favour with his patrons than himself, and was a more welcome and frequent guest at their houses, denounced him to the Irish privy council as a dangerous and disaffected character, and more particularly, as having used the sign of the cross in the ceremony of private baptism. Taylor himself does not seem to have been much alarmed: but Conway expresses himself on the subject with a degree of feeling which does him honour; and with an indignation against the informer, not unnatural in one who conceived, that, in attacking his friend, that informer was treating himself with ingratitude. In consequence of the information laid against Taylor, a warrant was issued to the governor of Carrikfergus, by the Irish privy council, to bring him before them for examination. In the minutes of the council no other entry occurs relating to him; and it is, therefore, probable, that his friends had power to obtain his speedy discharge. The journey, however, to Dublin, in the heart of winter, was sufficient to throw him into a severe illness, which perhaps was admitted by the government as a plea for letting him off so easily."

Jeremy Taylor denounced to the privy council.

Illustration of the foregoing narrative.

In illustration of the foregoing narrative, it may be here mentioned, by the way, that, at the time in question, Taylor had been recently established in a lectureship at Lisburn, in the county of Antrim, residing principally at Portmore, the property of the

Earl of Conway, about eight miles distant from that town. "Perhaps, indeed," says Bishop Heber, "he only visited Lisburn for the discharge of his weekly lectureship; since the tradition of his descendants determines him to have chiefly, if not always, occupied a house in the immediate neighbourhood of his patron's mansion; and to have often preached to a small congregation of loyalists in the half-ruined church of Kilulta."

Correction of part of the statement.

I copy the statement as I find it; wishing, at the same time, to offer a correction of one not very important particular in it, and to accompany it with an observation upon another.

Church in which Taylor officiated.

There is in the diocese of Down and Connor no parish of the name of Kilulta, or Killultagh; but there is a townland of that name, from which the manor takes its designation; and my informant, the Rev. Edward Cupples, vicar-general of the diocese, remarks that he cannot find that there is any churchyard, or ruin of a church, in that townland. It appears, however, that the church of Ballinderry, which was used before the building of the present one, was built in the time of King Charles the Second, and was always called "the new church," in contradistinction, as is supposed, to an old church, the ruins of which stand in an ancient churchyard, still an extensive burial-ground, on the margin of Lough Beg, at a very short distance from Portmore, where Bishop Taylor formerly resided. "This," adds my correspondent, "I take to have been the church in which Bishop Taylor officiated."

Remark on the phraseology of the statement.

As to the statement that Bishop Taylor "often preached to a small congregation of loyalists," I strongly suspect that the language is, not that of Bishop Heber himself, but of his informant, who has

used a kind of phraseology derived probably from the times with which we are now concerned, and still not uncommon in a country, many of the inhabitants of which are taught to assign a very undue value to the office of preaching, in comparison of the principal duty to be performed in God's "House of Prayer:" where the people, amongst whom a clergyman exercises his ministry, are frequently wont to be termed his "hearers;" and the avowed motive, which brings a congregation together, is frequently nothing more than a desire to "hear" such and such a preacher. In the church, whither he resorted, Bishop Taylor may have preached to his little flock of loyalists: but he also, no doubt, accustomed his congregation to the duty of publick prayer: and of prayer, I would fain believe, according to that Liturgy, of which both he and his biographer were so capable of estimating the value, and of enjoying the beauty.

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND, COMMENCING WITH HIS RESTORATION . 1660—1685.
JOHN BRAMHALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1660—1663.
JAMES MARGETSON, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . 1663—1678.
MICHAEL BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . 1678—

Section I.

Restoration and Proclamation of the King. Church restored to her station. Surviving Bishops. Satisfaction at Bishop Bramhall's elevation to the Primacy. Opposition to the Church. King determined to support it. Appointments to vacant Bishopricks. Solemnity of the Consecration of the new Bishops. New Arrangements of certain Sees. Hostility of Church of Rome in Ireland. Bishop Taylor's Sketch of Popery as then existing. Protestant Sectarists. The Law concerning them. How treated by the Primate; and by Bishop Taylor, and the other Northern Bishops.

Declaration of the loyalists in London. April 24, 1660.

THE honoured name of Jeremy Taylor may not unaptly connect the narrative of the depression of the Church with that of her resuscitation and restitution, of which he was a conspicuous part. He had in the last year visited England, apparently for some private or domestick purposes; and had thus an opportunity of annexing his name to a Declaration of the loyalists of London and its neighbourhood, on the 24th of April, 1660; an occurrence which may

have been useful in bringing him under the immediate notice of the restored sovereign; and so far have contributed with his former office of chaplain to the martyred king, and his long-tried attachment to the royal person, with his losses and sufferings, with his profound learning and his exuberant eloquence, and with his well-known principles of devotion to the monarchy and filial veneration for the Church, in recommending him for promotion on the event of their ensuing Restoration.

Proclamation of the king in Dublin. May 14, 1660.

The king was proclaimed in Dublin, on the 14th of May, 1660, and, as soon as the order was received in all the great towns of the kingdom, with wonderful acclamations of joy. The Marquis of Ormonde, being made lord steward of the household, and having received other substantial marks of favour, as one whom the king delighted to honour, the bishops and episcopal clergy yet left in Ireland now applied to him for that patronage and protection, which he had ever, and on all occasions, been ready to afford them, to the utmost of his power; and, considering the present to be a very favourable opportunity to provide for their comfortable maintenance, and to establish the Church on a foundation better than it had ever enjoyed before, he resolved to stand forward in her defence.

Marquis of Ormonde the defender of the Church.

Efforts of the Presbyterians in Ireland.

Besides the Scotch ministers in the northern counties of Ireland, there were others of the Presbyterian party, who, under the patronage of the usurping government, had latterly gotten possession of the churches in Dublin and its neighbourhood; and, without any regard to the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom, diligently laboured to bring the people into subjection to the rules of the Covenant,

and regulated their conduct of divine worship by the Directory; but these were not numerous, the benefices of the country at that time being not of sufficient value to tempt any considerable number to come thither from England. Few as they were in number, and too feeble to prevail by their own influence, they made application to the king, immediately on his landing in England, in the hope of getting their model of Church government established by the credit and interests of their English friends. Endeavours were likewise made for promoting in the army of Ireland a similar petition about Church government, in opposition to the episcopal form.

Exertions in behalf of Episcopacy.

These movements caused alarm in the episcopal divines; and they accordingly came forward with a protestation against the proceedings of their opponents, and an earnest desire that the order of bishops and the use of the Liturgy might be preserved. This, too, was in full accordance with the wishes and opinions of the Peers, and of the most respectable of the Commons, who possessed the far greater part of the wealth and importance of the nation, and who took delight in that ancient form of ecclesiastical polity. Episcopacy, moreover, and the Liturgy, were still part of the legal establishment of the kingdom; for, notwithstanding the violent courses which had been lawlessly pursued for the overthrow of each, no law had at any time been regularly enacted, which might give a colour for the annulling of either. It followed, of course, that, when the king resumed his throne, the Church resumed her station. The best method, accordingly, was judged to be to fill up all vacant ecclesiastical preferments with men of worth, character, abilities, and learning, zealously affected to the constitution of the Church, and well

Which was still the legal establishment.

qualified to maintain their possession. And thus, on the recommendation and persuasion of the Marquis of Ormonde, the king was induced, in the first week of August, to nominate for the occupation of the vacant sees the most eminent men that could be found among the clergy of Ireland[1].

Eight surviving bishops.

At this period the Church of Ireland had preserved only eight of her former bishops: Bramhall, of Derry; John Lesley, of Raphoe; Henry Lesley, of Down and Connor; Maxwell, of Kilmore; Baily, of Clonfert; Williams, of Ossory; Jones, of Clogher; and Fulwar, of Ardfert. Of these, the Bishop of Derry in particular was well known and highly esteemed for his previous ecclesiastical services: so that the general sense of the Church and of the kingdom concurred with the judgment of the government, which made an early selection of him for the archbishoprick of Armagh, and the primacy and metropolitical dignity of all Ireland, to which he was nominated in August, 1660, and formally appointed on the 18th of January, 1661.

Bishop Bramhall nominated to the Primacy, August, 1660.

His nomination acceptable to the friends of the Church.

How acceptable this nomination of Bishop Bramhall was to the friends of the Church, appears from the following letter of congratulation, which was addressed by Lord Caulfield, afterwards known by the honourable epithet of the good Lord Charlemont, to the new Primate, on the 22nd of October, 1660.

Letter of congratulation from Lord Caulfield, Oct. 22, 1660.

"As the news of your lordship's safe arrival is most welcome to me, so it is likewise occasion of great rejoicing to all those in the kingdom who truly fear God and pray for the welfare of his Church: it being yet fresh in the memories of us all, how eminent an instrument your lordship hath been long since in the propagating the true ancient Protestant religion in this kingdom.

[1] Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, ii. 207.

Prevalence of schisms and heresies.

"My lord, never had the Church more need of such a champion than now that the looseness of the late times hath been the occasion of so many schisms, and given opportunity to such numberless number of heresies to creep in amongst us, that not many days ago it was hardly possible to find two of one religion. And therein are these unhappy northern quarters most miserable, abounding with all sorts of licentious persons; but those whom we esteem most dangerous are the Presbyterian factions, who do not like publickly to preach up the authority of the kirk to be above that of the crown and our dread sovereign. I have myself discoursed with divers of their ministers, both in publick and private, who have maintained that the kirk hath power to excommunicate their kings: and when the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were administered here, one of them told me that we had pulled down one pope and set up another. But I made bold to inflict such punishments as I thought were proper for their offences; and hindered their meetings where I considered there might be anything consulted of, tending to the breach of the peace, either in church or commonwealth[2]."

Nomination of the new bishops.

At the same early period of the nomination of the new Primate, the new bishops also were named, yet the same space of time elapsed before their consecration; during which interval it was impossible to remedy the irregularities and confusion which had become incorporated with the affairs of the Church. It has been stated that, for a want of a new great seal, which was in the first place necessary to be made, the new bishops could not take out their patents, and of course could not be sooner possessed of their sees. The king's declaration, however, of his resolution to support Episcopacy was esteemed of great importance in the existing crisis; and his letters, therefore, were issued for them under the signet.

Delay in their consecration.

[2] *Rawdon Papers*, p. 127.

Still this was not sufficient to annihilate the hopes of those who were solicitous for the extirpation of the episcopal order: and the delay of the consecration encouraged them to circulate a report, that the king had determined not to have any bishops, and to flatter themselves with an expectation of attaining their end. For this purpose, addresses were set on foot in the name of the Protestant inhabitants of the kingdom, and of the adventurers and officers, civil and military, to beseech his majesty, that the godly ministers of the Gospel, who had long laboured amongst them, might be continued and countenanced.

Hopes of the Anti-episcopalians.

There were also greater men than these, who secretly maligned the Church, though they forbore to make open avowal of their disaffection; and thus gave such clandestine encouragement to the sectaries, that they became more and more presumptuous in petitioning against the bishops, and more refractory in insulting the laws for conformity. Finding, however, the episcopal order and the polity of the Church to be impregnable, they then betook themselves to the expedient of attempting to lessen the influence of the bishops, by diminishing their revenues, and depriving them of their means of supporting their dignity, a state of indigence being commonly attended with contempt[3].

Attempts to diminish the revenues of the bishops.

Their efforts with the king in that respect produced from the Lord Primate elect, and the other bishops, then resident in Dublin, a countervailing petition, in the name of all the orthodox clergy of Ireland; wherein they besought the protection of the king, as a nursing father, by the divine law, to

Petition from the bishops.

[3] CARTE's *Ormonde*, ii. 209.

the churches within his dominions, and, by the laws of the land, the great patron of the clergy.

Presented to the king, Dec. 5, 1660.

To this petition, presented to the king on the 5th of December, his majesty, in a letter of the 24th of the same month, returned a gracious answer: assuring the petitioners,

King's letter in answer, Dec. 24.

"That he would, by all the ways and means in his power, preserve their rights and those of the Church of Ireland, so far as by law and justice he might; and that nothing could give him more content than, when occasion should be offered, to add to the revenues thereof, which had been too much diminished by rapacious or improvident hands, and to restore it to its ancient patrimony; so as they needed not either to fear the taking away of the rents raised in Lord Strafford's time, or to doubt of any endeavours of his which might tend to make that Church flourish; as they might perceive by his late letters sent to Ireland for the settling of the impropriate and forfeited tythes in his gift upon the respective incumbents[4]."

Restoration of temporalties to the Church.

In fine, the king restored to the Church all her temporalties, in as full and ample a degree as she had possessed them in the year 1641, since which time the actually ruling powers had extended over them an usurped authority. In right, also, of his prerogative of investiture, he proceeded, by his letters patent of the 25th of January, 1661, to appoint bishops to the several vacant sees, and issued his regal mandate to the Archbishop of Armagh for their consecration. With him were associated as assistants the bishops of Raphoe, Kilmore, Clogher, and Ossory; the Bishop of Down and Connor having been on the 18th of January translated to the see of Meath, vacated by the death of Bishop Martin; and thus making an opening, which from its situation in the north-eastern counties of the

Mandate for consecration of bishops, Jan. 1661.

[4] CARTE'S *Ormonde*, ii. 210.

kingdom, with which Jeremy Taylor had already formed a connexion, and from its embracing the property of his patron, the Earl of Conway, may have been especially recommended to his acceptance; and for which he also may have been judged singularly well qualified by his piety, suavity of manners, and great theological attainments; that diocese being at the time infested more than any other in the kingdom with the most virulent and clamorous, because the most ignorant and prejudiced, of the sectaries.

Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor;

The same distinguished person was entrusted also with the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, for the purpose of reducing into order that important body, which had been thrown into great confusion by the agitation of the late troublous times, and needed the mind and hand of a master for restoring it to its former discipline and usefulness.

And Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

To fill the vacancies in the archiepiscopal sees of Dublin and Tuam, Margetson, who had been Dean of Christ Church before the Rebellion in 1641, and Pullen, chaplain to the Marquis of Ormonde, were selected for consecration: the other archbishoprick of Cashel being filled by the translation of Bishop Fulwar from the see of Ardfert. Together with these, ten others were chosen for consecration to that number of the vacant sees, on the 27th of January, 1661: men for the most part recommended by their loyalty to their king, and their attachment to the faith, the polity, and the worship of the Church; and several of whom had, during the late season of Popish and Puritanical persecution, in maintenance of their principles, gone through fire

Names of the new archbishops.

and water, had lost their possessions, and jeopardied their lives.

Names of the new bishops.

The names of these new bishops, and of their respective appointments, are the following: Michael Boyle, dean of Cloyne, to the bishoprick of Cork and Ross; John Parker, dean of Killala, and chaplain to the Marquis of Ormonde, who had been plundered and imprisoned for his loyalty under the tyranny of Cromwell; Robert Price, dean of Connor, who, in that capacity, had been a great sufferer for the royal cause; and George Wild, who, for his adherence to the king, had been stripped of his fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford, by the parliamentarian visitors in 1648, and otherwise underwent much privation for the same cause; severally to the bishopricks of Elphin, of Ferns and Leighlin, and of Derry; Edward Synge, dean of Elphin, and Henry Hall, chantor of Christ Church, Dublin, who had signed the petition in favour of the Liturgy, and against the Directory, to the bishopricks of Limerick and Killala; George Baker, doctor of divinity, of Trinity College, Dublin, to the bishoprick of Waterford and Lismore; Robert Lesley, a young man of great promise, son of the Bishop of Down, to the bishoprick of Dromore; Edward Worth, dean of Cork, to that of Killaloe; and Jeremy Taylor, to that of Down and Connor. To Taylor was committed the conspicuous and honourable office of preaching the consecration sermon in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin; and it was published at the request of the lords justices, the bishops, and general convention; and is reported, by a contemporary authority, to have given "great and general satisfaction, so elegantly, religiously, and prudently was it composed, and so convincing to the judgments of those

Consecration sermon.

who opposed the order and jurisdiction of episcopacy[5]." An anthem, subsequently celebrated under the title of *Quam denuo exaltavit Dominus coronam*, was specially composed by Dr. William Fuller, then dean of St. Patrick's, and afterwards Bishop of Limerick, and sung on the occasion; and the ceremony was solemnized according to the desire and special order of the Primate, "as decency and the dignity of so holy an office did require," in the presence of the deans, and dignitaries, and other members of the two cathedrals; of the pro-vice-chancellor and members of the university; of the ministers and civilians of the city; of the lords justices and the nobility; the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council; and the general convention of Ireland, led by their speaker; all these, without the least invitation, voluntarily gave their attendance at the whole solemnity, from a desire to show their respect to the bishops. Let it be added, as not the least gratifying circumstance of the day, that "the whole ceremony was conducted without any confusion or the least clamour heard, save many prayers and blessings from the people, although the throng was great, and the windows throughout the whole passage of the procession to and from the cathedral filled with spectators[5]."

An hem.

Solemnity of the ceremony.

The consecration, at the same time, and by imposition of the same hands, of twelve Christian bishops, two of the number being of metropolitan eminence, to their apostolical superintendence of the Church of Christ, is an event probably without a parallel in the Church. The event, and its consequences, with reference to the illustrious Primate

Ceremony unparalleled.

[5] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, pp. 192, 194.

Commemorated at the Primate's funeral.

engaged in the consecration, is thus noticed by Bishop Taylor in his sermon preached at the funeral of Archbishop Bramhall in the year 1663. "There are great things spoken of his predecessor, St. Patrick, that he founded seven hundred churches and religious convents; that he ordained five thousand priests; and with his own hands consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops. How true the story is I know not; but we were all witnesses that the late Primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day, consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches of Ireland; and was greatly instrumental in the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his antecessors."

Assembly of the bishops.

A suitable and affecting sequel to this solemnity, immediately before the separation of those now invested with the apostolical character, and their dispersion into their several dioceses to the flocks "over whom the Holy Ghost had made them overseers," was another collective meeting of the body in Christ Church cathedral; when the new bishop of Limerick, Edward Synge, a learned and zealous preacher, distinguished for his impressive elocution in the pulpit, and for the peculiar efficacy of his appeals to each individual in a congregation, delivered a most apposite discourse; and pressed upon the assembly the exhortation of the apostle, words peculiarly calculated, on such an occasion, to strike the imagination, and to raise the devotion, of a considerate mind: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you; and that we may

Bishop Synge's sermon.

be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for all men have not faith."

Before quitting this subject of the consecration of the new bishops, this seems a convenient place for remarking, that the bishoprick of Cloyne was now united to Cork and Ross, and the minor bishopricks of Ardagh, of Ardfert and Aghadoe, and of Kilfenora, respectively, to the more important and contiguous sees of Kilmore, Limerick, and Tuam. Kildare alone remained unsupplied, having been stripped of its manors and estates a hundred years before, and left without sufficient provision for a bishop. But soon after this, the prebend of Maynooth in St. Patrick's cathedral was annexed to it *in commendam*, when Thomas Price, chaplain to the Marquis of Ormonde, and archdeacon of Kilmore, was promoted to the bishoprick; and consecrated on the 6th of March in the same year, 1661, by the Archbishop of Dublin.

Unions of bishopricks.

Thomas Price consecrated Bishop of Kildare. March 6, 1661.

Thus the episcopate of the Church of Ireland was again completed, consisting of four archbishops, and seventeen suffragans, or twenty-one prelates in the whole; and so it continued for the next one hundred and seventy years, with but few, and those not very material, modifications, of which the principal were, that, in the year 1662, the administration of the small diocese of Dromore, adjacent to those of Down and Connor, was intrusted to Bishop Taylor, "on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry," but was restored on his death in 1667 to the station of a distinct see; and that of Cloyne, which was now, in 1661, united to Cork and Ross, was again separated from them in 1678, and so continued for the above-mentioned period of one hundred and seventy years.

Irish episcopate completed.

The Church's antagonists.

The Church, however, in this her renovated state, was opposed by powerful and determined antagonists; the same who had brought her to the brink of temporal ruin, and who were not likely to regard her restitution and recovery with complacency.

Popish separatists.

On one side were the Popish separatists, the members of the Church of Rome in Ireland, who were banded together by all their old obligations of Papal supremacy, priestly domination, inveterate peculiarities of belief and practice, national as well as religious antipathies; irritated moreover by a consciousness of the barbarities which they had lately inflicted on the Church of Ireland in the persons of her people; by a sense of their own recent defeat, and of the loss which they had sustained in the conflict, both of ecclesiastical ascendency, and of temporal property and prosperity; and by the anticipation of being enabled, perhaps, on some future more fortunate occasion, to assert their national superiority, to claim their alienated possessions, and to wreak a still more formidable vengeance upon those by whom they had been despoiled of what they fondly cherished in their memories as their ancient and hereditary rights.

Difficulty of converting them.

It was no slight task for the Church to stand her ground against these opponents; to have succeeded in making an inroad into their territories, and attaching any of them to her cause, appears hardly possible. Speculation, indeed, upon such cases is easy. Upon the basis of fancied analogies, corresponding, perhaps, in two or three particulars, but separated from each other by many more, we may satisfy ourselves with raising an imaginary structure, as if the cases of Wales or of the Norman isles

Facility of speculation.

were generally applicable to the condition of Ireland. Or from a few particular instances, attended by circumstances peculiarly favourable, we may be pleased with drawing a general conclusion; as in reasoning from Bishop Bedell's partial success to the universal conversion of the people[6]. In truth, much perplexity attends every view of this important question. And the problem still remains to be solved, whether at all, and by what means, could the Church of Ireland, at the Restoration, have succeeded in overcoming the numerous and powerful prepossessions of the Romish population of the country under the dominion of their hierarchy, and attaching them to a purer profession of religion.

Bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery.*

Of the attention bestowed by the governors of the Church on this evil, and of their solicitude to provide a remedy, there exists a palpable and permanent testimony in a celebrated work of one of the most eminent of their body; for the *Dissuasive from Popery* was at this time composed by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in compliance with the earnest entreaties of his episcopal brethren. And it stands, and ever will stand, an imperishable monument, amongst many others, of the intellectual powers and theological treasures of its illustrious author, and is, at the same time, an incontrovertible historical record of the sense entertained by his brethren in the episcopate, as well as by himself, of the duty imposed on them by the growing numbers and strength of the emissaries of the Church of Rome, "to run to arms, I mean," he says, "to the weapons of our warfare, to the armour of the Spirit, to the works of our calling; and to tell the people of their peril, to warn them of the enemy, and to lead them in the ways of truth,

Written at the entreaty of the Irish bishops.

[6] HEBER'S *Life of Taylor*, p. cxix

and peace, and holiness; that, if they would be admonished, they might be safe; if they would not, they should be without excuse, because they could not say but the prophets have been amongst them[7]."

Its capability of usefulness.

It is as a document in proof of the sentiments and wishes of the bishops of the Church of Ireland at that period, as to working a change in the religious character of the deluded Romanists of the country, that this work has been noticed. A discussion of the merits of the composition would withdraw us too far from our immediate subject; but it may be incidentally remarked, that if "this discourse be too long and too learned to penetrate among the mountains and into the cottages," as judged by Bishop Taylor's excellent biographer Bishop Heber, "yet," in the judgment of the same eminent writer, "as furnishing the agents in the work of conversion with arguments adapted alike to the ignorant and the learned; with zeal increased in proportion to their own knowledge of the importance of the truths which they conveyed; and with that celestial armoury of spiritual weapons, which his admirable knowledge of Scripture has supplied, it might have itself been a source of light to thousands; a means, in God's hand, of drying up the waters of bitterness, and removing the greatest obstacle which has existed to the peace and prosperity of the empire[8]."

Condition of the Irish Papists.

As an historical document, also, this "Preface" of Bishop Taylor is in another respect conducive to our purpose; namely, as supplying an authentick exposition of the condition of the Irish Papist, as presented to the actual observation of so intelligent

[7] Preface to the *Dissuasive from Popery*.

[8] Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. cxxii.

and able a witness. Of the religious belief and practices of those, who were trained in the profession of that which they were instructed to hold "as the only true religion," the author of the *Dissuasive from Popery* has bequeathed to us the following description.

Their superstition and blindness.

"We have observed amongst the generality of the Irish such a declension of Christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacity, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God; such intolerable ignorance, such foul oaths and manners of swearing, thinking themselves more obliged by swearing on the Mass-book than the four Gospels, and St. Patrick's Mass-book more than any new one; swearing by their father's soul, by their gossip's hand, by other things which are the product of those many tales that are told them; their not knowing upon what account they refuse to come to church, but only that now they are old, and never did, or their countrymen do not, or their fathers or grandfathers never did, or that their ancestors were priests, and they will not alter from their religion; and, after all, can give no account of their religion, what it is; only they believe as their priest bids them, and go to mass, which they understand not, and reckon their beads to tell the number and the tale of their prayers, and abstain from eggs and flesh in Lent, and visit St. Patrick's well, and leave pins and ribbons, yarn or thread, in their holy wells, and pray to God, St. Mary and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus and St. Bridget, and desire to be buried with St. Francis's cord about them, and to fast on Saturdays in honour of our Lady.

Charity to persuade them to come to church.

"These, and so many other things of like nature, we see daily, that we, being conscious of the infinite distance which these things have from the spirit of Christianity, know that no charity can be greater than to persuade the people to come to our churches, where they shall be taught all the ways of godly wisdom, of peace and safety to their souls; whereas, now there are many of them that know not how

to say their prayers, but mutter, like pies and parrots, words which they are taught, but not pretend to understand."

Remarkable instance of superstition.

The bishop then proceeds to give one particular instance of their miserable superstition and blindness

Sanctity of a bell.

"I was lately," he relates, "within a few months very much troubled with petitions and earnest requests for the restoring a bell, which a person of quality had in his hands in the time of, and ever since, the late Rebellion. I could not guess at the reasons of their so great and violent importunity; but told the petitioners, if they could prove that bell to be theirs, the gentleman was willing to pay the full value for it, though he had no obligation to do so, that I know of, but charity. But this was so far from satisfying them, that still the importunity increased, which made me diligently inquire into the secret of it. The first cause, I found, was, that a dying person in the parish desired to have it rung before him to church, and pretended he could not die in peace if it were denied him; and that the keeping of that bell did anciently belong to that family, from father to son. But, because this seemed nothing but a fond and an unreasonable superstition, I inquired further; and at last found that they believed this bell came from heaven, and that it used to be carried from place to place, and to end controversies by oath, which the worst men durst not violate, if they swore upon that bell, and the best men amongst them durst not but believe him; that if this bell was rung before the corpse to the grave, it would help him out of purgatory; and that, therefore, when any one died, the friends of the deceased did, whilst the bell was in their possession, hire it for the behoof of their dead, and that by this means that family was in part maintained.

Influence of priests and friars.

"I was troubled," continues the bishop, "to see under what spirit of delusion these poor souls do lie; how infinitely their credulity is abused; how certainly they believe in trifles, and perfectly rely on vanity, and how little they regard the truths of God, and how not at all they drink of

the waters of salvation. For the numerous companies of priests and friars amongst them take care they shall know nothing of religion but what they design for them; they use all means to keep them to the use of the Irish tongue, lest, if they learn English, they might be supplied with persons fitter to instruct them. The people are taught to make that, also, their excuse for not coming to our churches, to hear our advices, or converse with us in religious intercourses, because they understand us not, and they will not understand us, neither will they learn that they may understand and live. And this and many other evils are made greater and more irremediable, by the affrightment which their priests put upon them by the issues of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by which, they now exercising it too publickly, they give them laws, not only for religion, but even for temporal things, and turn their proselytes from the mass, if they become farmers of the tythes from the minister or proprietary without their leave."

Their ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Some observations follow, indicating the character of the religion thus prevailing, as an instrument of political, as well as of religious, partisanship.

The Romish religion political.

"I speak that which I know to be true, by their own confession and unconstrained and uninvited narratives: so that, as it is certain that the Romish religion, as it stands in distinction and separation from us, is a body of strange propositions, having but little relish of true and pure Christianity, as will be made manifest, if the importunity of our adversaries extort it; so it is here amongst us a faction and a state-party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living, a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be 'populus unius labii,' a people of one language, and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such an one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandize of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood."

The truth appears to be that at the time in

Chief impediment to conversion.

question, as well as at other times, the cause of the bondage of "the poor deluded Irish" was the domination of the Popish hierarchy and priesthoood, who "shut up the kingdom of heaven against men." And accordingly Bishop Taylor subjoins a charitable and humble prayer to God, "to accept and bless his well-meant labour of love; and that, by some admirable ways of his Providence, He will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them: for we know," he says, "the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people, but 'that which hinders will hinder, until it be taken away.' However, we believe and hope in God for remedy."

Protestant dissenters and sectarists.

With these her old opponents on one side, on the other there were not wanting those who had no less animosity to the Church, though of recent introduction. These were the Protestant dissenters and separatists; in doctrine, absolute predestinarians, espousing the Calvinistick system in all its fearful enormity: in their notions of Church polity anti-episcopal; in their modes of religious worship anti-liturgical: whether English commonwealth's men, settled under the protection of the usurping government for the most part in the neighbourhood of Dublin; or Scottish Covenanters, who had passed over from the opposite coast, and taken possession of the parishes in the more northerly parts.

Scottish Covenanters.

Of these some had probably settled in Ireland in the early part of the century, and had either continued there, in a persevering separation from the Church, without interruption; or, after a temporary

withdrawal to Scotland, had returned with their prepossessions in favour of the Presbyterian discipline and worship, confirmed by intercourse with its original professors. Others in the capacity of chaplains had attended the Scotch regiments, which were sent to Ireland during the Rebellion. Others had been commissioned by the Assembly of Scotland to establish themselves in Ulster: and others had spontaneously accepted invitations from particular congregations. Connected however by common antipathy to the ecclesiastical polity of England and Ireland, and devoted to their peculiar views, for the maintenance of which they were solemnly pledged by what they fondly deemed a sacred, though in truth an irreligious and illegal engagement, but which were essentially at variance with the constitution and principles of the Church, these men afforded a discouraging prospect to her members, especially to her governors; personally obnoxious as the latter were to these gainsayers, but whose duty it nevertheless was to maintain and extend her polity, her doctrines, and her ordinances.

Hostility to the Church and her governors.

To counteract this hostility, and to bring to their right minds those who had been long in a condition of religious delusion, much argument and persuasion, much gentleness and lenity, much caution and prudence, much reproof, and long-suffering, and doctrine, were needed, in conjunction with a steady exercise of their legitimate authority, on the part of the governors of the Church.

Need of counteraction.

By the restoration of the monarchy, the law for regulating the ordinances and ministrations of the Church, which had been arbitrarily precluded from operation, and kept in a temporary abeyance, by the usurping government, but which had not been

Restoration of the law for the Church's ministrations.

annulled or superseded by any other legal enactment, was of course restored to its former rightful jurisdiction. It may be convenient, that its provisions be here called to recollection, in explanation of the duty imposed upon the bishops, and of the proceedings which they in consequence pursued.

Provisions of the law.

By the Irish Act of Uniformity, 2 Eliz., chap. 2, it was enacted, that no other form of ordination shall be used in the Church of Ireland, but what is contained in the Book of Common Prayer: neither shall any Liturgy be used by ministers, except the Liturgy of that book, on pain of forfeiting for the first offence one year's profit of the offender's benefice, with six months' imprisonment; for the second offence, deprivation of benefice, with a year's imprisonment; for the third, imprisonment for life: if not beneficed, the party convicted shall, for the first offence, be imprisoned a year; for the second, during life. "And for the due execution thereof, the queen's majesty, the lords temporal, and commons, do, in God's name, earnestly require and charge all archbishops and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour to the utmost to put the same into execution, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his people for neglecting their good and wholesome law."

This, which was afterwards further ratified and enforced by the act of 17 and 18 Charles II., was the actual law of the land at the time of the king's Restoration. And thus we perceive the form, by which alone men could lawfully be admitted to the office of ministers in the Church; the condition of divine service, on which alone they could lawfully retain their stations; and the obligation imposed, by

Conditions of admitting ministers into the Church.

the most solemn admonition and earnest charge, upon the bishops, of enforcing the enactments of the law, in respect both of episcopal ordination and of conformity to the Book of Common Prayer.

Principles and conduct of the bishops.

Upon these principles, in discharge of their bounden duty, the bishops now proceeded to act: regulating their conduct by the requisitions of the law, which they at the same time administered with prudence and kindness. The Primate appears to have set an excellent example of these qualities on a memorable occasion, "in turning the edge of the most popular objection of that time against conformity;" and it is here related in the language of Vesey, bishop of Limerick, and afterwards archbishop of Tuam, in his *Life of Primate Bramhall.*

Primate Bramhall's management of his clergy.

"When the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, they were no legal titles: but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction, which they humbly acknowledged, and intreated his lordship so to do. But, desiring to see their *letters of orders*, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some Presbyterian classes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Whereupon the question immediately arose, 'Are we not ministers of the Gospel?' To which his grace answered, that that was not the question: at least he desired for peace sake, of which he hoped they were ministers too, that that might not be the question for that time. 'I dispute not,' said he, 'the value of your ordination, nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it: what you are, or might do, here when there was no law, or in other churches abroad. But we are now to consider ourselves as a National Church, limited by law, which among other things takes chief care to prescribe about ordination: and I do not know, how you could recover the means of the Church, if any should refuse to pay you your tithes, if you are not ordained, as the law

of this Church requireth. And I am desirous, that she may have your labours, and you such portions of her revenue, as shall be allotted you in a legal and assured way.' By this means he gained such as were learned and sober; and for the rest it was not much matter."

His letters of orders.

"Just as I was about to close up this particular," continues the biographer, "I received full assurance of all that I offered in it, which for the reader's sake I thought fit to add, being the very words which his grace caused to be inserted into the letters of one Mr. Edward Parkinson, whom he ordained at that time, and from whom I had them by my reverend brother and neighbour, the Lord Bishop of Killalow. 'Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes, quicquid prius defuit, per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur: in cujus rei testimonium, &c.'"

Proper meaning of the foregoing narrative.

From this statement and document the reader will understand, that, on admitting to episcopal orders a person who had been previously ordained by Presbyterians, Primate Bramhall made profession, "that he did not annul the minister's former orders, if he had any, nor determine their validity or invalidity; much less did he condemn all the sacred orders of the foreign Churches, whom he left to their own Judge: but that he only supplied whatever was before wanting, as required by the canons of the Anglican Church; and that he provided for the peace of the Church, that occasion of schism might be removed, and the consciences of the faithful satisfied, and that they might have no manner of doubt of his ordination, nor decline his presbyterial

acts as being invalid." And this profession the Primate inserted in the newly-ordained minister's "letters," his letters of orders, as they are technically called; being the regular certificate, or formal official testimonial, which every clergyman of the Church receives, of his having been lawfully ordained.

Erroneous representation of it.

It is, therefore, not a little remarkable, that this account should have been taken by a respectable historian of the Church of England, as the ground for an assertion, that, with regard to any ministers who had received Presbyterian orders in the confusion of the great Rebellion, the method, employed by Archbishop Bramhall, was, not to cause them to "undergo a new ordination, but to admit them into the ministry of the Church, by a conditional ordination, as we do in the baptism of those, of whom it is uncertain, whether they are baptized or not[9]."

Assertion opposed to the authority quoted.

But this assertion is not supported by the statement of Bishop Vesey, and the document alleged by him: on the contrary it is directly opposed to both. For they give us to understand, that the archbishop did "ordain" the persons in question, "as the law of this Church requireth;" therefore *not conditionally*, for the law of this Church recognises no conditional ordination: but that subsequently he introduced into his "letters" of orders an explanatory remark. The historian seems to identify the form of ordination with the subsequent letters of orders, or certificate. But, whatever be the cause, the error is manifest: and it requires correction, both that the character of such a man, as Primate Bramhall, may be vindicated from the allegation, and even from the suspicion, of illegally deviating from the prescript forms of the Church, whereas he acted professedly and strictly,

[9] NICHOLS's *Defence of the Church of England*, Introd. p. 112.

"as the law of the Church requireth;" and that the principles and provisions of the Church herself may not be misapprehended, in a matter of such infinite importance as the due ordination of candidates for the sacred ministry.

Bishop Taylor's exemplary conduct.

In the mean time, the conduct of Bishop Taylor, in endeavouring to remove the irregularities, which had spread over his diocese of Down and Connor, was exemplary, and confirmed the judgment of those, who had been instrumental in placing him in that most arduous and responsible situation. The obstructions which there assailed him, the persevering assiduity with which he endeavoured to surmount them, the wisdom and gentleness of his personal deportment, and the happy success, which to a great extent blessed his exertions, are thus stated by Carte, in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*.

Violent invectives of the sectarists.

"The pulpits of the diocese, filled with Scots Covenanters, rang with nothing but warm exhortations to stand by the Covenant even unto blood, violent invectives against the bishop's person, and vehement harangues against episcopacy and liturgies. These were the only subjects of their preachings for four months together, notwithstanding all the endeavours of that excellent man, who soon gained upon all the nobility and gentry, one only excepted, but still found

Conciliatory conduct of the bishop.

the ministers implacable. He invited them to friendly conferences, desired earnestly to speak with them, went to them, sent some of their own sect to invite them, offered to satisfy them in anything that was reasonable, preached every Sunday among them in the several churches of his diocese, and courted them with the kindest offers. All the effect which this had upon the ministers, was, that it put them upon entering into a new Covenant, whereby they pledged themselves to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons. But it wrought very differently upon the better sort of people: who by

these methods, and by the refusal of the ministers to dispute, (to which their own followers urged them, and interpreted their declining to be ignorance and tergiversation,) were so far gained, that the bishop, in less than two years, found his diocese generally conformable."

His course with the sectarian ministers.

With respect to the ministers, whom he found in possession of the churches, there was only one of two courses which it was possible for him to pursue. The course, chosen by the Primate, we have seen was that of giving episcopal ordination to the individuals, and so permitting them to retain the benefices. The same course might have been adopted by Bishop Taylor, had it depended upon his choice. But the Presbyterian ministers in his diocese assumed from the first an attitude of determined hostility against him. They refused to submit themselves to his episcopal jurisdiction; and when the day of his visitation was announced, they confederated together, and in a body agreed not to attend it. The obvious consequence followed. Not having received episcopal ordination, these persons could not be recognised, as ministers of the Church of Ireland: and the benefices, which they were thus not qualified to hold, were declared to be, what in law they were, actually vacant, and the vacancies were supplied by the bishop in the exercise of his legitimate authority.

Prescribed by law.

Similar course in Raphoe and Clogher.

The same course was taken in the other northern dioceses, especially in those of Raphoe and Clogher. In the whole, fifty-nine persons declined to qualify themselves for ministering in the Church in such ways as the laws prescribed, and were of course precluded from the enjoyment of her privileges: of these thirty-eight were in the united diocese of Down and Connor, eight in that of Clogher, and thirteen in

that of Raphoe[10]. The disinclination to treat them with undue severity, and the inclination on the contrary to treat them with indulgence, lenity, and kindness, and to receive them into the ministry of the Church on their becoming properly qualified, are sufficiently proved by the fact of several persons, similarly circumstanced, being ordained by Bishop Taylor, on their conforming, and thereupon collated to benefices in his diocese.

SECTION II.

Prevailing sentiment in favour of the Church. The Primate Speaker of the House of Lords. His usefulness to the Clergy. Declaration of Parliament for Episcopacy and the Liturgy. Reprobation of the Solemn League and Covenant. Manifestation of opinion on late Events. Symptoms of discontent in the Presbyterians. Death of Archbishop Bramhall. His recommendation of Bishop Margetson for his succcessor.

Sentiment in favour of the Church.

THE tyranny of anti-episcopal and anti-liturgical, as well as of anti-monarchical, frenzy was now overpast; and the tide of publick favour, in the most respectable portions, at least, of the community, was flowing strongly in support of the polity and ordinances of the Church. The executive government especially, and the legislature of the kingdom, gave satisfactory evidence of this sentiment.

Earl of Orrery's letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, Jan. 2, 1661.

The government was at this time administered by lords justices: namely, Sir Maurice Eustace, lord chancellor, and Roger Boyle and Charles Coote, earls of Orrery and Mountrath. Their determination to support the Church was expressed on the 2nd of January, 1661, by one of the number, to the tried and effective friend of the Church, the Mar-

[10] WODROW's *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 72.

quis of Ormonde, on occasion of some dissatisfaction shown by the Presbyterian body at a recent proclamation of the government. In this letter, the writer signified his assurance that

"The Protestants of this province will be on all occasions, and in all places, ready to lay down their lives and fortunes in obedience to any of his majesty's commands. We are now generally in these parts all common prayer men; and I hope we shall have a general conformity thereunto throughout all the kingdom."

Such was the prevailing sentiment as conveyed by the Earl of Orrery's letter, wherein was enclosed the following narrative.

Desire of the Presbyterians to exercise their ministry.

"We have had these two days four ministers before us, which were sent from the several Presbyteries in Ulster to the lords justices and council, desiring liberty to exercise their ministry in their respective parishes, according to the way they have hitherto exercised it in: and expressing their great sorrow to find themselves numbered with Papists and fanaticks in our late proclamation, which prohibited unlawful assemblies.

Answer of the lords justices.

"After many debates upon several proposals how to answer them, we resolved on this answer: That we neither could nor would allow any discipline to be exercised in Church affairs, but what was warranted and commanded by the laws of the land. That they were punishable for having exercised any other. That we should not take any advantage of them for the past, if they would comport themselves conformably for the time to come. That if they were dispensed withal, by pleading that a submission thereunto was against their consciences, Papists and fanaticks would expect the like indulgence from the like plea, which we knew their own practice, as well as judgments, led them to disallow of. That we took it very ill, divers of those, which had sent them, had not observed the time set apart for humbling themselves for the barbarous murder of his late majesty, a sin which no honest man could avoid being sorry for. That some of their number had preached sedi-

tiously, in crying up the Covenant, the seeds of all our miseries; and in lamenting his majesty's breach of it, as setting up Episcopacy as introductory to Popery, which they had not punished in exercising any of their pretended discipline over such notorious offenders. And lastly, that, if they conformed themselves to the discipline of the Church, they should want no fitting countenance and encouragement in carrying on their ministry; so, if they continued refractory, they must expect the penalties the law did prescribe.

Reply of the ministers.

"To all which they answered, that, as far as their consciences would permit them, they would comply, and what it would not, they would patiently suffer. That it was their religion to obey a lawful authority, and such they owned [his majesty] was, either actively or passively. That if any of their judgment had preached sedition, they left them to themselves, and disowned them: and if they had the exercising of their discipline, they would punish severely all such. That many of them had according to the proclamation kept the fast for the king's murder, which they heartily detested; and for the doing thereof in the usurper's government many of them had been imprisoned and sequestered; and that, to the last of their lives, they would continue loyal to his majesty. And lest they might offend against our proclamation, they desired to know what was meant by unlawful assemblies, because some were so severe as to interpret their meetings to pray and preach on the Lord's-day, to come under that head. To which we told them, that by unlawful meetings was only meant such assemblies as were to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which were not warranted by the laws of the kingdom, and not to hinder their meetings in performing parochial duties in those benefices, of which they were possessed legally or illegally.

"They seemed much comforted with the last assurance: so that, having again exhorted them to conformity, and promised them therein all encouragement, we dismissed them to try what this usage and the admonition will produce. I have had several private discourses with them, and I leave no honest means unessayed to gain them[1]."

[1] ORRERY'S *State Letters*, vol. i. p. 29.

A parliament, May, 1661.

Early in the spring of this year, 1661, a parliament was convened; and met on the appointed day in the usual manner, riding on horseback in great solemnity to St. Patrick's cathedral, where a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Down and Connor; and thence to Chichester House, the place of their sitting.

The Lord Primate, Speaker of the House of Lords.

The office of Speaker of the House of Lords, being inconsistent with the station, which the Lord Chancellor held, as one of the lords justices, that dignity was conferred on the Lord Primate: concerning whose appointment to the office, and the motives which actuated it, the Earl of Orrery, on the 8th of May, thus wrote to his former correspondent, recently created Duke of Ormonde.

Motives to his appointment.

"His majesty having empowered the lords justices to appoint a fit person to be Speaker of the House of Lords," I proposed "my Lord Primate, well known in the orders and proceedings of that House, having sat in two parliaments; a constant eminent sufferer for his late and now majesty; and that in such a choice we might let the dissenters and fanaticks see, what we intend as to Church government. Besides it was but requisite, the Church, which had so long suffered, should now, in the chief of it, receive all the honours we could confer on it. My Lord Chancellor for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred: and this day my Lord Primate sate in that character[2]."

His usefulness to the clergy.

By means of the Primate's diligence and activity, many advantages were obtained for the Church during this session of parliament. Several of the bishops procured an augmentation of their revenues; and the inferior clergy recovered much of the forfeited impropriate tythes. The Convocation, which also was now assembled, were so deeply impressed

[2] ORRERY'S *State Papers*, i. 34.

with a grateful sense of his good services to the Church, that they acknowledged them in a solemn instrument of recognition.

Declaration of the Lords for Episcopacy and the Liturgy, May 14.

Previous to the procuring of these benefits, however, and the first action of the Lords in this parliament, was, at the motion of the Lord Viscount Montgomery, soon afterwards created Earl of Mount-Alexander, an order on the 14th of May for drawing up a Declaration, by which all subjects of the kingdom of Ireland were required to conform to the episcopal model of Church Government, and to the Liturgy as established by law. This matter was thus promptly moved, with a view of anticipating objections from the Presbyterians and other sectaries, of whom there were too considerable a division among the Commons, and who might be expected to object to the Declaration, if it were deferred till they felt themselves fully secured in their estates.

Adopted by the Commons.

The Declaration, thus seasonably proposed and adopted in the Upper House, was sent down to the Commons, and readily agreed to, and returned to the Lords without alteration. They concurred with the like readiness in pronouncing a judgment of the utmost reprobation on that oath and bond of association, to the introduction and prevalence of which they attributed the late Rebellion, and which they now ordered to be branded with marks of the greatest ignominy, pronouncing a justification of it an act of hostility and injury to the king, the Church, and the kingdom.

Reprobation of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Communicated to, and promptly received by, the Commons.

The following is the strong, but not unmerited language, in which this order was expressed, on the 25th of May, 1661: and the Declaration was communicated to the Commons, and their concurrence

desired on the 27th, on which day the Declaration was thrice read in that house and passed. And thus the forwardness of the Parliament outran even the zeal of the Convocation, with respect to this iniquitous confederacy[3].

Order for burning the Covenant.

"We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the sad and miserable effects of that horrid confederacy and conjuration, commonly called 'The Solemn League and Covenant,' as the great incentive of the Rebellion in all his majesty's dominions, do adjudge and declare, *nemine contradicente*, that the same was and is against the laws of God, and the fundamental constitution of this kingdom; and, therefore, do condemn it as schismatical, seditious, and treasonable; and, therefore, order, that it be burned in all cities, towns corporate, and market-towns, within this kingdom, by the hand of the common hangman, or officer to be appointed by the magistrate of the place; who is also required to be present, and see the execution hereof on the next market-day after the receipt of this order.

Defence of it condemned.

"And do further declare, that whosoever shall, by word or deed, by sign or writing, go about to defend or justify the said treasonable Covenant, shall be accounted and esteemed as an enemy to his sacred majesty, and to the public peace and tranquillity of this Church and kingdom[4]."

Sentiments of parliament on late events.

This session was marked by several other incidents, which bore testimony to the sentiments of both houses of parliament concerning the late disastrous events.

House of Commons receive the Holy Communion from the Lord Primate, June, 1661.

The members of the Lower House took an early opportunity of manifesting their wish to give proof of their conformity and obedience to the Church. For, on the 31st of May, the Master of the Wards reported to the house, that according to their order he had waited on the Lord Primate with an intima-

[3] Vesey's *Life of Bramhall.* [4] *Lords Journals*, May 25, 1661.

tion of their request, that the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper might be administered to them by his hands; that he had accordingly appointed the Sabbath Day next come fortnight for the celebration at St. Patrick's Church, according to the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, and the Friday before for a preparatory sermon between nine and ten in the morning. The subject of the sermon, delivered in pursuance of this appointment, was the duty of repentance, as testified by the forsaking and amendment of former sins. By order of the house, on the 17th of June, thanks were returned to his grace for his great pains on the occasion, with a request that he would cause the sermon to be printed, which was in consequence done, and the sermon remains amongst his works under the title of "*The right way to safety after Shipwreck.*"

Characters of Lord Strafford, Archbishop Bramhall, and others, vindicated. June 18, July 15.

On the 18th of June, an order was entered on the journals of the House of Lords, and a corresponding one on those of the Commons, the 15th of July,

"That such matters as may seem to be intrenchments on the honour, worth, and integrity of Thomas Earl of Strafford, the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor Bolton, and the Lord Chief Justice Lowther, whose memory this house cannot in justice suffer to be sullied with the least stain of evil report, be totally and absolutely expunged and obliterated from the journals and records of the house."

Order concerning Primers and Bibles. July 27.

On the 27th of July, an order was made in the Upper House,

"That the lords bishops have a care, that the Primer, which hath a prayer in it for the Lord Protector, be not taught in any of their respective dioceses; and that Dr. John Sterne do make a search for them among the stationers in this city."

And on the 29th of July,

"That all the Bibles printed by the late Usurper's printer, calling himself 'Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector,' shall have the title-page, where these words are printed, torn from them; and that no sale be made within this kingdom of any Bibles with the said title-page."

Punishment of offenders.

On the same 29th of July, an order was entered on the journals,

"That the mayor of Carrickfergus be brought to the bar of this house, on his knees, for not burning the Covenant, and fined 100*l.* sterling; to be taken off on his bringing sufficient certificate of having burned it."

And on the same day another order,

"That Mr. Boyd, of Ahadowy, for holding a conventicle at Desertoel, in the county of Derry, contrary to the Declaration of this house, be examined by the Judges of Assize, who ride that circuit, who are to proceed against him according to the nature of his offence."

Anniversary Thanksgivings enacted for the 29th of May;

On the 12th of April, 1662, the parliament passed an act for a perpetual anniversary Thanksgiving to be celebrated in Ireland, on the 29th of May of each year, for the power and goodness of God shown in the King's Restoration. It records his majesty's forced extermination into foreign parts by the most traitorous conspiracies and armed power of usurping tyrants, and execrable perfidious traitors: his Restoration, without the least opposition or effusion of blood, through the unanimous, cordial, loyal votes and passionate desires of his majesty's subjects; and it enacts the annual solemnizing of the day, by all ministers of God's word and sacraments celebrating divine worship in their churches; and by all the inhabitants of the kingdom, resorting to the churches, and devoutly abiding there during such celebration. With reference to the late mas-

And the 23rd of October.

sacre and rebellion, a similar act was passed for celebrating the 23rd of October, as an anniversary Thanksgiving-day, for the preservation of the lords justices and council; and of all the British and Protestant inhabitants in Dublin, and in other cities, towns, and castles; and of sundry other British and Protestants, from falling into the hands of those rebellious conspirators.

Manifestation of the sentiments of parliament.

Thus by a variety of orders and enactments, the parliament seized the first occasion for manifesting their sentiments upon the late course of publick events, and the alterations which had recently occurred in it: their disgust at the Usurpation, by which the Church, as well as the monarchy, had been violated; and their satisfaction, accompanied by solemn expressions of gratitude to the Author and Giver of all good, at the re-establishment of the legitimate civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom.

Perplexity of the government in dealing with nonconformists.

In the mean time, the government were thrown into some perplexity, as to the best mode of dealing with the refractory enemies of the Church. This appears from the following letter of Lord Orrery, to the Duke of Ormonde, April 16, 1662.

"Lately, upon a petition from the recusants of Ireland, who had been indicted on the statute of the 2nd of Elizabeth, for not coming to church, we ordered the judges in their several circuits to suspend the execution of that penal statute, till his majesty's pleasure were signified, or further orders from ourselves. Soon after the nonconformists of the North, being also indicted for the same offences, we gave the like orders for them; but would not dispense with the penalties of the law to such as should hold unlawful assemblies or conventicles. Though we would connive at their not doing what they should, yet we

would not connive at their doing what they should not. The good bishops soon found the bad effects of these indulgences, and acquainted us with them: which made us call them to advise what was fit to be done. . . . . The thing is very weighty in its consequences, and difficult in the resolution: and, therefore, your grace's judgment is most requisite for our guidance. If the laws be fully put in execution, ten parts of eleven of the people will be dissatisfied; if they be not put in execution, the Church will be dissatisfied, and sects and heresies continued, I doubt not, for ever: and if any of the sects be indulged, it will be partiality not to indulge all; if none be favoured, it may be unsafe. This is to me a short state of the case, and too true a one. If England and Scotland fall roundly upon the Papists and non-conformists, and we do not, Ireland will be the sink to receive them all. If they are fallen upon equally in the three kingdoms, may not they all unite to disturb the peace? God direct your grace, but I am sure your commands shall be my rule[5]."

Presbyterian ministers refuse to conform.

Their vacancies supplied.

In the course of this year some alarming symptoms of disaffection and insurrection appeared in Ireland, in consequence of a conspiracy between the fanaticks of England and Scotland, and the rigid Scotch Presbyterians in the Irish counties of the north. In explanation of this, our attention must be turned to an account of certain ecclesiastical occurrences in England, which gave occasion for the exercise of such an insurrectionary spirit.

Symptoms of disaffection in Ireland.

The Act of Uniformity recently passed in England (for in Ireland the corresponding Act was not passed till about three years afterwards) had caused much dissatisfaction to the Presbyterians. The court had given them some grounds to expect that a part of that Act would be suspended in their favour: and they had in consequence conducted themselves with such insolence, as to offend the members of the

English Act of Uniformity.

[5] ORRERY'S *State Papers*, i. 109.

House of Commons, who were very zealous in the cause of Episcopacy. The ensuing festival of St. Bartholomew was the day appointed for the ministers of that sect in England to declare their resolution, whether or not they would conform to the Book of Common Prayer. And the hopes, which they had conceived of being suffered to continue after the appointed day, induced the greatest and most considerable of their number to declare that they would quit their livings rather than conform.

King's inclination in favour of the non-conformists.

The bishops forthwith acted upon their refusal, and proceeded to supply the benefices which had thus become vacant. Most of those who had quitted their benefices would have willingly conformed for their recovery: but finding that it was too late, they exclaimed bitterly against the court, imagining that hopes had been held out with the sole intention of deceiving them. It had indeed been much debated in council, whether the Presbyterian ministers should be allowed to retain their benefices, according to what was by some supposed to have been promised by the king in the Declaration at Breda; or the Act of Uniformity should be observed in all its force and strictness. The result was a consultation with Sheldon, bishop of London; and a declaration on his part, in the name of all the bishops, that they would not comply with any resolution contrary to the meaning and intent of that Act.

Opposed by parliament.

The council, though it contained several lords favourable to the Presbyterians, thought it not advisable after this for the king to continue their ministers; the rather for fear of disobliging the parliament. The Act was carried into execution: the clergy of the Church of England took possession

of the pulpits: the churches of London were no less fully attended: the people appeared well satisfied with their new pastors, and behaved themselves with an orderly and decent observance of the Rubrick; so that his majesty began to be released from his apprehensions of the consequences of offending a powerful body of men.

The ministers, indeed, in their farewell sermons, strove to inflame the people, but with little effect; and being thus the more exasperated, became too much inclined to favour the turbulent designs of other sectarists. Their cause, on the other hand, was espoused at the court by the queen-mother, a foreign Papist, and the Countess of Castlemain, a Protestant by education, but recently a convert to Popery; till in the end the king, overcome by their importunity, or desirous of appeasing the spirit of discontent apparently at work in the kingdom, and having in fact no sincere attachment to the Church, was persuaded, on the 26th of December, to set forth a Declaration; wherein he expressed his inclination to make good his promises at Breda, and to grant an indulgence to the non-conformists, if it could be done by the consent of parliament.

But the sentiments of parliament were directly opposed to such indulgence. The House of Commons was composed of members zealous for the constitution of the Church: and they, in alarm at the proposal, represented to his majesty that

"The Declaration of Breda contained in it no promise, but only an expression of his intentions to do what a parliament should advise him in that matter, and no such advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offered; and for any to pretend a right to the benefit of that Declaration, after their representatives had passed, and his majesty assented to, the

Evils of compliance.

Act of Uniformity, was to dissolve the very bonds of government, and to suppose a disability in the king and parliament to make a law contrary to any part of that Declaration, though both Houses should advise his majesty thereto; that the indulgence proposed would render the whole government of the Church precarious, and its censures of no moment or consideration at all; that it did not become the wisdom of parliament to pass in one session a law for Uniformity, and in the next to pass another to frustrate or weaken the execution of it; that it would expose his majesty to the restless importunity of every sect or opinion that should presume to dissent from the Church of England; that it would be the cause of increasing sects and sectaries, would take away all means of convicting recusants, was inconsistent with the method and proceedings of the law of England, and would be so far from tending to the peace of the kingdom, that it was rather likely to occasion great disturbance. Whereas, on the contrary, the asserting of the laws and the religion established was the most probable means to produce a settled peace and obedience throughout the kingdom; because the variety of professions in religion when openly indulged, must directly distinguish men into parties, and withal give them opportunity to count their numbers; which, considering the animosities, that out of a religious pride would be kept on foot by the several factions, tended directly and inevitably to open disturbance; nor could his majesty have any security, that the doctrine or worship of the several factions, which were all governed by a several rule, would be consistent with the peace of his kingdom."

Benefits of non-compliance.

The foregoing view is suggested by Carte, of the considerations which actuated the English House of Commons to resist the indulgence proposed for the sectaries. The following may be added as to the mutual feelings of the contending parties.

Mutual feelings of the Church and the sectarists.

The long and violent persecution which the members of the Church of England had so lately suffered from the tyrannical power of the sectarists,

indisposed them for any measures which might flatter their late oppressors in their obstinacy, or encourage them to aim again at the superiority. The sectarists, on the other hand, less patiently submitted to the disappointment, because they had been so lately in possession of the government, and were indignant at being controlled by laws imposed upon them by those, whom they had not long before seen at their feet, and who, having divested them of all their power, had stripped many of them likewise of their ill-gotten estates. They resolved, therefore, to collect all their strength, and to make an insurrection, before the nation should be better instructed in the principles, and thoroughly settled in a course, of obedience: but, before putting their hopes on the issue of a trial, it was judged prudent to engage their partisans in Scotland and Ireland to second their attempt. The re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland had caused some discontent in that kingdom; but less than they had expected. Their hopes from Ireland were more sanguine: for those who belonged to their faction in that country were both more numerous; and they were at the same time animated to resistance by the fear of losing their estates, as well as their conventicles, and encouraged by the unhappy divisions and unsettled condition of the kingdom.

English Presbyterians seek aid from Scotland and Ireland.

The consequence of this appeal to the Scoto-Irish Presbyterians was, in the first place, a plot to seize the castle of Dublin; and, secondly, a design for a general insurrection. The progress of this conspiracy, and the measures for its counteraction taken by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormonde, who arrived in Ireland about the time of its commencement, may be sought in Carte's life of that illustrious loyalist

Consequence in Ireland.

and conscientious supporter of the Church. The foregoing allusion has appeared necessary, in proof of the spirit then existing, and ready to be brought into action, as opportunity should be offered, against the Church's polity and worship.

Death of Primate Bramhall. June 25, 1663.

On the 25th of June, 1663, the Church of Ireland was deprived of her Primate, Archbishop Bramhall, who died on that day, in the 70th year of his age; a prelate, to whom, perhaps, more than to any other,

His valuable services to the Church.

the Church is indebted for the most valuable services, especially for his exertions in relieving her from the dilemma into which she had fallen with respect to her articles of religion; in improving the condition of her clergy; and in repairing the breaches and inroads, which had been made upon her discipline and good order before his advancement to the Primacy.

Bishop Taylor's testimony to his character.

But a few sentences, selected from Bishop Taylor's sermon, preached at his funeral, will be the most acceptable testimony to his value.

His impediments and labours in the Primacy.

"At his coming to the Primacy, he knew he should first espy little besides the ruins of discipline, a harvest of thorns and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and, therefore, he set himself to weed the fields of the Church. He treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently, and in his own person, not by proxies and instrumental deputations. He designed nothing that we knew of, but the redintegration of religion, the honour of God and the King, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the churches. And still he was indefatigable; and, even at the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a regal visitation. . . . . .

"Upon a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last January, he gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed Restoration of his majesty and the Church of England, confessed his faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God that he was born and bred up in this religion, and prayed to God, and hoped he should die in the communion of this Church, which he declared to be the most pure and Apostolical Church in the whole world. . . . . His attachment to the communion of the Church.

"To sum up all, he was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful servant to his masters, a loyal subject to the king, a zealous assertor of his religion, against Popery on one side and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his religion was not so much in forms and exterior ministeries, although he was a great observer of all the publick rites and ministeries of the Church, as it was in doing good to others. . . . . His personal qualities.

"He was a man of great business and great resort. He divided his life into labour and his book. He took care of his churches, when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh, and St. Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an excellent scholar, and rarely well accomplished; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. . . . . His occupations.

"It will be hard to find his equal in all things. For in him were visible the great lines of Hooker's judiciousness, of Jewel's learning, of the acuteness of Bishop Andrewes . . . . . He showed his equanimity in poverty, and his justice in riches: he was useful in his country, and profitable in his banishment. . . . . He received publick thanks from the Convocation, of which he was president, and publick justification from the Parliament, where he was speaker; so that, although no man had greater enemies, no man had greater justifications." His high estimation.

The death of Archbishop Bramhall caused a vacancy in the Primacy, which, on the 29th of Archbishop Margetson raised to the Primacy. 1663.

August, was supplied by the translation of Archbishop Margetson from the metropolitan see of Dublin: to his merit no higher testimony can be borne, than the earnest recommendation which is said to have been made of him to the Duke of Ormonde by Primate Bramhall on his death-bed, as the worthiest person for his successor. In a Latin funeral oration, spoken over his hearse by William Palisser, Fellow of Trinity College at the time, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, this recommendation is commemorated.

Recommended by his predecessor.

By Harris, however, in his edition of Sir JAMES WARE's *History of the Bishops*, this is regarded as "a rhetorical flourish;" and the truth of the assertion is questioned, on the ground that Primate Bramhall was seized with an apoplectick fit in a court of justice, and carried thence senseless, and so continued till he died. But it was only about three months before this final seizure, that he had suffered so violent a shock of paralysis, that he "put his house in order, having received the sentence of death within himself, and knowing that he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship[6]." In his own judgment at the time, as well as in that of his attendants, this was his "death-bed," though, in fact, it pleased God to protract his life a little longer; and from this, his death-bed, it is by no means improbable, that the recommendation of his successor in the Primacy, as affirmed by so respectable an attestation, was conveyed to the Lord Lieutenant.

Harris's objection answered.

[6] BISHOP TAYLOR's *Funeral Sermon.*

Section III.

Act of Uniformity. Act for preventing Benefices being holden together in England and in Ireland. Sectarian Plot. Popish Synod. The Remonstrance. Instructions to Lord Berkley about the Church. Violence of the Anti-Remonstrants. Interposition of the English Parliament. Proclamations against the Papists. Excellent government of the Duke of Ormonde.

In 1665, two Acts of Parliament were passed, both of them intimately affecting the welfare of the Church; the former in respect of the due ministration of publick worship, the latter in its operation upon ecclesiastical discipline, and the respectability and efficiency of the clergy.

Two important Acts of Parliament. 1665. 17, 18 Charles II.

The former of these was the Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers: of which the preamble sets forth, that for the peace and advancement of religion by unanimous agreement in the publick worship of God, it had been recommended to both houses of Convocation to consider whether the form used in England, meaning the revised Liturgy, might not be profitably received in Ireland: and that it had been approved by them, who presented to the Lord Lieutenant and council the Book of Common Prayer.

Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers.

Preamble.

Accordingly the act ordains that the said Book shall be used in all places of publick worship; and that all ministers enjoying ecclesiastical benefices, shall read and declare assent to the same, under pain of deprivation; and the like shall be done by every person hereafter promoted. It ordains that all persons in holy orders, schoolmasters, and private tutors, shall subscribe a declaration, "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against

Assent to the Book of Common Prayer.

the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, and against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, as it is now by law established. And I do declare," (these following words of the declaration were to be omitted after the year 1682,) "that I do hold that there lies no obligation upon me, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called 'The Solemn League and Covenant,' to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath."

Declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant.

Episcopal ordination necessary for holding a benefice.

The act further ordains, "that from the 29th of September, 1667, no person who is now incumbent, and in possession of any benefice; and who is not already in holy orders by episcopal ordination; or shall not, before the said 29th of September, be ordained priest or deacon according to said form of episcopal ordination; shall hold said ecclesiastical benefice, but shall be utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived of the same."

Penalty of administering the Lord's Supper by persons not episcopally ordained.

Also, it ordains, that "no person shall consecrate and administer the Lord's Supper before ordained priest by episcopal ordination; under penalty of 100*l*., and disability of being admitted to the order of priest for one whole year."

Application of the leading principle of the Act.

Upon the leading principle of this act, in its general application, it were needless to dwell. But with respect to its application to ministers, actually in possession of benefices, by rendering obligatory upon them conformity to the Liturgy, and episcopal ordination, it may be observed that these enactments were demanded by the circumstances of the times, and were essential to the well-being, not to say the

being, of the Church. For to suppose a society, constituted on certain principles, and governed by certain regulations, with its offices of trust and emolument occupied, and its concerns administered, by persons who disavow its principles, and condemn its regulations, and profess others in direct opposition; or, in other words, to suppose an episcopal Church, with a liturgical worship, having its benefices possessed by anti-episcopal and anti-liturgical ministers; is to suppose an anomaly, calculated to produce any effect rather than the Church's edification, and to introduce every sort of unseemliness, disorder, and confusion.

Its operation on nonconforming ministers.

The operation of the act on the nonconforming Presbyterian ministers, though in truth it only deprived them of that to which they were not lawfully entitled, was nevertheless much to be lamented. In pursuance of the laws previously in existence, the benefices of some of the nonconformists who had refused to submit themselves to episcopal ordination and jurisdiction, and thus virtually vacated their benefices, had been already declared void, and supplied by fresh appointments under the episcopal authority. Others appear to have been ejected, as disqualified for their stations by the absence of the conditions which the law required. The rest were removed agreeably to this enactment, which ordained the alternative of conformity or deprivation.

Conformity of some Presbyterian ministers.

In the mean time some, though not a large proportion, of those who had been admitted to the Presbyterian ministry, conformed to the Church. These, of course, incurred the severe reprehension of their more inflexible brethren, and have been stigmatized with some opprobrious language. Yet, whilst an impartial and temperate observer would concede in

favour of those, who adhered to their earlier views and engagements, the credit of a conscientious, though perhaps an erroneous consistency, he would hold it not unreasonable, and certainly more charitable, to believe, in the case of those ministers of the Presbyterians, who received episcopal ordination, and assented to the Book of Common Prayer, that they may have, by the grace of God on honest and diligent investigation, been enabled to discover the fallacy of the modern imaginations, under the influence of which they had been educated; and to discern in the Church of Ireland, the apostolical constitution, and the scriptural worship, of the primitive and Catholick Church of Christ, equally remote from the corruptions of Rome, and the latitudinarian licentiousness of Geneva.

Bishop Taylor's works on episcopacy and Liturgies; and ministerial duties.

To guide and assist their investigation upon these topicks, such inquirers may naturally have had recourse to Bishop Taylor's exposition of the "Divine Institution, Apostolical Tradition, and Catholick Practice of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy," and to his "Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy against the pretence of the Spirit;" at the same time, his two sermons on "The Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine," or the same instructions methodically arranged into an admirable manual of "Rules and Advices to the Clergy of his Diocese," were well adapted to the purpose of improving them in the practice of their profession, and of guarding them against some mistakes, into which, as Presbyterian ministers, they were in danger of being betrayed.

Enactment against unepiscopal ministers not enforced.

The last enactment, above cited from the Act for Uniformity, that, namely, which inflicted a heavy penalty on the administration of the Lord's Supper

by a person not episcopally ordained, was of undue severity; a sense of which was probably the cause of its being but little carried into execution. The Presbyterian ministers, therefore, when deprived of the benefices of the Church, continued their irregular proceedings, to the perpetual and irremediable injury of "the apostles' doctrine and fellowship" in Ireland, and of the peace and unity of the Church.

Act for disabling persons to hold benefices both in England and Ireland.

In the same parliament of the 17th and 18th year of King Charles the Second, an act, chapter 10, was passed, calculated to be of great benefit to both the Churches of England and Ireland, but more especially to the latter. A practice had long prevailed among persons, holding ecclesiastical benefices in England or Wales, to accept bishopricks or other benefices in Ireland, and to retain with them their former preferments, notwithstanding their inability to discharge properly the duties of both. It was now therefore enacted, that from the 24th of June, 1666, every person, having an ecclesiastical benefice in England or Wales, be incapable of holding a benefice in Ireland: that all grants of benefices in Ireland, to all persons having benefices in England, be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and that, if any person, having an ecclesiastical benefice in Ireland, shall accept of a benefice in England or Wales, his benefice in Ireland shall be absolutely null and void.

Another Presbyterian plot, 1666.

In the early part of the year 1666, another fanatick plot was discovered: according to which there was "a general design in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to rise at once in all the three kingdoms; to set up the Long Parliament, of which above forty members were engaged; and to pull

down the king, with the House of Lords, and instead of the bishops to set up a sober and painful ministry." By the vigilance, however, of the Duke of Ormonde, lord lieutenant, and the activity of his son, the Earl of Arran, the project was discovered and defeated[1].

Assembly of Popish clergy.

Nearly coincident with this disaffection of the rigid Scotch Presbyterians in the North, was an assembly of the Popish clergy, who, on the 11th of June in the same year, met in a sort of convocation or national synod in Dublin[2], by connivance of the Lord Lieutenant, pursuant to his majesty's order: when it was expected that they would ask pardon for the Rebellion of 1641, and give the king new assurance of their allegiance by taking an oath, framed to that effect by their procurator, Peter Welsh, and called "The Loyal Formulary," or "The Irish Remonstrance." This Remonstrance comprised an acknowledgment of the king, as supreme lord and rightful sovereign of the realm of Ireland; of the obligation to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, and to pay him faithful loyalty and allegiance, notwithstanding any power or pretension, any sentence or declaration, of the Pope or see of Rome; with other corresponding disclamations, resolutions, professions, and protestations, confirmatory of such acknowledgment. So far, however, were the Popish clergy from fulfilling the expectation previously formed of them, that one of their bishops said, "They knew no crime of which they were guilty, and therefore they needed no pardon:" and they not only refused to give the expected pledge of allegiance, but prevailed with many, who had subscribed "The Remonstrance," to withdraw their subscriptions, and to renounce that oath. In truth,

The Remonstrance.

Refusal to adopt it.

[1] CARTE'S *Ormonde*, ii. 324. [2] Cox, *Charles II.*, p. 8.

they were then ready for a new rebellion, and in daily hope of an invasion from France; and were thus disinclined for an oath of allegiance[3].

Popish arrogance exemplified.

The aspiring arrogance of the Popish sect, discontented with indulgence, and emulous of publicity and power, was about this time evidenced at Cork by occurrences, of which the following communication was made by a letter of the 2nd of July, 1667, by Lord Orrery to the Duke of Ormonde.

Letter from Earl of Orrery to Duke of Ormonde, July 2, 1667.

"Because masses are daily said in that city, and conventicles daily held there, I did, having therein advised with the bishop, publickly order the mayor and governor, that, if any masses or conventicles were henceforth held in that city and suburbs, they should disperse such meetings, and seize on the chiefest in them, and proceed against them according to law: it being a sufficient indulgence, that all families within themselves may serve God in their own way, and that they have their meetings in the country, it being both an affront to authority, and a hazarding of his majesty's garrisons, to have such confluences of people gathered together, even in his majesty's garrisons. The like I intend to do in the other garrisons of this province, if your grace does not disapprove it[4]."

The government of the noble Duke of Ormonde was in the following year superseded by influence in England, favourable to the Popish faction; and he was succeeded in the lord lieutenancy by John, Lord Roberts of Truro, who also, after a brief tenure of the viceregal office, was recalled, and his place supplied by John, Lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, esteemed a more efficient agent of the purposes with which he was to be intrusted. He was sworn into office on the 21st of May, 1670. His instructions expressed a strong interest for the religious pro-

Lord Berkley, lord lieutenant, 1670.

[3] Carte's *Ormonde.*

[4] Orrery's *State Papers*, ii. 196.

sperity of the kingdom, and were after the following manner.

His instructions for maintaining the established religion.

"Forasmuch as all good success doth rest upon the service of God, above all things you are to settle good orders in the Church, that God may be better served in the true established religion, and the people by that means be reduced from their errors in religion, wherein they have been too long most unhappily and perniciously seduced; and never more than since the late fatal Rebellion, which hath produced too plentiful a seed-time of atheism, superstition, and schism.

"But in your care of religion, be sure to moderate the precipitation and preposterous zeal of any, on what specious pretences soever, who, under the name of Christ's kingdom, the Church, and religion, disturb both the Church and state, and may endanger the peace thereof. Whereas, by wisdom and moderation, the established religion will not only be more firmly settled again, but by a wise and diligent hand the tares and cockle, which many years' war and confusion have sowed, will be most safely picked out.

"In order to this, proceed, as in the beginning of the Lord Chichester's time, to the building and repair of churches. And, because good preachers will be difficultly obtained without competent means, inspect the ecclesiastical livings, with assistance of some of the Church, and others of skill, and raise them as you can, and supply those in our gift with pious, apt, and able persons, men of good respect, and residents, and persuade all patrons to do the like, and to eschew corruption. Observe the directions about the Church of Ireland, anno 1623, and see that the clergy lose nothing designed for them in the several plantations. And that fit and diligent schoolmasters may have the benefit of our donations, and the Act of Parliament. And that you encourage the people to send their youth to the college of Dublin[5]."

Further instructions for effecting conformity.

This instruction was the second in order, following immediately upon the usual formal notification

[5] Cox, *Charles II.*, p. 9.

relative to the appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy. In the 14th the subject of religion is again enforced:

"Endeavour to bring all to a conformity in the religion by law established, and acquaint us with what difficulties you meet with therein."

And the 20th and last instruction is this:

"Several Popish clergy, since the return of the Duke of Ormonde hither, have exercised their jurisdiction to the great grief of the remonstrants. If so, execute the laws against the titular archbishops, bishops, and vicars-general, that have threatened or excommunicated the remonstrants; and that you protect such remonstrants as have not withdrawn their subscriptions."

Deceitfulness of these instructions.

But, however specious were these instructions in behalf of the established religion and Church of Ireland, they were in reality all false and hollow. For the design, which showed itself less equivocally in the succeeding reign, was already entertained, of establishing arbitrary power upon the foundation of Popery; and the experiment, of which England was to be eventually the scene, was first to be tried in Ireland. The mystery of iniquity was at work, and soon began to appear.

Lord Lieutenant's arrival an encouragement to the Anti-remonstrants.

Notwithstanding, then, these publick instructions, the prospect of Lord Berkley's arrival greatly elevated the Popish party, who opposed the Remonstrance, which had been signed by many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy of that communion, and contained a profession of their duty and resolution to obey the king, as their only chief governor in temporal matters. Before the end of May, provincial councils were holden in all the provinces of the kingdom, and diocesan synods in most of the dioceses. The object was the prosecution of those regulars and seculars who had subscribed the Remonstrance and

Provincial and diocesan synods.

the total suppression of them and their adherents. These were in consequence denounced as excommunicate, and persecuted with so much violence and fury that starvation beset them in their own country; and their only means of preservation was submission to their persecutors, or flight into foreign countries, with the danger there of being compelled to retract, or of being burned as hereticks for denying the Pope's temporal power.

Remonstrants discouraged.

Thus in imminent danger of being extirpated, they applied to the Lord Lieutenant for his protection. But when they waited on him with petitions, they were not able to obtain an audience. And Archbishop Margetson, the Lord Primate, who endeavoured to speak in their behalf, was checked by the Lord Lieutenant for his interposition.

Befriended by the Duke of Ormonde.

In this extremity they had recourse to the Duke of Ormonde; and on his powerful solicitation the king gave particular instructions to Lord Berkley to restrain the irregular actions of the persecuting party, and to relieve the Remonstrants from oppression for their loyalty. The duke gave notice of this to the Lord Primate, and to the Lord Chancellor, who also was Archbishop of Dublin. And, "Give me leave," said he, addressing the latter, "to believe, that when such jurisdiction is usurped in the very seat of your diocese, and employed with such circumstances of arrogance, in defiance of the government, and with such oppression to those of that clergy who have manifested most affection and duty to it, more may be expected from you than to sit still till you are called upon."

Interposition of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin ineffectual.

The two archbishops accordingly made application to the Lord Lieutenant, but met with so unfavourable a reception that they were discouraged

from any further attempt. And, although the Remonstrants represented their grievances in a petition to the king, and sought the royal protection, and his majesty sent fresh orders to the Lord Lieutenant to observe his former instructions, the Lord Lieutenant did not interpose his authority in their behalf. They were left to be crushed by the power and violence of their adversaries; who were allowed to go on securely in the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and to re-unite all the Irish Papists under the direction of spiritual guides, who considered the Pope as the supreme judge of conscience, and the only sovereign to whom, even in temporal matters, their allegiance was due. Nor was this indulgence in ecclesiastical jurisdiction the only favour now extended to the Irish Papists; it was soon followed by orders for their admission to inhabit and trade in corporations: many of them also procured admittance into the commission of the peace, and it was, moreover, attempted to bring them into the army.

Sole supremacy of the Pope.

Such were the sentiments manifested by the Government of King Charles the Second, towards the enemies and the friends of the royal supremacy in matters merely temporal: to its enemies, manifold indulgences; to its friends, neglect and abandonment to the penalty of heresy, incurred for paying to the king the temporal allegiance claimed for the Pope.

Sentiments of Government towards its enemies and friends.

The Pope, meanwhile, had elevated to the titular archbishoprick of Dublin a powerful partisan, in the person of Peter Talbot, who was a strenuous abettor of the Anti-Remonstrant faction in their persecution of the advocates of loyalty to the king, in contradistinction to the Pope's temporal authority. This man, upon the favour which he actually possessed at the

Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin.

English Court, founded the pretension of being the king's commissioner for superintending the whole order of the Popish clergy. And not only did that body regard him with confidence and veneration, but the Lord Lieutenant was wrought upon by his arrogance, and suffered him to appear before the Council in his hierarchal and archiepiscopal vestments, and to retire without molestation for this daring violation of the laws, accompanied, as it was, by a refusal to join in any acknowledgment of loyalty. Nor only this; but, on his application for the use of some of the plate and hangings, the furniture of the castle in order to the celebration of mass in Dublin with uncommon magnificence, the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant sent him the articles required for this illegal celebration of the superstitious rite, adding withal, as was said, an expression of his wish, that high mass might soon be performed in Christ Church cathedral[6].

Petition of the English Parliament to the king, March 9, 1673.

The jealousy of the parliament of England was aroused by the indulgences shown to the Irish Papists; and, anxious as they generally were to give effectual support to the English interest, and withal to the religion of the Church in Ireland, the House of Commons, on the 9th of May, 1673, addressed his majesty in a petition[7], wherein, having adverted to the great calamities which had formerly befallen the king's subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, from the Popish recusants there, and to their increased insolence and presumption, apparently endangering that kingdom, and his majesty's Protestant subjects there, they made, amongst others, the following prayers.

[6] CARTE'S *Ormonde*, ii. 413, 420.

[7] Cox, *Charles II.*, p. 11.

"That your majesty would give order, that no Papist be either continued, or hereafter admitted to be judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners or mayors, sovereigns or portreeves in that kingdom: Papists not to be judges.

"That the titular Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, abbots, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope's authority; and in particular Peter Talbot, pretended Archbishop of Dublin, for his notorious disloyalty to your majesty, and disobedience and contempt of your laws; be commanded by proclamation forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all other your majesty's dominions, or otherwise to be prosecuted according to law; and that all convents, seminaries, and publick Popish schools, may be dissolved and suppressed; and the secular priests commanded to depart under the like penalty: Popish ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be restrained.

"That no Irish Papist be admitted to inhabit in any part of that kingdom, unless duly licensed, according to the Act of Settlement; and that your majesty would be pleased to recall your letters of the 26th of February, 1671, and the proclamation thereupon, whereby general licence is given to such Papists as inhabit in corporations there: Papists not to inhabit without licence.

"That your majesty's letters of the 28th of September, 1672, and the order of council thereupon, whereby your subjects are required not to prosecute any actions against the Irish, for any wrongs or injuries committed during the late Rebellion, may likewise be recalled: Irish rebels not to be protected from prosecution.

"That your majesty would be pleased from time to time, out of your princely wisdom, to give such further order and directions to the Lord Lieutenant, or other governor of Ireland, for the time being, as may best conduce to the encouragement of the English planters and Protestant interest there, and the suppression of the insolencies and disorders of the Irish Papists[8]." English Protestants to be encouraged.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Ormonde had been reinstated in the viceroyalty of Ireland. And in 1678, fresh alarm being excited on the report of the plot, which was then said to have broken out in Duke of Ormonde again Viceroy. 1678.

[8] Cox's *History*, vol. ii., *Charles II.*, p. 12.

England, the Council of Ireland met on the 14th of October; and the Lord Lieutenant immediately published a proclamation, commanding all officers and soldiers in the army to repair to their respective garrisons, there to remain, and not absent themselves without a particular and express licence from his grace.

Proclamation for soldiers to repair to their garrisons;

On the 16th, another proclamation issued, commanding all titular Popish bishops and dignitaries, all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the See of Rome, all jesuits, and other regular priests, to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November following. Orders were given in the same proclamation, that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries, and schools, should be forthwith dissolved, and thenceforth utterly suppressed.

For Popish bishops to quit the kingdom;

To prevent all excuses for not obeying the proclamation for the banishment of the Popish clergy, another was issued on the 16th of November, requiring all owners and masters of ships, bound for foreign parts, to receive them on board, and to transport them accordingly.

For masters of ships to convey them;

The question of disarming the Papists admitted some debate, not as to the thing itself, but as to the manner of doing it. And this being agreed upon, on the 2nd of November a proclamation issued, that no persons of the Popish religion should carry, buy, use, or keep in their houses any arms without licence; and that all such, within twenty days, should bring in all their arms to persons appointed to receive them; and that all justices of the peace were to search for such arms as should not be brought in, and bind over the offenders to be prosecuted at the next assizes. All persons also were to make a

For disarming the Papists.

return of the quantity of gun-powder in their possession.

That the several proclamations issued might have all the proposed effect, they were reinforced by further orders from the Lord Lieutenant and council. Reinforced by orders of council.

Thus letters were sent on the 2nd of December, to the sheriffs of the several counties, to be communicated to the justices of peace, "taking notice of their neglect in not apprehending such of the Popish regular clergy, as did not transport themselves, and requiring them to be more diligent; and to return, not only their names, but the names also of such as received, relieved, and harboured them." Neglect of sheriffs, &c., censured, as to Popish clergy;

Similar letters were sent, with a further proclamation, "requiring all sheriffs, justices of peace, and officers of the army, to be more diligent in executing the proclamation of the 2nd of November; to return the names of all persons licensed to carry arms; and to prosecute all those, who had not delivered in their arms according to that proclamation." As to persons carrying arms.

Directions were given to all magistrates, and officers of the customs and revenue in sea-ports, to be careful in searching for and securing all arms and ammunition, which should be brought into the kingdom. Orders as to searching for arms;

Orders were given for the suppression of mass-houses, and meetings for Popish services, in the cities and suburbs of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Kinsale, Wexford, Athlone, Rosse, Galway, Drogheda, Youghall, Clonmell, and Kilkenny; as being the most considerable towns in the kingdom, in which too many precautions could not be taken. And, to omit no precaution in any respect, though there was no soldier ever admitted into the army, For suppression of mass-houses.

till he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, yet, as some of them might possibly have been since perverted, a proclamation was issued on the 20th of November, promising rewards for the discovery of any officer or soldier, who had heard mass or been so perverted to the Popish religion.

Papists forbidden to enter Dublin castle or other forts.

By a proclamation, issued on the 20th of November, it was moreover ordered, that none of the Popish religion, or so reputed, should come into the castle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without special order from the Lord Lieutenant: that markets and fairs should be kept without the walls of Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghall, and Galway: that no persons of the Romish religion should be suffered to reside in the said towns, or in any other corporation, who had not for the greatest part of twelve months past inhabited therein: that no Papists should come to fairs and markets with swords, pistols, or any other weapons and fire-arms; and that all of that religion should forbear meeting by day or night in any great or unusual numbers.

High opinion entertained of the Duke of Ormonde.

Thus every precaution was employed for checking insurrectionary attempts. But, after all, the great security for the peace and quiet of the kingdom lay in the general opinion, entertained by all parties, of the Duke of Ormonde: the Protestants resting secure under his protection and care for their safety; and the Papists being, under his government, in no apprehension of any violent or injurious measures[9].

[9] CARTE's *Ormonde*, v. ii. pp. 478—481.

Section IV.

Sectarists. New Covenant. Scarcity of Churches. Poverty of Benefices. Mr. Boyle's attempt at Converting the Irish Papists. Death of distinguished Churchmen. Primate Margetson. Bishop John Leslie. Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

Protestant sectarists engaged in a new Covenant, 1680.

From the foregoing enumeration of particulars, an estimate may be formed of the continual activity of the Popish spirit in pushing forward its encroachments; and of the necessity, which was felt by the best and most enlightened friends of the Church, for unremitting vigilance and diligence in her support and defence. But, in 1680, new cause of uneasiness arose from a different quarter: namely, the fanaticks and disaffected sectarists through the kingdom, who were engaging in a new Covenant, and forming a combination, which, unless promptly impeded, might be as destructive to the peace of the nation, and produce consequences as pernicious to the well-being of the Church, as those which had not long before resulted from the Solemn League and Covenant.

Its extension in Ireland.

This new Covenant was spread with great assiduity over several parts of Ireland, especially in the northern counties, where the Presbyterian ministers were generally of that class, called in Scotland Remonstrators, and several of them had actually subscribed it. The Oath of Supremacy was now decried as unlawful by those men, some of whom had lately visited Scotland, where the Archbishop of St. Andrews had been barbarously assassinated under the pretext of religion, the true character of which was attested by its fruits; and where a new

insurrection was fermenting and appeared likely to break forth among the people, especially the ignorant fanaticks of the west. In consequence, probably, of this correspondence with the Scotch Cameronians, a solemn day of fasting and humiliation was soon afterwards kept at St. Johnstown, in the county of Donegall, and barony of Raphoe, where were assembled sixteen Presbyterian ministers, and six or seven thousand persons from that barony, and the neighbouring counties of Derry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh.

Presbyterian assembly at St. Johnstown.

The Lord Lieutenant knew by experience the mischief of such meetings, and took effectual care for preventing their continuance and evil consequences. One Nathaniel Johnson, who had been engaged in the late Scotch rebellion, and had passed over into Ireland for the purpose of creating disturbances in Ulster, being apprehended, made some discoveries; and offering to make more upon an assurance of pardon, he was removed to Dublin from the north, having been kept some days in custody under a strong guard, for fear of his being killed by the Presbyterians, who were apprehensive of their secrets being revealed by him. From this man the government received such intelligence as proved the means of keeping in awe and subjection the unquiet and turbulent spirit of those sectarists: and of giving a proper direction to that vigilance, which the Lord Lieutenant constantly employed, and which enabled him, silently and without alarm, to intercept whatever designs were formed for raising disturbances in that quarter of the kingdom[1].

Ill effect counteracted by care of Lord Lieutenant.

Thus the watchfulness, the zeal, and the discretion of this excellent viceroy were blessed by Divine

[1] CARTE'S *Life of Ormonde*, ii. 508.

Providence for the protection of the Church against both classes of her restless enemies. And thus, notwithstanding the evil meditated in the English court, the latter years of the reign of King Charles the Second passed quietly away with little of incident to fix the mind on the history of the Irish Church, but not without the too customary causes for concern at the insufficient supply of sacred buildings and of ministers, to make provision for the spiritual wants and necessities of the people.

Want of churches and ministers.

An example of a dilapidated church, laudably re-edified by the exertions of one of the restored prelates, is thus recorded by Williams, bishop of Ossory, in the narrative of his persecutions and oppressions.

Kilkenny cathedral repaired by Bishop Williams.

"Things being somewhat settled, I went to live upon my bishoprick, in Kilkenny, where I found the cathedral church and the bishop's house all ruined; and nothing standing but the bare walls, without roofs, without windows but the holes, and without doors: yet I resolved presently to mend and repair one room, and to live in the bishop's house; and, as I had vowed, that if I should ever come to my bishoprick, I would wholly and fully bestow the first year's profit for the reparation of the church, so my witnesses in heaven know that I have done it: and have since bestowed more, as 40*l.* the last summer for repairing the steeple of the cathedral, and yet 1000*l.* more will not sufficiently repair that church.

General sad condition of churches and clergy.

And an instance of the defect on a larger scale, and in both particulars, is detailed by the same prelate, in his tract on "the sad condition of the Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Ossory; and I fear," as his title-page adds, "not much better in all Ireland."

Very great disproportion of ruined churches.

"If you walk through Ireland," he observes, "as I rode from Carlingford to Dublin, and from Dublin to Kilkenny, and in my visitation thrice over the diocese of Ossory; I believe, that throughout all your travel you shall find it, as

I found it, in all the ways that I went; scarce one church standing and sufficiently repaired, for seven, I speak within compass, that are ruined, and have only walls, without ornaments, and most of them without roofs, without doors, without windows, but the holes to receive the winds to entertain the congregation." (Page 2.)

And again: "What shame and what punishment do we deserve, for suffering the tombs and the sepulchres of our heroick fathers, and the temples, houses, and altars, of our good God and our Redeemer Jesus Christ, to lie so waste, so ruined, and so defiled, as they are here in this kingdom of Ireland! For I do believe, that of about a hundred churches that our forefathers built and sufficiently endowed in the diocese of Ossory, there are not twenty standing, nor ten well repaired at this day." (Page 6.)

Then, with respect to the deficiency of ministers, he observes,

Insufficiency of ministers and of benefices.

"As God is without churches for his people to meet in to serve him, so He is without servants, enabled to do him service, to praise his name, and to teach his people; and to have churches, and no churchmen, is to no purpose. But why have we not such churchmen as are able to instruct God's people? I say it is easily answered: that it is not so easy to get able, worthy, and sufficient churchmen, unless there were sufficient means and livings to maintain them."

Ecclesiastical livings given to laymen.

After some intermediate remarks on the insufficiency of the means for educating the clergy, "since Henry the Eighth overthrew the abbies and monasteries, which were as universities to breed scholars," he then proceeds to show the insufficiency of the maintenance of the clergy, in consequence of "the ecclesiastical livings of the Church having been given to the king's nobility and lay gentry."

Two classes of benefices.

To exemplify his position, he then divides the benefices of his own diocese into two classes; naming the denomination and the holder of each.

In the first class are "the rectories, the best and the chiefest livings, that are of any worth, or of any note within the diocese: and, as I showed you, the nobility, gentry, and cities do hold them from the Church, and do yield little or nothing for the service of God in those churches; neither dare the poor vicars and curates, according to the bishop's appointment, ask them anything for the serving of those churches, nor is it to any purpose for any incumbent to sue for any tythes or rights that belong unto his church." (Page 18.)

Rectories kept from the Church.

The second class contains "what livings the poor clergymen hold in their possession; and of what value they are unto them, *deductis deducendis, communibus annis*, as by the inquisition of three or four of the ablest clergymen in my diocese, with myself, I have understood the same in my visitation; and thereby the reader may understand the meanness of our Irish livings, and judge, whether these many livings, that each clergyman holds, are more or enough to make one competent living for a worthy and able man, that will constantly reside, and conscionably preach unto God's people."

Livings held by clergymen.

In illustration of these livings of the second class it should be stated, that a "living," in about six instances, according to Bishop Williams's digest, consists of a single "parish;" that in two instances a "living" comprises as many as nine "parishes;" and that the number of "parishes" constituting a "living," continually varies between these two extremes: that the entire number of "livings" is twenty-two, and the number of "parishes" seventy-seven, forming therefore on an average an union of three parishes and a half to one living.

Average number of parishes in a living.

Also, that the value of the livings continually

Average value of livings.

varies from ten pounds, which is the lowest, to sixty-six, one hundred and one, and one hundred and twenty-five pounds, which are the three highest values: and that the total value of the twenty-two livings is nine hundred and sixty-one pounds, ten shillings; being forty-three pounds, fourteen shillings, and a small fraction, to each upon the average.

Condition of the parochial clergy.

This brief summary of particulars, abstracted from Bishop Williams's detailed exposition of the condition of his diocese, may perhaps assist in opening the reader's mind to a clearer perception of the situation of the parochial clergy of Ireland at the time under review, of the nature and extent of their charges, and of the occasion and necessity of those unions, which have brought such obloquy on the Church: at the same time that it may enable him to render a just answer to the bishop's pertinent inquiry, "Do you think that this value is sufficient to maintain an able ministry, to supply all these churches and parishes as they ought to be; or that Popery shall be supprest, and the true Protestant religion planted amongst the people, by the unition of parishes, and the diminution of churches, without any augmentation of their means?

. . . . Credat Judæus Apella;
Non ego[2]."

Bishop Mossom's representation of the diocese of Derry.

The diocese of Ossory, which is the subject of the foregoing relation, is situated in the province of Leinster, in one of the south-eastern districts of the kingdom. An example of a similar state of things in the North, or in the province of Ulster, is supplied by an incident that occurred in the diocese of Derry, of which the diocesan, Bishop Mossom,

[2] Page 25.

having, in his petition to the king in council, procured on the 13th of May, 1670, a recommendation of his case to the Irish Society, made this representation of the ecclesiastical condition of the city and county of Londonderry.

Similar state of the churches;

"First, that the churches, especially those within the twelve London proportions, were generally ruinous, and not one, except that within the city, was in repair, and accommodation fit for God's worship; neither were the inhabitants, such was their extreme poverty, any ways able to rebuild or repair them; so that the holy offices of God's publick worship were, for the most part, administered either in a dirty cabin or in a common alehouse; and also that not only were the churches ruinous, but likewise the ministers were generally and necessarily non-resident, not having any houses upon their cures; not being able, through meanness of estate and numerousness of their families, to build themselves houses, nor could they find habitations to be hired upon the place[3]."

And ministers.

Instructions to Lord Berkley corresponding with these representations.

What means were taken for the remedy of these local evils, does not appear. But they seem to have been regarded as an example of the general state of the country, in the particular defects complained of. And the coincidence of dates makes it not improbable, that they gave occasion for the instructions concerning the building and repair of churches, and the encouragement of resident ministers, which were enjoined upon Lord Berkley, as before mentioned, on the 21st of May, 1670.

Dean Swift's sermon on King Charles's martyrdom.

The desolation, indeed, appears to have been very extensive and complete. In a sermon of Dean Swift, on the martyrdom of King Charles I.[4], wherein he delineates the evils of puritanical zeal, as evidenced by the Great Rebellion, is a forcible

[3] MSS. British Museum, Donat., No. 4763, fol. 508, &c.

[4] *Works*, ix. 181.

description of the utter demolition of the Irish parochial churches by that devastating scourge, as compared with the traces of less complete ruin visible in England.

Utter demolition of the Irish Churches in the Rebellion.

"Another consequence," he says, "of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the destroying or defacing of such vast numbers of God's houses. 'In their self-will they digged down a wall.' If a stranger should now travel in England, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, nor ancient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors: broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations: seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use: tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without: made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of Puritan zeal and devotion for Christ: and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom (Ireland), those ravages were not so easily seen: for, the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally destroyed."

Fresh experiment for converting the Irish by means of the Irish language.

In the mean time, the experiment which had been formerly tried of converting the native Irish from the errors of Popery to the belief and profession of primitive Christian truth, as maintained in the Church of Ireland, was again attempted by means of the Irish language.

Such experiments stopped by the Rebellion of 1641.

The Rebellion of 1641 had put an entire stop to experiments of this kind; and the times which immediately succeeded were not favourable to their resumption, although it appears that in the year 1652 was published a catechism, under the title of *The Christian Doctrine*, in two opposite parallel columns in the English and Irish languages. With this

exception, if any effort had been made for the conversion of the Irish until about twenty years after the king's restoration, it had escaped the inquiries of Dr. Richardson, as stated by him in his *Short History* of such attempts: an omission, which he attributes partly to the remembrance of the past Rebellion, "which made so deep an impression upon the minds of many Protestants, who suffered in their own persons, estates, and relations; and produced such keen resentments, that the thoughts of this work seem to have been laid aside for some time;" and partly to "the great scarcity of clergy, which may be reasonably supposed to have contributed not a little to the omission[5]." The arduousness and defective success of the work, as experienced on former trials, should be also considered to have presented, in all probability an obstacle to a repetition of the experiment; for that those who presided over the Church immediately after the Restoration, were not indifferent to the religious condition of the Irish population, has already been evidenced by the exertions made by Bishop Taylor, in compliance with the wishes of his brethren in the episcopate, although the course which they saw cause to adopt was not of the particular kind now passing under our notice.

Probable causes of the interruption.

But however this be, the work was about this period again taken in hand by the Honourable Robert Boyle: honourable by descent and parentage; more to be honoured for his intellectual and moral endowments; still more worthy of honour as "the great Christian philosopher," for so Dr. Richardson terms him, who laboured to advance the truth and glory of God. By this illustrious and excellent man, a fount

Work resumed by the Honourable Robert Boyle.

[5] *A Short History of the Attempts to Convert the Popish Natives of Ireland to the Established Religion.* By John Richardson, Rector of Belturbet, 1712. Page 26.

of Irish types was caused to be cast at his own charge, and an able printer to be instructed for providing in that language the books necessary for the spiritual improvement of the people. In 1680, he thus printed in Irish the Church Catechism, together with the elements of that language. Soon after, he resolved on reprinting Archbishop Daniel's *Translation of the New Testament* at his own expense; and, by a subscription of 50*l.* on his own part, bountifully encouraged a proposal for printing Bishop Bedell's *Translation of the Old Testament* likewise; his efforts, as regarded the defraying of the expense of the press, being liberally aided by Dr. William Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Irish Catechism and Bible printed in 1680.

For rendering this edition of the Bible more perfect, the translation was first revised and corrected by Mr. Kirk, a beneficed clergyman in England, but a native of Scotland, and well skilled in the Irish tongue. It was then transmitted to Ireland, and confided to the care of Narcissus Marsh, at that time provost of Trinity College, and subsequently, in succession, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, and archbishop of Cashel, of Dublin, and of Armagh; who, that he might make such amendments as were requisite, and bring it to the nearest possible conformity to the original, procured the assistance of the most learned natives, and himself carefully superintended the revision of the entire translation. In particular, a convert from the Church of Rome, of the name of Higgins, was useful in completing the work. He was employed, at the expense of the Primate, in teaching the Irish language to the students of Trinity College; and being afterwards admitted into holy orders, and settled in a parish in the county of Tipperary, is related to have been the instrument of

Care taken for making the edition of the Bible perfect.

much spiritual good by the conversion of many natives to the truth.

By this zeal and diligence in its patrons, the edition of the Holy Scriptures in Irish was soon accomplished. In the year of our Lord 1681, the New Testament, introduced by a copious preface, was first published; and after it the Old Testament in 1685. Many copies of them were sent from England, both to Ireland and to the highlands of Scotland. But whatever happy results may have been otherwise likely to accrue in Ireland from the exertions of the pious and benevolent projector and patrons of the experiment, they were counteracted by a great political event contemporaneous with the latter publication; for the same year, which witnessed the putting forth of the entire word of God, as completed by the addition of the Old to the New Testament, witnessed also the accession of an anti-Scriptural sovereign to the throne.

New Testament completed in 1681;

Old Testament in 1685.

Good results counteracted by accession of King James II.

During the period which is the subject of our present inquiry, some eminent rulers of the Church were removed from their scene of probation.

Deaths of distinguished churchmen.

Of these the first in rank was Archbishop Margetson, who died in 1678, being succeeded in the primacy as he had been in the archiepiscopal See of Dublin, by Michael Boyle. His character, as delineated by the friendly, but, to all appearance, the impartial and honest hands of contemporaneous admirers, Palliser, archbishop of Cashel, and Jones, bishop of Meath, represents that he administered his pastoral office with undissembled, sincere, and solid wisdom; that he was to his clergy mild and gentle; yet, where they deserved it, severe; that their faults touched him to the quick, yet he could scarce reprove

Primate Margetson, 1678.

His character.

any of them with dry eyes; so that his conduct could not fail to conciliate to him both their love and veneration; that in his legislative capacity, if anything affected the Church, he was her true patron and active champion; that he pleaded her cause in the supreme council with the most ardent zeal and persuasive eloquence; and that his great labour was to preserve her revenues from sacrilegious hands, to establish and secure the pure Protestant religion by the fence of publick laws, and protect it from the insults both of its Popish and its schismatical enemies.

Bishop John Leslie.

During this period, also, but a few years before Private Margetson, had died John Leslie, distinguished for his steadfast attachment to the Church and her services, when Bishop of Raphoe, in defiance of the Popish Rebellion, and of the puritanical tyranny; and subsequently, in 1661, translated to the See of Clogher, where he continued to maintain his character as an exemplary prelate, as well as a man of perfect disinterestedness, and a scholar of learning and research. He was supposed, at his death in 1671, to be the oldest bishop then in the world, having passed above fifty years from his consecration. And to his own personal claims upon the grateful recollection of posterity, may be added, that his merits were reflected in his son, the illustrious Charles Leslie, chancellor of Connor, one of the soundest divines, and most powerful controversialists of his age.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

During the same period, but still a few years earlier than Bishop Leslie, the Church had been deprived of a still brighter ornament in the person of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, of whom his friend, and successor in the See of Dromore, Bishop Rust, has

emphatically pronounced, that "had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his clergy, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world." The funeral sermon, from which this high commendation is extracted, is characterized by Bishop Heber, as "in itself no bad copy of Taylor's peculiar style of eloquence, and as well calculated to show the veneration in which he was held, the sweetness of his temper, and the variety of his accomplishments."

His death and burial. 1667.

He died at Lisburn, on the 3rd of August, 1667, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

"His remains," adds Bishop Heber, "were removed to Dromore, to the church of which he had been a liberal benefactor. No monument, however, was erected to his memory; and, about a century afterwards, his bones, and those of his friend Rust, were disturbed from their vault to make room for the coffin of another bishop. The late venerable Bishop Percy had them carefully collected and replaced. That their repose was ever violated, or that they were suffered to lie neglected so long, is not to be recorded without indignation."

His bones said to have been disturbed.

In the sentiments thus expressed, the present writer entirely concurs, on the supposition of the facts having been correctly represented to the biographer. But this is by no means clear. The only bishop, who died in possession of the See of Dromore, from 1713 to 1781, the date of Bishop Percy's appointment, was George Marlay. He died suddenly in Dublin, April 13, 1763. The place of his burial I have in vain attempted to discover: but by his present lineal representative it is thought, that he was not buried at Dromore. Nor can I find any evidence, either recorded or traditionary, to warrant the supposition, that it was to make room for his remains, that Bishop Taylor's were displaced: an

Question about the fact.

occurrence, than which, in the opinion of Bishop Marley's family, nothing could have been more unlikely.

Concerning Bishop Percy's alleged share in the transaction, the Rev. H. Elgee Boyd, curate of Dromore, in Bishop Percy's time, and domestick chaplain of the bishop, now Prebendary of Dromara, has stated to the Rev. Edward Cupples, vicar-general of Down and Connor, by whom it has been reported to me, that although Bishop Percy frequently made his illustrious predecessor the subject of his conversation, he never gave the slightest intimation of the remains having been collected by him, after they had been disturbed: an incident, which he could hardly have failed of occasionally noticing, if he had been a party in the transaction. Indeed, the narrative of the transaction in some degree confutes itself: for, if the bones were so "disturbed" as to require to be "collected," it is difficult to conceive how, after that lapse of time, they could be distinguished and identified.

Probabilities against it.

Some alterations were made in Dromore cathedral by Bishop Percy in 1782, and again in 1807; but these did not invade the spot, which general tradition pointed out as the resting-place of Jeremy Taylor, nearly under the communion-table, at the east end of the church: in which spot, about twenty years ago, when his vault was opened for a particular purpose, a leaden coffin was discovered with the initials J. T. inscribed on the lid. The coffin, with these initials, Mr. Boyd affirms that he himself saw: and he considers, that the fact of its having been so found is a decisive refutation of the statement in Bishop Heber's Life.

Bishop Taylor's coffin.

Concerning this gentleman, it is the opinion of the present Bishop of Elphin, who succeeded Bishop

Percy, at Dromore, in 1811, that if such an event, as we are investigating, had taken place, it must have been known to Mr. Boyd, from his long and confidential intercourse with Bishop Percy. The Bishop of Elphin has also obligingly informed me for his own part, that he has no recollection of ever having heard of the occurrence during the seven years that he occupied the See of Dromore. And, on the whole, after much inquiry, I can find no evidence, documentary or personal, in support of the statement in question. That the source, whence that statement was derived by Bishop Heber, was not infallible, has appeared from the error pointed out on a previous occasion, concerning the supposed Church of Kilulta.

Statement unsupported.

As to the absence of a monument to Bishop Taylor's memory, a project for supplying that defect is understood to have been formed by Bishop Percy: but the increasing infirmity of years, blindness, and finally death, put an end to the proposed memorial. It remains, therefore, for the present writer to add, with a feeling of grateful exultation, that the reproof conveyed by Bishop Heber's remark on the absence of a monument, has been removed by the clergy of the united diocese of Down and Connor: who, in the year 1827, placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn, a white marble tablet, commemorative of the most renowned bishop of the see; appropriately decorated on each side by a crosier, and above by a sarcophagus, on which is laid the Holy Bible, surmounted by a mitre; indicating his principle and rule of action by the Latin motto applied to that purpose by himself in his life-time; and expressing, in the following English inscription, their sense of his episcopal, his theological, and his personal, excellence.

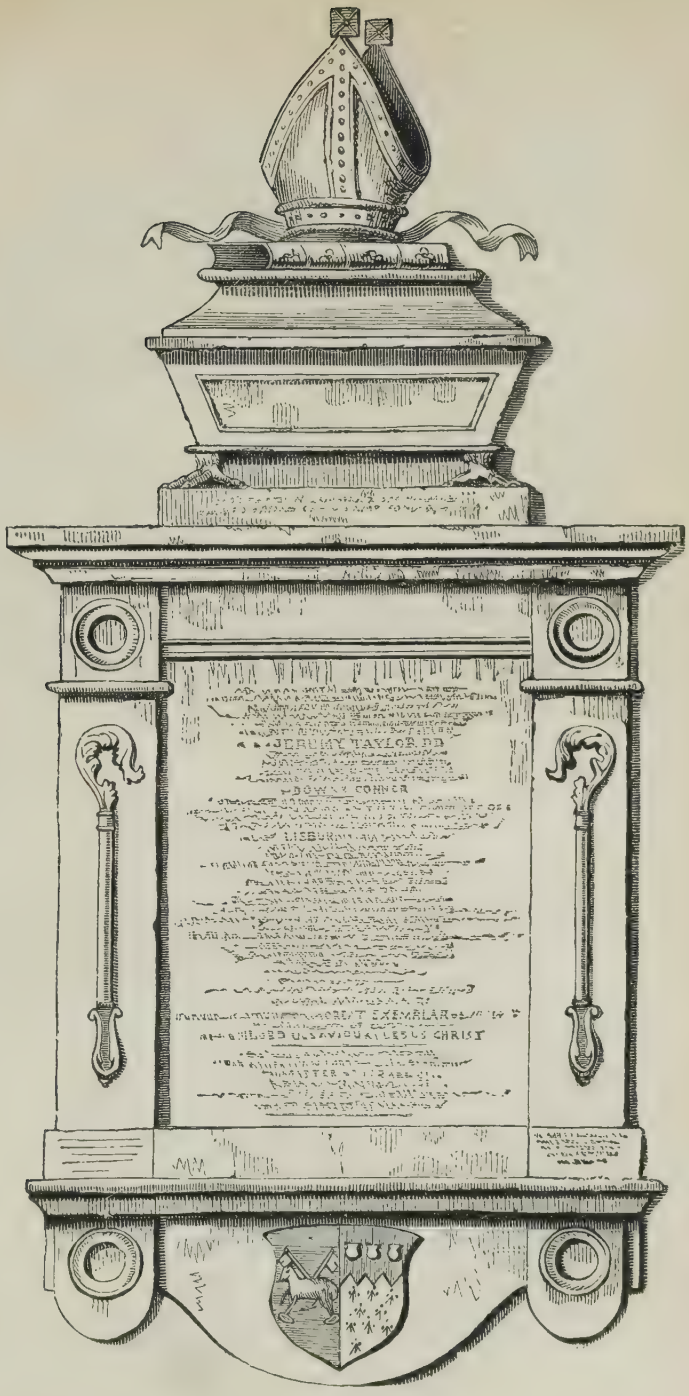
His monument.

NON MAGNA LOQUIMUR SED VIVIMUS
NIHIL OPINIONIS GRATIA OMNIA CONSCIENTLÆ FACIAM.

NOT TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF ONE
WHOSE WORKS WILL BE HIS MOST ENDURING MEMORIAL,
BUT THAT THERE MAY NOT BE WANTING
A PUBLIC TESTIMONY TO HIS MEMORY IN THE DIOCESE
WHICH DERIVES HONOUR FROM HIS SUPERINTENDENCE,
THIS TABLET IS INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME
OF JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.
WHO ON THE RESTORATION IN M.DC.LX.
OF THE BRITISH CHURCH AND MONARCHY,
IN THE FALL OF WHICH HE HAD PARTAKEN,
HAVING BEEN PROMOTED TO THE BISHOPRICK
OF DOWN AND CONNOR,
AND HAVING PRESIDED FOR SEVEN YEARS IN THAT SEE,
AS ALSO OVER THE ADJOINING DIOCESE OF DROMORE,
WHICH WAS SOON AFTER INTRUSTED TO HIS CARE,
"ON ACCOUNT OF HIS VIRTUE, WISDOM, AND INDUSTRY;"
DIED AT LISBURN, AUG. 13, M.DC.LXVII.,
IN THE 55TH YEAR OF HIS AGE:
LEAVING BEHIND HIM A RENOWN,
SECOND TO THAT OF NONE OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS SONS
WHOM THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
RICH IN WORTHIES HATH BROUGHT FORTH.
AS A BISHOP DISTINGUISHED
FOR MUNIFICENCE AND VIGILANCE TRULY EPISCOPAL,
AS A THEOLOGIAN, FOR PIETY THE MOST ARDENT,
LEARNING THE MOST EXTENSIVE AND ELOQUENCE INIMITABLE·
IN HIS WRITINGS A PERSUASIVE GUIDE,
TO EARNESTNESS OF DEVOTION, UPRIGHTNESS OF PRACTICE,
AND CHRISTIAN FORBEARANCE AND TOLERATION;
A POWERFUL ASSERTOR OF EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT,
AND LITURGICAL WORSHIP,
AND AN ABLE EXPOSER OF THE ERRORS
OF THE ROMISH CHURCH;
IN HIS MANNERS A PATTERN OF HIS OWN RULES
OF HOLY LIVING AND HOLY DYING,
AND A FOLLOWER OF THE GREAT EXEMPLAR OF SANCTITY,
AS PORTRAYED BY HIM IN THE PERSON
OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

READER, THOUGH IT FALL NOT TO THY LOT
TO ATTAIN THE INTELLECTUAL EXCELLENCE
OF THIS MASTER IN ISRAEL,
THOU MAYEST RIVAL HIM IN THAT
WHICH WAS THE HIGHEST SCOPE EVEN OF HIS AMBITION,
AN HONEST CONSCIENCE AND A CHRISTIAN LIFE,

THIS TABLET WAS INSCRIBED
BY THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF
DOWN AND CONNOR,
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD,
M.DCCC.XXVII.


JEREMY TAYLOR DD
DOWN & CONNER

CHAPTER X.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II. . . . . 1685—1690.
MICHAEL BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE . . . . . —

Section I.

Accession of the King. Earl of Clarendon Lord Lieutenant. Army new-modelled. Papists in Civil Offices. Earl of Tyrconnel Lord Deputy. Changes in favour of Popery. Oppression of the Clergy. Vacant Bishopricks not filled. Clergy encouraged to Apostatize. King's Declaration of Liberty of Conscience. Dispensing power attempted. Sufferings of Protestants. Expulsion of Bishops and Clergy. Dublin Clergy.

Unhappiness of the reign of King James II.

THE day, which witnessed the accession of King James the Second to the throne, was one of melancholy foreboding to the Churches of England and Ireland; and the announcement of the event, which, on its being notified in Dublin, was, by order of the Duke of Ormonde, immediately proclaimed with the usual solemnity, was received with as much sorrow of heart and dejection of countenance, on the part of the members of the Irish Church, as if they at that time foresaw, what was no doubt in the apprehensions and fears of many, the calamities and unhappiness of the ensuing reign. But God is merciful: and, if He suffered a sanguinary Mary, or an arbitrary and bigoted James, to afflict his Church, He limited the dominion of each to a period of brief duration. The reign, on which we are now entering, though

Its duration.

abundant in affliction to the Church of Ireland more especially, whilst it lasted, was confined to three years and ten months in England, and legally in Ireland likewise: but unhappily extended in the latter country to about five years and five months.

King's accession. Feb. 6, 1685.

King James ascended the throne on the 6th of February, 1685. The withdrawal of the Duke of Ormonde from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland soon followed in regular course: whereupon the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard became nominally the lords justices. But the powers of the government were, in reality, not in their hands, but in those of Colonel Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, a Papist, who was lieutenant-general of the army. And by his authority, not only the English militia were deprived of their arms, but the English in the army began also to be dismissed, under pretence of their being either Oliverians, or their descendants.

Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant.

But the hopes of the members of the Church were, not long after, revived by the appointment of a new Lord Lieutenant in the person of Henry, earl of Clarendon: and they were withal encouraged by reflecting on the king's repeated promises of preserving the Church, and governing by the laws of the land, and by the sacred and solemn obligation, which he had incurred, of the Coronation Oath. A report, indeed, was industriously circulated by the Papists, that the new Viceroy was of their communion. But this error, whether voluntary or accidental, was soon corrected: and all men were convinced, that, if the Lord Lieutenant did not succeed in supporting the English interest, and the welfare of the Church, the failure would be attributable to the defect, not of inclination, but of power.

Motive of his appointment.

It seems, however, that the committing of the Irish Government to the Earl of Clarendon was, indeed, no other than a stratagem; a blind, to hide at the commencement the violence of the intended proceedings. The jealousies and apprehensions of the Protestants were not to be rashly excited, but to be treated with tenderness and forbearance; although in his publick instructions the king intimated a desire of introducing Papists into the municipal corporations, and intrusting them with the magisterial and judicial functions. At the same time, the power committed to the Lord Lieutenant was inferior to that of his predecessors, and controlled by a counteracting force; and the publick discouragements, which were soon laid upon the Church and her members, afforded too clear a foresight of the hardships which in a small process of time they were to encounter.

Standing army new-modelled.

During the Earl of Clarendon's ostensible government, but under the predominating influence of the Earl of Tyrconnel, the standing army of Ireland was new-modelled; a preliminary, but necessary, step for attaining the king's ultimate end. Frivolous pretences were alleged for displacing the majority of the officers, many of whom had no other dependence for their subsistence, and some had purchased their employments at the expense of their whole fortunes. Age and decrepitude was a common pretext; by means of which men of vigour and activity were discarded, and their places supplied by others, their elders in age, but their inferiors in every valuable qualification. But the real offence was a disinclination to be used as instruments for betraying their Church or their country; and Papists were easily found to supply the vacancies thus

Protestant vacancies supplied by Papists.

opened[1]. Accordingly, neither the price which they had paid for their commissions, nor the blood which they had shed in behalf of the crown, sufficed to save from dismissal above 300 Protestant officers, and 4000 Protestant soldiers, whose places were supplied chiefly with Popish natives, the fathers of whom had lost their estates for their rebellion[2].

Civil alterations.

Considerable alterations were made in civil affairs also during the Earl of Clarendon's government. The hasty demand from the Lord Primate of the Great Seal of Ireland caused an opening for the appointment of a new Lord Chancellor, whose embarrassed circumstances made probable his implicit submission to his patrons. In the room of three Protestant judges, wantonly and arbitrarily displaced, successors were appointed, one of questionable character, and two, at least, Papists, of Irish birth, notwithstanding the protestation by the Lord Lieutenant of the illegality of Papists being admitted to offices of trust and honour, without having taken the oath of supremacy. The municipal corporations, the offices of the magistracy, and the Privy Council of Ireland, were also in part supplied by persons of the same religious profession.

Papists admitted to offices of trust and honour.

Attempt to obtrude a Popish professor on the University.

If a professorship of the Irish language had existed in the university of Dublin, it would have been occupied by a Papist also, under the authority of the king's mandate; for a king's letter to that effect was presented to the governors of the university during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Clarendon. The document still remains among the archives of that learned body, a monument of the ignorance which supposed the existence of a nonentity, as well

[1] Cox's *History*, ii. 17.
[2] DALRYMPLE's *Memoirs*, Part I. b. iv. p. 112.

as of the tyranny which would have obtruded such an inmate on the society[3].

The reluctance, however, of a Protestant Lord Lieutenant probably threw impediments in the way of the projected changes. A commencement, too, having been once made, and a firm footing apparently established, a convenient season seemed to have arrived for casting off all disguise; and the Earl of Tyrconnel, a Popish nobleman, who had been trained in principles of politicks most hostile to the English Government, and of religion most widely estranged from the tenets of the Reformed Church, was placed at the head of the Irish administration, in February, 1687, with augmented powers, though with the less imposing title of Lord Deputy.

Earl of Tyrconnel made Lord Deputy. February, 1687.

The appointment of a Popish Viceroy was no indistinct symptom of the projects of the Popish sovereign: and must have aroused dismal anticipations in the members of the Church, to whose character and conduct at this period the Earl of Clarendon's speech in council, on leaving the government of Ireland, bears the following honourable testimony.

Speech of Lord Clarendon on relinquishing the government.

"The English in this country have been aspersed with the character of being generally fanaticks, which is a great injury to them. I must do them the justice to say, that they are of the Church of England, as appears by their actions as well as professions. The churches here are as much frequented, and the discipline of the Church as well observed as in England itself; which is to be attributed to the piety and labour of my lords the bishops. We of the Church of England can brag, that, when rebellion overspread the three kingdoms, not an orthodox member of our Church was engaged against the crown. And in our late disorders we can boast, we were opposers of the bills of

Loyalty of the Church.

[3] LELAND'S *Hist.*, iii. 504.

exclusion; and the sense, his majesty has been pleased to express of our loyalty, will never be forgotten by us. I had the happiness to be born a member of the Church of England; and I hope God will give me the grace to die one. One thing the English of this country have to glory in: that, of all his majesty's subjects, they made the earliest advances towards his majesty's restoration, when the three kingdoms were governed by usurpers. And after all the endeavours of his loyal subjects in England seemed to be disappointed, and there appeared no hopes, the English then of this kingdom offered to submit to his majesty's authority. I do not say this, my lord, to detract from his majesty's Roman Catholick loyal subjects; but I speak it in justice to the others, who did their duty[4]."

Withdrawal of Protestants from Ireland.

It was a melancholy prognostick and forerunner of the evils about to fall on those who were the subject of this well-merited commendation, that the withdrawal of fifteen hundred Protestant families from a country, where they despaired of their future security, accompanied Lord Clarendon's departure from Ireland. Meanwhile, this high testimony to the value of those, who were objects of the new Viceroy's bigoted aversion, can hardly have been acceptable to one whose appointment had originated in a determinate project for their persecution.

Lord Deputy's attacks on the Church.

Having now gotten possession of the sword of state, Lord Tyrconnel quickly turned the edge of it upon the members of the Church.

Treatment of the army.

With respect to the army, the English, who remained in it after the former schemes for their removal, were not only for the most part disbanded: but their misery was insulted, and their affliction aggravated, by being dismissed at a distance from their friends and habitations; and by being deprived

[4] *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, by WM. KING, D.D., p. 305.

partly of their clothes, and partly of their horses and arms, without any proportionate recompense.

With respect to the civil government, that was immediately made the subject of great alterations. The uprightness and impartiality of the Lord Chancellor, whose refusal to prostitute his office to any sinister projects disappointed expectation, caused him to be removed from his station, in which he was succeeded by Sir Alexander Fitton, a person recommended by his recent conversion to the Romish communion, but utterly incompetent from natural incapacity and legal ignorance, and who had been convicted of forgery, and passed several years in gaol.

Changes in the civil state.

Lord Chancellor Fitton.

Most of the Protestants, who had hitherto continued in the privy council, amongst others Dopping, bishop of Meath, and Moreton, bishop of Kildare, were superseded, or outnumbered, by an accession of Papists. More Popish judges were raised to the judicial bench, two at least in every court, that they might depend on a majority on all occasions. In particular, at the head of the two courts of King's Bench and the Exchequer were placed two men, of very exceptionable character, but with qualifications suited to the services expected from them. These were Mr. Thomas Nugent, afterwards created Baron Riverstown, and Mr., afterwards Sir Stephen, Rice: the former, the son of one who had been Earl of Westmeath, but had lost his honour and estate for his activity in the Rebellion of 1641, the son being noted in his profession for nothing but ignorance of the law combined with more than ordinary nationality of elocution, but whose ignorance did not prevent him from being fixed upon by the king as a fit arbiter to judge whether the out-

Privy council.

Popish judges and attorney-general.

lawries against his father and his fellow-rebels should be reversed, and whether the settlement of Ireland, founded on those outlawries, should stand good; the latter, Mr. Rice, formerly infamous as a gamester and a cheat at the inns of court, a man not deficient in understanding, and sufficiently conversant with the law, but most conspicuous for his inveteracy against the Protestant interest and settlement in Ireland, and notorious for the declaration, that in all suits between Protestants and Papists, the former should have no favour, but *summum jus*, or the utmost rigour of the law[5].

These two men were respectively constituted the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Each of them was supported by an assistant judge, distinguished by the like hostility to the reformed Church. And in aid of these, instead of a Protestant attorney-general, Sir William Domvile, who, after a service of thirty years, was superseded, because he would not consent to reverse the Popish outlawries, nor otherwise take part in destroying the settlement of Ireland, was substituted Mr. Richard Nagle, afterwards knighted, and made secretary of state; who had been originally designed for the clerical profession, and received his education among the Jesuits, but afterwards applied to the study of the law, in which a competent proficiency had recommended him to the employment of many Protestants, and thus brought him acquainted with the peculiarities of their property, which he was able to employ to their prejudice[6].

Popish sheriffs and magistrates.

Into such hands was committed the general administration of justice and the laws. At the same time Popish high sheriffs were appointed throughout

[5] *State of the Protestants*, pp. 68, 70.

[6] *Ib.*, p. 72.

the kingdom: and an overwhelming number of Papists put into the commission of the peace, from which many of the Protestant magistrates were excluded, so that the former could at all times command a majority, and exercise a predominant authority. All charters were called in and condemned, without attributing any particular fault to one or more corporations, or for the avowed purpose of punishing or reforming them, but with the manifest design of subverting them all: and Popish mayors, aldermen, burgesses, and other members, were put into the original charters, with a mixture, however, of English Quakers, or other Dissenters, but so limited in their power, especially in that of choosing members of parliament, as not to offer any effectual obstruction to the Irish Papists. Thus were all things disposed and regulated for the election of a parliament, prepared to carry on the designs of the king, and to model the laws in the way most conducive to the advancement of Popery, and to the depression of the Church.

Popish corporations.

Meanwhile, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, care was taken that the laws, provided for protecting the property of the Church, and for enabling the clergy to recover their dues, should be of little or no significance.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Popish inhabitants of the country were soon taught to think scorn of the sentences of the judges in the spiritual courts as innocent and harmless, and to slight and set at nought an heretical excommunication. In causes of small dues and offerings, the Lord Chancellor absolutely refused to grant the necessary writs for enforcing a sentence of excommunication: and thus the clergy lost at once a very

Clergy precluded from procuring their income.

considerable source of their income. When writs were procured against the natives for their refusal to pay their tythes to the clergy, the high sheriffs seldom or never executed them: but, on the contrary, several released those whom, on their entrance into office, they found in custody on those accounts. The recovery of debts by Protestants in general, had been rendered extremely difficult or impossible under the new system of administering the laws: in this respect, also, the clergy experienced even greater hardship than the other members of the Church. And thus, upon the whole, during the greater part of this unconstitutional, tyrannical, and miserable reign, in the more Popish parts of the country, though many of the clergy were possessed of considerable benefices, they received from their lawful property scarcely sufficient to purchase bread for their families: whilst their enemies were daily increasing in insolence; and offering them continued affronts, insults, and injuries; and, indeed, waited only for the opportunity which might be afforded by a parliament for voting them "the main grievance of the nation[7]."

Churches and chapels seized by Papists.

Many particular instances likewise occurred of the oppression practised on the Church.

Several of the places set aside for divine service according to the rites of the Church, especially such as were built on consecrated ground, where the chapels of abbeys formerly stood, were violently taken away. For several acts of state had passed in Ireland, for the building of that kind of places of publick worship, partly because they were more conveniently situated, and partly as being more easily

[7] *Short View of the methods made use of in Ireland for the Subversion and Destruction of the Protestant Religion, &c.*, pp. 5, 6. By a clergyman lately escaped from thence. London, 1689.

repaired than the ancient parish-churches. In most, if not in all, instances where the proprietors of the abbeys were Papists, these churches or chapels were rudely and violently seized, and converted into mass-houses, on pretence that they belonged to those proprietors, as, for example, at Portumna, Athenry, and many other places; though the consecrated ground, belonging to all such abbeys, had been expressly exempted from the grants by Act of Parliament.

Interference with schools for Popish purposes.

Provisions for Protestant education also were applied to Popish uses. By the Act of the 12th of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 1, provision had been made for the encouragement of education in diocesan schools, by means of Englishmen and Protestants: and the nomination of the schoolmasters in every diocese, except four, had been committed to the Chief Governor of Ireland for the time being. But now, on any such school becoming vacant, the Lord Deputy abused the power committed to him; for he either left the place unsupplied, or filled it with a Papist. Care was also taken to discourage other Protestant schools, and to set up in opposition to them similar Popish establishments. Thus, in the instance of the school of Kilkenny, founded and endowed by the late Duke of Ormonde, a Jesuit's school was instituted in the town, and a charter procured for a college: whilst the Protestant, who had industriously and successfully taught in the duke's school, was driven away, and the school-house violently usurped, and converted into a military hospital. An attempt was also made to change the University of Dublin into a seminary of Popery, and to fill up vacant fellowships with Papists, contrary to the fundamental design of the institution,

Attempt on the University of Dublin.

and under the plea that the king had power to dispense with its statutes[8].

Vacant secs not filled up.

The archbishoprick of Cashel had become vacant by the death of Archbishop Price, in the year 1684, not long before the accession of King James to the throne: and in the same year a vacancy had also occurred in the bishoprick of Clonfert. In the following year the diocese of Elphin, and in 1687 that of Clogher, were likewise respectively deprived by death of their spiritual overseers. The intention of the king had been notified at an early period, not to supply the places of these prelates: in accordance with which arbitrary and illegal determination, these four dioceses, one of them being of metropolitan dignity, continued during the king's reign destitute of their proper pastoral superintendence[9]. Meanwhile the episcopal revenues were received by collectors under authority from the crown, and paid into the exchequer; and thence distributed by the king's order amongst the titular bishops, acting by Papal appointment, in salaries of 100*l.* or 200*l.* a year. To the Romish primate an annual pension of 2000*l.* is said to have been assigned from these funds. The bishops at the same time were instructed to wear in publick the habits of their orders: and thus a regular Popish hierarchy was established under the sanction of the royal authority[10].

Their revenues given to titular bishops.

Similar appropriation of other benefices.

A similar appropriation was made of the income of other ecclesiastical benefices which became vacant, and were in the king's gift. With respect to such benefices it was the law, and it had been the regular

[8] KING'S *State of Protestants*, p. 217.
[9] WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 487, 645, 191, 636.
[10] DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, part i., book iv., p. 112.

practice, for the revenues to be sequestered on a vacancy by the bishop of the diocese for the supply of the cure during the interval, and for the use of the next incumbent. The crown had no concern with them. But now they were taken arbitrary possession of by the king, and the churches left desolate, without incumbent or curate: or if supplied with curates, the persons employed were men little qualified to do God or the Church good service; who from insufficiency had not arrived at previous preferment, or had been removed from their stations for misconduct[11].

Interference with the clergy in their pulpits.

Impediments were at the same time thrown in the way of the regular ministrations of the clergy, who were prohibited from discussing controversial topicks in their pulpits. It would no doubt have been highly acceptable to the government, if they could have procured the countenance and sanction of any of the clergy of the Church respectable for character and station. And accordingly, in the hope of seducing some from their fidelity, the king had ventured on an unprecedented exercise of his prerogative, and proffered a dispensation, with the privilege of retaining their former benefices, to such as should renounce their profession as ministers of the Church of Ireland, and attach themselves to the Romish communion.

Dispensation for those who would adopt Popery.

Case of Peter Manby, dean of Derry, 1686.

One name only is on record, or, at the utmost, two, as having been found faithless in the present season of trial to the Church and her ministers. Peter Manby, dean of Derry, had solicited and expected a bishoprick in the Church: disappointment in that pursuit is supposed to have co-operated

[11] *Short View*, p. 10.

with hope of a more successful result in another quarter, so that, in 1686, he became a convert to Popery. He justified his conduct in a tract, entitled, "Considerations which induced Peter Manby, dean of Derry, to embrace the Catholique Religion:" which was answered by the Rev. W. King, chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, subsequently in succession Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Dublin, in another tract, entitled, "An Answer to the Considerations which obliged Peter Manby, dean of Derry, (as he pretends,) to embrace what he calls the Catholique Religion." Both of those pamphlets were published in Dublin, in the year 1687. Dr. King was an able and powerful opponent of the Popish claims, as he afterwards proved himself of those of the Presbyterians. On this occasion he manifested great resolution and decision of mind, by coming boldly forward at a season when Popery, under the royal patronage, was in the ascendant, and the Church, with her faithful advocates, persecuted and endangered. The sole participator in the unenviable distinction of Manby was a clergyman of the diocese of Connor, of the name of Alexander Moore, precentor of that cathedral, and vicar of Glenavy and Crumlin, in 1688.

His justification answered by Dr. King, 1687.

On the 4th of April, 1687, the king put forth his "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience:" thereby assuming to himself the power, by virtue of his royal prerogative, of granting a general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which a conformity was required to the established religion.

Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. April 4, 1687.

This exercise of arbitrary authority, calling forth the publick opposition of the English bishops and

Defeated in England.

clergy who declined to lend their aid to the furtherance of an illegal and unconstitutional act, led the way to the overthrow of King James's dominion in England, not without much intermediate peril to the venerable men, whose conscientious sense of their imperative and indispensable duty placed them in a position of unwilling resistance to the royal will. To Ireland, also, the influence of the "Declaration" was designed to extend. But the government of that kingdom was too firmly settled in the hands of the Popish viceroy, by means of his military and official instruments, to allow the question between the crown and the country to be decided by so summary a process, as that which took effect under the patronage of the nobility and gentry of England, devoted as they were to their national Church, and capable of maintaining her rights and privileges. A knowledge, indeed, of the success which had attended her exertions was a source of consolation and encouragement to the sister Church of Ireland: but the latter had many severe trials to encounter, and was well nigh overwhelmed by the flood of Popish despotism, before, by the blessing of a gracious Providence, she was released from the tyranny of her arbitrary oppressor.

More successful in Ireland.

In one instance, however, at least, resistance was effectually offered by a venerable body to an experiment, on which in England the king had made shipwreck of his authority; namely, that of his dispensing power, unconstitutionally exerted with respect to a minister of the Church.

Resistance of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's to the king's dispensing power. 1687.

In 1687, one of the vicars-choral of St. Patrick's, Dublin, having absented himself from the cathedral, was admonished at the dean's visitation to give due attendance at divine service, and to perform his duty

Vicar-choral deprived for non-attendance at divine service.

in the choir. In his defence he avowed, that he had embraced the Roman Catholick religion, being that of his sovereign; which forbade him to pray, or to officiate in divine offices, with the chapter: at the same time he demanded to enjoy, as before, the emoluments of his vicarage. After several ineffectual admonitions, his letter of dismissal was read, and formally proclaimed, in his presence, on Thursday, the 3rd of February following: it recited his manifest neglect of those duties, which, by law and custom, he was bound to perform; it then pronounced him contumacious, and incorrigibly disobedient to frequent monitions; and finally it declared, that, by the universal consent of all present, he was deprived of the office and benefice of a vicar-choral. This judgment was signed by seventeen members of the chapter, then present, among whom was the proxy of the archbishop, as treasurer. Isaac, the deprived vicar-choral, appealed *vivâ voce* from this sentence, to the king in his Court of Chancery.

Letter from the king in his behalf.

On the 17th of October, he appeared again before the dean and chapter with a letter from his majesty; which set forth the deprivation of Isaac, with its alleged cause and his petition for the interposition of the royal authority in his behalf.

Order for his restoration.

"And we," the letter then proceeds, "being informed of the truth of the said petition, and that the said Bartholomew Isaac hath been deprived of his said office and benefice, merely for his religion, do hereby signify unto you, the Dean and Chapter of our said cathedral church, that it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby will and require of you, that the said Bart. Isaac be forthwith restored unto the office of one of the vicars-choral of our said cathedral church, and unto all emoluments unto the said office belonging; and we further signify unto you, that it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby, by our supreme

authority, dispense with the said Bart. Isaac's attendance in the said choir of the said cathedral church, and with his officiating therein, as long as we, in our princely wisdom, shall think fit, until we shall signify our royal pleasure to the contrary; and that the said Bart. Isaac shall and may hold the said office, and the benefits thereof, notwithstanding any laws, orders, constitutions, or usages, of our said cathedral church to the contrary, or any laws, statutes, customs, or constitutions, in our kingdom of Ireland to the contrary notwithstanding. And for so doing this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court of Windsor, 10th July, in the third year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,

"SUNDERLAND."

After perusing this letter, the dean and chapter were unanimous, prompt, and decided in taking the requisite measures for their own defence, and for vindicating the rights and privileges of the cathedral. This resolute attitude may perhaps have secured them from attempts at further aggression. No such at least appear to have been made. The disposition, however, of the king with respect to the rights of the Church was sufficiently manifested by his letter; the terms of which forbid the supposition, that any respect, either for the laws of the cathedral, or for the laws of the realm, withheld him from enforcing his royal pleasure in behalf of the disobedient and contumacious Romanist[12].

General massacre apprehended.

The alarm of a general massacre, such as had been experienced in 1641, was about this time spread amongst the members of the Church: and several of her principal nobility made thereupon application to the Lord Deputy, who assured them that no such design was intended, or should be

[12] MASON's *St. Patrick*, pp. 203, 204.

perpetrated, notwithstanding he admitted such a proposal had been made to him. And he accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he promised protection to all descriptions of persons, and made it penal to discourse or give out that any such massacre was intended. In fact, it should appear from credible testimony, that such a project had been agitated; but that the execution of it had been postponed by those most desirous of its accomplishment, in consequence of the abhorrence expressed by the Lord Deputy himself, and some of the officers of the army, of so barbarous and unchristian an action[13].

Persecution of the Protestants throughout the kingdom.

But, however this may have been, the Protestants, who were dispersed over the kingdom, were nevertheless exposed to the mercy of the Irish, and underwent extreme sufferings. Private thefts, committed by the soldiery, were the first occasions and forms of their distress. But now the Popish priests interdicted all their people, between fourteen and eighty years of age, from coming to mass, unless each of them was furnished with a skene or dagger of sixteen inches length in the blade, and a large half-pike, under the penalty of excommunication, or of the payment of seven shillings and six-pence for each offence. The orders enjoined on them by the priests were, that they should be ready at an hour's warning, to go whithersoever they should be commanded. And it was the business of the priests and their followers, to keep control over the Protestants throughout the country, if the Irish standing army should be drawn away together into the North, or if an English army should land[14].

Meanwhile, immediate employment was found in plundering the Protestants of their cattle and other

[13] *Short View*, p. 12. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

goods: whole flocks and herds were driven away in the night; and partly destroyed, and partly distributed and detained in the more mountainous and wilder districts. The plundered Protestants had no remedy. The number of the spoilers rendered the pursuit of them dangerous. If taken, the magistrates would rarely commit them to prison: if committed, release could be easily procured for them, as for strong and able-bodied men, fit for the king's service: besides, if taken and committed, neither inclination nor occasion would be wanting of revenge[15].

Danger of improvement of property.

A cause for exciting jealousy and increasing hostility was afforded by those Protestants who, in such times of disturbance, ventured to make any improvement upon their property; for any improvement was immediately interpreted into an expectation of the arrival of the Prince of Orange, to rescue the kingdom from the authority of the king.

Archbishop of Tuam.

Such a suspicion lighted upon Vesey, archbishop of Tuam, who had lately erected a steeple to his cathedral church, and added some conveniences and embellishments to his palace; for it was supposed that he would not have incurred these expenses at such an unseasonable time, when he might expect to be deprived of both his church and his palace, if he had not relied upon secret intelligence of an anticipated deliverance. Notwithstanding, however, the jealousy with which he was regarded, and the plunder that he sustained, even of the cattle which he kept for his own table, he still continued in that barbarous country; being anxious, as was likewise Tennison, bishop of Killalla, to give encouragement and protection to the Protestants, as long as they could remain without imminent danger of their own lives[16]. These

Bishop of Killalla.

[15] *Short View*, p. 16.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

were the only two remaining bishops in the province of Connaught; and these were at length compelled to take refuge in England, where they found safety and sustenance for a season: the Archbishop in a small lectureship in London, and the Bishop of Killalla in the cure of the parish of St. Helen, in the same city.

Other prelates driven from their sees.

But these were not the only prelates who were banished from their charges by these evil and disastrous times. Francis Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, was compelled, for his personal security, to withdraw into England; and at the same time were absent, apparently under the same constraint, seven suffragans; namely, the bishops,—Sheridan, of Kilmore, who, in the third year of King William and Queen Mary, was deprived for refusing to abjure his former allegiance, and to take the new oaths; Wiseman, of Dromore; Moreton, of Kildare; Narcissus Marsh, of Ferns and Leighlin; Jones, of Cloyne; William Smith, of Raphoe; and the well-known theologian, Ezekiel Hopkins, of Derry, who retired to the ministry of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, or of that of St. Lawrence, Jewry, in the city of London, where he died, in June, 1690. Another bishop, namely, Hacket, of Down and Connor, was at the same time absent, but apparently from a different cause; for in 1693 he was suspended, by virtue of a royal commission, for the neglect of his pastoral office, for twenty years.

Their estates sequestered.

The profits of the estates of the expelled prelates were withheld from them, being sequestered by the Papists, to the following amount[17].

	£.
Archbishoprick of Dublin . . .	1,800
Ditto Tuam . . .	1,700

[17] MS. in Library of T. C. D.

		£.
Bishoprick of	Kildare	1,000
Ditto	Derry	2,000
Ditto	Raphoe	1,000
Ditto	Kilmore	1,500
Ditto	Killalla	900
Ditto	Cloyne	500
Ditto	Ferns and Leighlin	900
Ditto	Dromore	800

Prelates who remained in Ireland.

The only prelates who remained in Ireland during the whole of these commotions were the following seven: Michael Boyle, archbishop of Armagh; Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath; Thomas Otway, bishop of Ossory; Simon Digby, bishop of Limerick; Edward Wetenhall, bishop of Cork and Ross; John Roan, bishop of Killaloe; and Hugh Gore, bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Their losses and sufferings.

Archbishop Boyle had been robbed of all his goods and house-furniture at Blessington, to the value of 10,000*l.*, by the Papists, who, for the sake of further mischief, had also killed all the deer in his park. And of the other prelates, not forcibly driven into banishment, the Bishops of Cork and Waterford are particularly recorded: the former as having undergone great cruelties and sufferings from the Irish Papists, from the year 1688 till the settlement under King William the Third; the latter as having been inhumanly treated by the like hands, stripped, beaten, pierced with many wounds, and left for dead; from which barbarous inflictions he escaped, to die in Wales, in 1690 or 1691, being about the 80th year of his age.

Sufferings of the inferior clergy.

The inferior clergy were equally victims of this formidable persecution. Whosoever escaped, they were sure to be robbed and plundered. They were exposed to perpetual affronts and assaults. Some

were beaten and abused: way-laid as they travelled the high road; shot at, and wounded, and hardly suffered to escape with their lives. Many were deserted by their parishioners, who fled into some safer country: many were entreated by their parishioners to withdraw themselves from danger; many received threatening notices of impending evils, which were too truly and dreadfully accomplished. Of some the houses were set on fire, and the property consumed; on some personal injuries were inflicted, so that death was the result; some were reduced to a want of the common necessaries of life. Many were cast into prison, and subjected to a long and painful confinement. Some were tried for their lives, and some were condemned to death.

English Act of Parliament for their benefit.

To some of those, indeed, who by the extremity of their dangers or their sufferings were driven from their country, and compelled to seek refuge and hospitality in England, relief was afforded by an English Act of Parliament, which enacted that any of the clergy of the Church of Ireland, who had possessed benefices, from which they had been expelled, in that country, should be capable of holding preferment in England, without forfeiting their Irish benefices, provided they should resign their English preferment, upon being restored to that which they had been compelled to abandon.

But this enactment could have supplied no more than a very inadequate remedy for the wants of those who were expelled from Ireland. Meanwhile, those who continued in the country were subject to an uninterrupted and unrelenting persecution.

Outrages on the Dublin clergy.

Even in the city of Dublin, under the eye of the government, hardly one escaped affronts and abuses, or could walk the streets in security and quiet, or

safely perform his publick ministrations. To enumerate all the acts of violence which they endured were infinite. But Dr. King has mentioned the names of sixteen or seventeen clergymen, and specified the outrages which were offered to them by assault, by imprisonment, by menaces, by imprecations; by the musket and the lighted match, by the naked sword, and by the bludgeon; in the street and in the highway, in the church and in the churchyard, in the reading-desk and in the pulpit; whilst conducting the devotions, or ministering to the instructions of the living, or whilst performing the last solemn offices over the dead. Their visitations of the sick and the dying were impeded or interrupted by the Popish priests; who with insults and threats pretended to be acting by the king's authority, and claimed the faithful Protestant and member of the Church as a convert to the Romish corruptions.

Dr. King the Archbishop of Dublin's commissary.

The conduct of Dr. King himself at this trying crisis is worthy of grateful recollection. The Archbishop of Dublin, when compelled to fly for his personal safety, substituted Dr. King as his commissary, to visit and take care of his diocese during his absence. But a doubt having arisen about the legal execution of the commission, Dr. King declined the office; and prevailed upon the two chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, of the latter of which he had been elected dean, to choose the Bishop of Meath as administrator of the spiritualties, in the absence of the archbishop. He himself nevertheless took an active and zealous part in assisting the bishop to meet the spiritual necessities, and promote the comfort and benefit, of those distressed members of the Church who were precluded by poverty from fleeing into England; or who, having secured some

Dopping, bishop of Meath.

small remnant of their property from plunder, continued to reside at home with the hope of preserving it. And thus, by the zealous co-operation of these good men, the churches of the diocese were regulated, and the deserted parishes supplied with well-qualified curates, so that scarce a congregation was destitute of a pastor.

Excellent conduct of Bishop Dopping.

The Bishop of Meath, who had distinguished himself by attacking Popery in the pulpit so early as January, 1686, with such energy and effect as to have caused the king to remark upon it in a letter to Lord Clarendon, was moreover now again honourably distinguished for the eloquence, fortitude, intrepidity, and magnanimity with which he laboured to support the sinking cause of the Church; frequently applying, by petition, to the government in its behalf; and speaking in the House of Lords, in 1689, with great freedom, energy, and decision, against the iniquitous and nefarious proceedings of King James, in co-operation with the parliament, which at that time he caused to assemble.

These proceedings, indeed, stand upon the page of history as an example of the most flagitious and unprecedented iniquity, the particulars of which it is now our business to state.

SECTION II.

The King's arrival in Ireland. A Parliament. Mode of calling it. Its composition. Repeal of the Act of Settlement. Act of Attainder. Proscriptions under it. Its atrocity.

The king's arrival in Ireland.

THE king having been defeated in his attempts to undermine and subvert the Church of England, and to establish Popery upon its ruins in that kingdom,

and having compensated the unholy enterprise by the sacrifice of his crown, abandoned that lost portion of his hereditary dominions, and, after a brief sojourn in France, threw himself into the arms of his Popish subjects in Ireland, who cordially welcomed him to their shores. Landing at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689, he was received by the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel, lately elevated to the rank of a duke, and conducted to Cork, where in the chapel of the Franciscan monastery, celebrated for the possession of a well, blessed with supernatural powers by the miraculous intercession of the founder, he heard mass, being supported through the streets of the city by two friars of St. Francis, and attended by others of the brethren arrayed in the habits of their order[1].

March 12, 1689.

Hears mass at Cork.

Proceeding thence to Dublin, which he entered with a large train of attendants on the 24th of the same month, his entrance was greeted by the whole body of the Popish hierarchy and clergy, invested with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of their appropriate habiliments and decorations, and bearing with them, in solemn procession, the consecrated wafer, before which he bowed with the most lowly adoration, amidst the acclamations of a vast multitude of the people.

Worships the host in Dublin, March 24.

We have hitherto noticed the fostering of Popery, and the injuries inflicted on the Church, under the auspices, indeed, but by the intermediate agency of his Viceroy. We have now to record proceedings, designated in the preceding section, as of the most flagitious and unprecedented iniquity, sanctioned by the immediate authority and

Proceedings under the authority of the king.

[1] SMITH'S *History of Cork*, i. 389.

supervision of the sovereign himself. And if in the sequel he was constrained to adopt the course that he followed, notwithstanding his own inclination to the contrary, and if he had any real pretension to the character, which has been generally attributed to him, of a well-intentioned and upright, although a weak and ill-judging man, he must have been keenly sensible of the extravagant and distressing price which he paid for his Irish reception and support; that price was paid by his consent to the measures of the parliament which he was immediately induced to assemble, especially and first of all by his consent to the Act for attainting the Protestants of Ireland, and forfeiting their estates.

Parliament summoned, March 25, 1689.

This act was passed in a parliament, which was summoned by the king's proclamation, dated March the 25th, the day after his arrival in Dublin; and met on the 7th of May, 1689, and continued its sittings till the 20th of the following July. The calling of the parliament has been supposed to be compulsory on the part of the king; and the result of applications, which he was unable to resist, forcibly pressed upon his reluctant acquiescence by the Popish claimants of estates, which had been forfeited in the Rebellion of 1641, and which, by the "Acts of Settlement and Explanation," in King Charles the Second's reign, had been confirmed to the Protestant proprietors, by whom they had been since, and still continued to be, possessed.

Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

Lord Clarendon, on being sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant, had it in charge from King James to declare, that he would preserve the Acts of Settlement and Explanation inviolable. He accordingly made the declaration in council: and further gave corresponding injunctions to all the judges, who

solemnly declared the same on the bench in their respective circuits. In obedience also to the king's commands, Sir Charles Porter, at that time lord chancellor, made solemn declaration from the bench of his majesty's assurance, that he would preserve those acts as the Magna Charta of Ireland: a declaration, which was afterwards repeated by his successor, Lord Chancellor Fitton. Two-thirds of the lands of Ireland were now held by the tenure, recognised, determined, and established by these acts: some of the lands having been obtained by original grants from the crown; to others the possessors having succeeded by inheritance; others, again, having been procured from their lawful possessors by purchase for valuable considerations.

The Magna Charta of Ireland.

In order to repeal those acts, and so to recover possession of the property, its former owners, or their representatives, are said to have compelled the unhappy and embarrassed king, reluctant as he was in giving his consent, to the assembling of a parliament, which, being composed of such materials as they should select and compact, might be instrumental in accomplishing their purposes.

Purpose of repealing them.

The composition of the parliament was thus artfully managed. The House of Lords consisted of about thirty-five temporal peers, Papists, including those who had been outlawed after the Rebellion of 1641, and whose attainder was now reversed, that they might be qualified to sit; and of several new creations, recently made by the king himself for the occasion, such as the Lord Chancellor Fitton, created Lord Gosworth; Nugent, Lord Riverstown; Macarthy, Lord Mountcashel; Browne, Lord Kenmare; and some others. On the other hand, there

Composition of the parliament.

Temporal peers.

were only four or five temporal peers, who were Protestants, the rest having been driven out of the kingdom by the late violent and lawless courses of the Popish party; and seven spiritual peers, whose names have been lately recited, four of the bishopricks having been vacated about or since the time of King James's accession, and by him left unsupplied, and the possessors of the other eleven sees being also absent from the country.

Spiritual peers.

Thus a commanding majority was prepared to give effectual support to the intended measures of the government. If any additional weight had been requisite for counterbalancing the Protestant votes, and giving the preponderance to the Popish, it would have been easily supplied by means of the titular prelates of the Romish Church in Ireland, who were ready, and were intended upon an emergency, to be called up to the House by writ.

Their dissent from the act.

With respect, however, to the seven spiritual rightful peers, then in the kingdom, it should be noticed that three of these, the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Waterford and Killaloe, were excused from attendance on parliament by reason of their age and infirmities. The remaining four were obliged to appear, in compliance with the writs directed to them; and the king was fain to make use occasionally of their moderation, to counterbalance the violence of his own party. But in general they protested against the acts, and entered their dissent. It is observable, however, that all these acts of this pretended parliament are alleged to be enacted by the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal: whereas to many of them not one spiritual lord consented, but they all unanimously protested against them; and at the passing

Mentioned as consenting.

of the "Act of Attainder," they were not even present. They complained of this, but were refused redress: and the express mention of their consent was nevertheless continued. A different and more ingenuous course had been followed in passing the Act of Uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when in consequence of all the lords spiritual, who were present, dissenting from the bill, they were not specified in the enactment, which was said to be made "with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled."

Formation of the Lower House.

The House of Commons was returned to meet the exigency, by means equally well contrived, and equally conducive to the end. The old corporations having been destroyed, and Popish corporators having been introduced into the different municipal offices, the members for the boroughs were for the most part Papists, in accordance with the religious profession of their electors. The sheriffs, whose function it was to return the members for the counties, and who had been nominated for that especial purpose, all of them, with only one exception, which arose from the accidental mistake of a name, being Papists, had notified the elections so partially, that the voters, who belonged to their own side only, were apprized of them; or conducted them with such circumstances of inconvenience or insecurity to the Protestant freeholders, that the few, who might otherwise have taken part in the elections, were precluded or deterred from voting.

Parliament consisted of Papists.

"By these means," says Dr. King, "the parliament consisted of the most bigoted Papists: and of such as were most deeply interested to destroy the Protestant religion, and the Protestants of Ireland." Some counties had no representatives: as Donegall,

Monaghan, Londonderry, and Fermanagh. And twenty-nine boroughs were without any return, chiefly on account of the reluctance of Protestant gentlemen to come forward as candidates. For examples of these may be mentioned Carrickfergus and Antrim, in the county of Antrim; Hillsborough, Bangor, New Town, and Downpatrick, in the county of Down; Charlemont, in the county of Armagh; Lifford, Ballyshannon, Killibegs, and Donegall, in the county of Donegall; Monaghan, in the county of Monaghan; Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh; Londonderry, Limavady, and Coleraine, in the county of Londonderry. One of the members for the county of Dublin was the infamous Colonel Luttrell, by whose well-known proclamation the meeting together of more than five Protestants was declared criminal, and punishable as high treason. The two members for the University of Dublin, (let their names be added for their honour,) Sir John Mead and Mr. Coghlan, took their seats reluctantly, "as thinking it scandalous to be found in such company: and they could not prevail upon themselves to sit out the whole session, but withdrew before the Act of Attainder came to be concluded, not enduring to be present at the passing of that and some other barbarous acts, against which they found their votes signified nothing whilst they stayed."

Honourable conduct of the members for the University.

Repeal of the Act of Settlement.

The first act of this memorable and never-to-be-forgotten parliament was the repeal of the "Act of Settlement." Thus all Protestants, who were in possession of lands, whether by grant, by inheritance, or by purchase, which had at any former time belonged to Papists, were compelled to relinquish and restore them.

The injustice of the proposed act, its variance with the publick benefit, and with that of the king, its ruinous effects upon the kingdom and the people, and its destruction of the national character for fidelity and integrity, were forcibly urged by the Bishop of Meath in parliament, on the 4th of June, 1689: and a powerful remonstrance against the bill drawn up by the Chief Justice Keating, and presented to the king by the Lord Granarde, clearly represented, and strongly pressed, the injuries threatened by it to the purchasers and proprietors of lands. Its injustice.

But all this was ineffectual. The "Act of Repeal" was passed: and that it might include all possible descriptions of Protestants, some of whom might otherwise escape, an expedient was devised by the insertion of a clause, whereby "the estates of all, who dwelt or stayed in any place of the three kingdoms, which did not own King James's power, or who corresponded with any such as were favourable to the cause of the Prince of Orange, were declared to be forfeited, and vested in his majesty, without any office or inquisition found thereof." By this clause vast numbers of peaceable and unoffending Protestants were spoiled of their estates: for the packets, which passed between Ireland and England, were carefully and minutely searched at every arrival and departure; and every letter found, on whatever subject, being an act of "correspondence," was held under this law a sufficient cause of forfeiture. Iniquity of the clause of "correspondence."

This "Repeal of the Act of Settlement" was a good preparative to the celebrated, rather the infamous, "Act of Attainder," which soon followed. Of this latter act the preamble sets forth and condemns "the invasion of the king's unnatural enemy, Act of Attainder. Its preamble.

the Prince of Orange, invited by his majesty's rebellious and traitorous subjects;" the desertion of King James by the aforesaid subjects; the levying of rebellion and war against him; the raising of an army by the king's lieutenant, the Duke of Tyrconnel; and the refusal of the Protestants to come in and submit, notwithstanding that they were "with all mildness and humanity called to their allegiance, by proclamation and promises of pardon for the past, and protection for the future."

Enactment.

"Be it therefore enacted," the act proceeds, "That the persons hereinafter named, being persons who have notoriously joined in the said rebellion and invasion, and some of whom are upon indictments condemned, some executed for high treason, and the rest are run away and absconded, or are now in the actual service of the Prince of Orange and others killed in open rebellion; whether dead or alive shall be deemed, and are hereby declared, traitors, and shall suffer such pains of death, penalties, and forfeitures, as in cases of high treason belong: unless," the act proceeds to provide, "unless such of the persons herein mentioned, as are resident in Ireland, shall, before the 10th of August, 1689, submit themselves to take their trial for high treason:" and, in that case, "such person or persons, after being acquitted by the laws of the land, or discharged by proclamation, shall be freed, discharged, and acquitted, from all pains, penalties, and forfeitures, by this act incurred and imposed."

First list of the proscribed.

Its contents.

In this, which is the *first* list in the act, the following persons were attainted, and their estates forfeited: one archbishop; one duke; fourteen earls; seventeen viscounts and one viscountess; two bishops; twelve barons; twenty-six baronets;

twenty-two knights; fifty-six clergymen; and one thousand one hundred and fifty-three esquires and private gentlemen. The attainted prelates were Francis Marsh, lord archbishop of Dublin, and Hopkins and Sheridan, respectively Bishops of Derry and Kilmore.

Contents of the second list.

The *second* list of the proscribed consisted of those who were absent from Ireland before the 5th of November, 1688, and who had not returned and professed their allegiance, according to the proclamation of the following spring; and who were now to be attainted, and their lands forfeited, if they did not come in and submit, before the 1st of September, 1689. This list included one lord, seven knights, eight clergymen, sixty-five esquires, gentlemen, &c.

The third list.

The *third* list included those, who, like the persons specified in the second, were absentees before the 5th of November, 1688, and had not returned on the proclamation of the following March: but whose term for appearance was extended to the 1st of October, 1689. In this list were contained one archbishop; one earl; one viscount; five bishops; seven baronets; eight knights; nineteen clergymen; and four hundred and thirteen esquires and gentlemen: the archbishop being Vesey, archbishop of Tuam; the other prelates the Bishops of Kildare, Raphoe, Ferns, Cloyne, and Dromore.

The fourth list.

The *fourth* list contained persons, usually resident in England, to whom was allowed the interval up to the 1st of October, 1689, for giving in their adhesion to King James, and professing their allegiance. The act says, that as those persons "live in England or Scotland, and there abide; and by their not coming and returning into this kingdom, upon his majesty's proclamation, to assist in defence of this realm, must

be presumed to adhere to the Prince of Orange;" in case of their not returning within the prescribed time, their lives and lands were to be forfeited. This list contained one earl; fifteen viscounts and lords; fourteen knights; four hundred and ninety-two esquires and gentlemen. A few were to be permitted to do homage in England, provided the king should go thither in October: and his certificate of their loyalty, under his sign manual, was to be their protection in return for this suit and service. To the others of this class no indulgence was to be extended: but their Irish estates were to be summarily wrested from them, if they did not forthwith forsake their houses, the places of their constant abode and residence in England and Scotland, and join the army of King James. The act then proceeds to vest all the lands of these parties in "his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from the 1st of August last."

Provision of unequalled atrocity.

And now follows a provision, of which it has been forcibly but truly remarked, that "in point of atrocity and inhumanity, it cannot perhaps be equalled in the records of tyranny, since the commencement of time."

Fifth list.

After setting out a *fifth* list, containing the names of one earl, seven countesses, one viscountess, thirteen ladies, one baronet, and fifty-nine gentlemen and gentlewomen, the act goes on to say:

"Whereas these parties are, and for some time past have been, absent out of this kingdom, and by reason of sickness, nonage, infirmities, and other disabilities, may for some time further be obliged to stay out of the kingdom, or be unable to return thereto: nevertheless, it being much to the weakening and impoverishing of this realm, that any of the rents or profits of the lands or tenements therein should

be sent into, or spent in, any other place beyond the seas, but that the same should be kept and employed within the realm, for the better support and defence thereof: Be it therefore enacted, that all the estates and lands of these persons shall instantly vest in his majesty, and his heirs and successors. Provided, that if any of them have hitherto behaved themselves loyally and faithfully to his majesty, then, if they choose to return, (their inability to return having been before admitted,) and prosecute their claim against the crown, before the commissioners for disposing of the estates taken from the Protestants by the Act repealing the Act of Settlement, or in the Court of Chancery or of Exchequer, then, on the adjudication of such tribunal in their favour, their estates shall be returned to them."

Other fraudulent and cruel provisions.

The other clauses of the act were framed in the same spirit of fraud, violence, and cruelty. One enacts, that the lands, thus seized, shall vest in his majesty, freed from all mortgages, settlements, or incumbrances, other than shall be proved and claimed by the adherents of the king. Another ordains a special saving provision for all Popish owners of estates, forfeited in the Rebellion of 1641; lest they should accidentally be prejudiced by the construction of the Act of Attainder.

Mode of construction of the lists.

But a few words must be added, with respect to the manner in which the lists of the proscribed Protestants were constructed: to the limitation imposed on the king's prerogative of mercy by a special provision of the act: and to the absolute counteraction, provided against its apparent indulgences, by its studied secresy and concealment.

Names inserted without due evidence.

First, the names in these fearful lists of the proscribed were marked down for destruction, on the mere word of an enemy, or the fallacious breath of vulgar rumour. The members of the parliament were invited to send in the names of the Protestant

gentry of estate, who lived near them, or in the county or borough for which they served. They were then assorted and digested under proper heads, and inserted in the act by its framer, Sir Richard Nagle, the Popish Attorney-General and Speaker of the House of Commons. But this he did with such precipitation and incaution, that on presenting the act for the royal assent, he informed the king, that "many were attainted in that act upon such evidence as satisfied the House of Commons; the rest of them were attainted, he said, upon common fame."

King precluded from pardoning.

Secondly, lest the mind of the king, who was not void of the feelings of humanity, should relent in favour of any of the proscribed, and be disposed to show mercy, Sir Richard Nagle is related to have inserted a clause, without the king's knowledge, by which the power was taken from the king himself of pardoning, or exempting from forfeiture or death, one single individual Protestant on the lists, whose pardon was not signed before the 1st of November, 1689, although the act itself was not made publick till the following spring.

Indulgences rendered null.

Lastly, it will have been noticed, that there is an appearance of some indulgence extended to the proscribed on each of the three lists, varying according to circumstances. Those on the first list being resident in Ireland, there was allowed to them a short time, within which they might submit, and seek a reversal of the attainder: namely, till the 10th of August, 1689. The persons on the second and third lists being resident out of Ireland, and the circumstances of each of these classes varying also from those of the other, a longer interval was allowed than in the first case, but with some variation between the two: thus those on the second list

were allowed till the 1st of September, and those on the third till the 1st of October, 1689. But these apparent indulgences were utterly annulled by the non-publication, or rather the studied concealment, of the act. The provisions of it were not suffered to be known by those, whose existence depended on their observance of them. "We offered large sums for a copy," says Dr. King, "but could not by any means prevail, Chancellor Fitton keeping the rolls locked up in his closet."

Studied concealment of the act.

A copy, however, was at last procured by stratagem, on occasion of the king himself being desirous of pardoning one of the attainted persons, Sir Thomas Southwell, a personal friend of the king, when Duke of York. By the utmost chance Sir Thomas's solicitor succeeded in procuring access to the roll for a few hours, in order to make a draft of a warrant for the reversal of the forfeiture; and he availed himself of the opportunity to secure a hasty copy, which being transmitted to England, the act then first saw the light. But on the warrant being submitted to Sir Richard Nagle, to prepare a fiat for his Majesty's signature, this confidential adviser of the Crown, who had himself drawn up the bill, informed the king, for the first time, as his majesty afterwards alleged, of the clause, which deprived him of the power of pardoning even his own old companion and friend.

A copy procured by stratagem.

On the whole, these combined lists contain the names of two archbishops, one duke, twenty-four earls and countesses, thirty-five viscounts and viscountesses, seven bishops, twenty-six barons and baronesses, thirty-four baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen, two thousand one hundred and eighty-two esquires, gentlemen, and gentle-

Contents of the combined lists.

women: making a total of two thousand four hundred and forty-five; and amounting, from the single kingdom of Ireland, to half the number proscribed in Rome from the greatest part of the then known world.

SECTION III.

Contributions for the Relief of the Distressed Irish Protestants. Act annulling the Jurisdiction of the Church. Act for vesting Ecclesiastical Dues in Priests of the Romish Church. Clergy deprived of their Churches. Protestants prevented from meeting together. Oppression of the University. Character of King James's reign. Re-establishment of the Church.

Embarrassment and distress of the Protestants.

THIS repeal of the Act of Settlement, and this attainder and proscription of more than two thousand four hundred Protestants, must have been productive of extreme pecuniary embarrassment and personal distress to many of those who were subject to their operation. The wants, indeed, of the Irish Protestants in England were such, as to give more than one occasion for an appeal to the people of England for their relief. Two briefs were accordingly issued, at several times, by King William and Queen Mary, and transmitted by the bishops to the parochial clergy, for contributions among their parishioners. On the latter of these occasions, the Bishops of London, St. Asaph, Bangor, Chester, and Worcester, five of the commissioners appointed by their majesties for making a general collection, addressed a letter to the parochial ministers, whom they entreated to communicate to their congregations, "That the commissioners were very sensible both of their late pains and charity, and of the great liberality of their people towards the relief of the

Relief contributed for them in England. 1689.

Letter from English bishops to their clergy.

said poor Protestants of Ireland: that, unless extreme necessity urged, they should not so soon have renewed their application in this way: that the great sums, which had been so cheerfully given for the relief of these their distressed brethren, were now exhausted, notwithstanding they had been managed with all possible care: that still many thousands, and among them many of great rank and quality remained here, and were reduced to the last extremity, who must perish without speedy relief. And most of these," the letter adds, "are not capable of returning at present, many of them being aged and infirm, great numbers belonging to Dublin, and such other places, to which they cannot return without apparent hazard of their lives; others are forced to continue here till they have wherewith to pay their debts, which they have contracted in their exile, and to transport themselves and their families into their own country." The date of this letter, 1689, coincides with that of the acts, before described, of King James's parliament: and hereby a pregnant proof is furnished of the accumulation of individual indigence and misery, which those acts must have occasioned, and of the inhumanity of their framers and enactors.

The king's character illustrated by these acts.

At the same time, they unequivocally betrayed the predominant disposition with respect to the institutions of the kingdom. In fact they operated powerfully on the minds of many, who had been industriously impressed with a favourable opinion of the great mildness and lenity of King James towards the Protestants of Ireland, and who were strongly inclined to persevere in their adherence to him, provided it were consistent with a reasonable hope of preserving the constitution in Church and State.

But these disclosures opened their eyes to a perception of the truth: and convinced them that the tendency and object of the king's measures were utterly irreconcileable with the maintenance of the religious and civil liberties of the kingdom.

Act annulling the jurisdiction of the Church.

This conviction was confirmed by another act of King James's parliament, which annulled the jurisdiction of the Church. By this act, all persons who dissented from the Church were exempted from its jurisdiction; so that, in order to be free from all punishment for misdemeanors, though cognizable and punishable only in the ecclesiastical courts, a man needed no more than to profess himself a Dissenter, or that it was against his conscience to submit to the Church's jurisdiction. But, moreover, in many places there was no bishop of the Church remaining. And thus the Popish bishops, being by another act, which is presently to be mentioned, invested with bishopricks, so soon as they could procure the king's certificate under his privy seal, all former incapacities being removed, were to succeed to the jurisdiction. Meanwhile, one archbishoprick and three bishopricks being already vacant, and two other archbishops and seven other bishops being attainted, this law secured to the Papists the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of more than half the kingdom at once, as an earnest of the rest which was quickly to follow.

Two other Acts confirming the king's object.

A further confirmation of the king's object was afforded by two other acts passed in this same Parliament. In explanation of which it should be premised, that almost all the parish churches in those parts of the country where the Irish arms predominated, except in Dublin, had been seized by autho-

rity, the ministers of the Church of Ireland deprived, and Popish priests inducted into, and settled in, the benefices. By the two following Acts the intrusive priests and dignitaries, now first denominated Roman Catholicks by such an instrument, instead of Papists, their legal denomination, were vested with the perception of tythes, and all other ecclesiastical dues, to the exclusion of the rightful incumbents.

Act concerning Tythes and Ecclesiastical Duties.

The former of these Acts is entitled, "An Act concerning Tythes and other Ecclesiastical Duties." The preamble sets forth,

"Whereas tythes, oblations, obventions, offerings, and other ecclesiastical duties and profits, growing and arising within all and every the respective parish and parishes of this kingdom, (impropriate tythes excepted,) have, by the law of the land, and constitution of holy Church, ever since the Council of Lateran, been due and payable to the respective pastors, curates, and vicars of the said respective parishes, having cure of souls therein; as a provision and maintenance for them, for serving the said cure, by celebrating divine service, administering of sacraments, preaching, and instructing the parishioners thereof in the true faith, and performing other pastoral duties belonging to their functions:"

And, "Forasmuch as the Roman Catholick subjects of this kingdom for some time past have maintained their own priests, pastors, curates, and vicars, and thereby have been very much impoverished, by being obliged to pay their tythes and other ecclesiastical duties to the Protestant clergy, who have not laboured in the administration of any of the said spiritual offices for any of the said Roman Catholicks:"

The act then proceeds to enact,

Roman Catholicks to pay to their own priests, and no other persons.

"That your Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects of this kingdom shall and may set out and pay all their tythes, oblations, obventions, and other ecclesiastical duties, which of right are due and payable from thenceforth to their

respective Roman Catholick priests, pastors, curates, and vicars, and to no other person or persons, of whatsoever religion or persuasion soever, (impropriate tythes excepted,) any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

Roman Catholick clergy enabled to sue for tythes.

The remaining clause enables the said Roman Catholick clergy to sue for their tythes in any of his majesty's courts.

"And all incapacities, heretofore devised by any temporal law, for disabling any of the said Roman Catholick clergy from enjoying any benefices or tythes, or for making any collations or benefices to them conferred void, are hereby discharged and made void, to all intents and purposes."

Act concerning appropriate tythes.

The succeeding act was in explanation and furtherance of the former. With reference to a doubt, which had arisen in the interpretation of the former act, whether "appropriate" tythes were to be paid to the Roman Catholick priests or to the Roman Catholick dignitaries, where such tythes are payable, it enacts in favour of the latter; namely, "That the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, who are to pay any such appropriate tythes, shall pay the same to

To be paid to Roman Catholick dignitaries.

the respective Roman Catholick archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, collegiate churches, archdeacons, prebends, or other Roman Catholick dignitaries, in such manner as the same were formerly paid, since the Reformation, to the respective Protestant archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, collegiate churches, archdeacons, prebends, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of such parishes or places;" and it gives the said Roman Catholick dignitaries power for the recovery of the said tythes;

King to signify who are Roman Catholick dignitaries.

enacting, at the same time, that "such Roman Catholick archbishops, bishops, and deans, as his majesty by any instrument, under his privy signet and sign manual, shall signify to be Roman Catholick

archbishops or bishops of any diocese, or deans of such places or churches within this realm, shall be so reputed, taken and deemed:" a most extraordinary and arbitrary power, as hath been observed, with which the Protestants, however much they magnified the king's authority, never trusted the king nor any mortal man whatsoever.

It further enacts,

Power of collation or presentation of Roman Catholick dignitaries.

"That the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, and all such as are, or shall be, Roman Catholick archbishops, bishops, or other Roman Catholick dignitaries, within this kingdom, and their successors; and all Roman Catholick lords, knights, gentlemen, or others, and their heirs and assigns respectively, who have, or shall have, any advowson, collation, or right of presentation, nomination, or collation to any benefice within the realm, shall for ever hereafter, upon vacancy of any such benefice, have full power and authority to present or collate a fit person to be the Roman Catholick dignitary, curate, vicar, or pastor of such benefice, in such manner and form as they respectively, or any of their predecessors or ancestors, did, or could have lawfully done."

It further enacts, that

Incapacity of holding benefices removed.

"So much of any statute as tends to disable, or incapacitate, any of the said Roman Catholick dignitaries, priests, pastors, or vicars, from receiving, having, holding, or enjoying any of the said ecclesiastical dignities or livings, in manner aforesaid, be and is hereby repealed and made void."

Deprivation and exclusion of the rightful clergy.

Thus their legal right and title to the property of the Church was taken from the clergy of the Church of Ireland, and conferred upon their titular competitors, the schismatical and usurping emissaries of a foreign prelate; and thus the succession of those competitors was perpetuated in their usurped stations, and the rightful clergy excluded in future from the benefices of the Church, by the exercise of the patronage thus established.

Churches seized by the Papists.

This same Act, which made their bishops and priests capable of preferments and benefices, gave them also a title to the churches, belonging to those benefices. But though some had been violently seized on before the passing of the Act, immediately on the passing of it they were alarmed by the landing of the troops under Duke Schomberg, and forbore to press forward their claims; being contented for the present that the churches should be left exposed to the incursions of the Popish rabble, who desecrated and defaced them with many circumstances of insult and contumely, breaking the windows, tearing up the seats, and throwing down the pulpit, chancel, and communion table; and, in some cases, plundering and carrying away what was portable, and burning whatever was combustible. When, however, the alarm on account of the invading army had in some degree subsided, in consequence of the Duke having halted his troops at Dundalk, and not proceeding southward, the priests again took courage, and, in the months of October and November, seized on most of the churches in the kingdom.

Mode of seizing the churches.

They proceeded thus. The mayor or governor in the towns, with the priests, went to the churches, and demanded the keys of the sextons. If they could not be found, they broke open the doors, and pulled up the seats and reading-desk; and the priests, having said mass in them, alleged them to be their own; and affirmed, that being now consecrated places, to alienate them, or give them back to hereticks, would be sacrilege. In the country, the officers of the militia, or army, gave them the same support.

Dublin churches seized by order of Government.

Meanwhile, in Dublin, the Government had, on different occasions, ordered the churches to be seized. On the 24th of February, 1689, the Lord Deputy

filled them with soldiers, for the purpose of receiving the arms of the Protestants; and kept them, some for a longer, some for a shorter time, upon this pretence. On the 6th of September he ordered them to be seized anew, pretending that the Protestants had concealed their arms in them: on which occasion the monuments and graves were broken open, and the coffins of the dead displaced, and the dead bodies disinterred and exposed, till the Protestants were allowed to re-enter the churches again, and bury the dead; but no arms were found. In particular, Christ Church cathedral was seized by Colonel Luttrell, the governor; and during the king's residence in that city, Mr. Alexius Stafford, a secular priest, being made dean of the cathedral, celebrated mass in it[1]. St. Patrick's was taken possession of by the soldiers, the monuments in it defaced, and part of it converted into a stable[2]. And about twenty-six other churches and chapels were seized by the governor in that diocese.

Popish outrages at Cork.

Insults and injuries of the same kind were elsewhere inflicted on the members of the Church by the agents of the Popish government. Thus, on the 11th of August, 1689, the Lord Clare, governor of Cork, committed all the Protestants of that city prisoners to Christ Church, St. Peter's, and the Court House. And having, in the following month, expelled them from their homes, he, on the 11th of October, shut up all the churches; having permitted one Monsieur Boileau, a French officer, who was associated with him in the government of the city, to spoil the wealthy Protestant inhabitants of their property, and send it off to France, to the value of 30,000*l.*[3]

[1] Archdall's *Monast.*, p. 171. [2] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 177.
[3] Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, ii. 196.

Complaint to the king.

King James had expressly provided in his own Act for Liberty of Conscience, that the Protestants should be free to "meet in such churches, chapels, and other places, as they shall have for the purpose." They complained, therefore, to the king of this treatment, as a great violation of his own engagement. They further represented to him, that all the churches of Ireland were in a manner ruined in the late war of 1641: that with much difficulty, and at a heavy expense, the Protestants had built anew, or repaired them; that many had been erected by private persons at their own cost; and that the Roman Catholicks had no title or pretence to them.

His evasive answer.

But his majesty answered, that the churches had been seized in his absence at the camp, without his consent or knowledge; that, nevertheless, he was under such obligations to his Roman Catholick clergy, that he could not dispossess them; that they alleged a title to the churches which they had seized; and that, if the Protestants thought their title better, they must bring their action, and endeavour to recover possession by law.

King's proclamation, Dec. 13, 1689.

A proclamation, indeed, was put out by the king, the 13th of December, 1689, in which he acknowledges that the seizing of the churches was a violation of the Act for Liberty of Conscience: he does not, however, order any restitution, but only forbids the seizing of more. This was regarded by the priests as a confirmation of their previous acquisitions: and at the same time operated as an incitement to diligence in getting possession of others, before the Protestants should be aware of the proclamation, and prevent them from being seized.

Audacity of the priests.

But after all, where they were aware of the proclamation, the priests threw off the mask, and acted

with undisguised audacity: affirming, that the king had nothing to do with them or their churches; that they were immediately subject to the Pope; and that they would regard neither the king, nor his proclamations, nor laws, made to the damage of the holy Church.

Petitions to the king from Waterford and Wexford.

Nor was the boast ineffectual. For the Protestants having been forcibly turned out of the churches of Waterford and Wexford, petitions were presented to the king for redress: in the latter of which, Alexander Allen, minister of the parish-church, set forth, that

"He hath therein, for several years past, daily celebrated divine service, and exercised all other divine functions, with piety to God, and constant loyalty to your majesty; yet your petitioner, on the 25th of October last, was dispossessed of his said church, (contrary to the late Act of Liberty of Conscience,) by Edward Wiseman, Esq., mayor of Wexford; who, a few days after, did not only, by the rabble introduced by him, break down and demolish all the pews and altar of the said church, but did seize and unjustly deny your petitioner's vestments, church-book, and other ornaments thereof, to the great prejudice of your petitioner and his parishioners: although your majesty's Roman Catholick subjects have several chapels fit for the exercise of their religion, both within and without the walls of the said town, and whereunto several Protestant inhabitants have given liberal contribution."

Ineffectual interposition of the king.

The reasonableness of the petitions was so manifest, that, in spite of the opposition of the attorney and solicitor-general, an order was made in council for the restitution of the churches, which order the mayors and officers refused to obey. And in the end, on pretence that the church of Waterford was a place of too great strength to be trusted in the hands of Protestants, it was turned into a garrison: and the renewed order and zealous exertions of the

king himself, accompanied by the dismissal of the disobedient mayor of Wexford, were insufficient for procuring the restitution of that church. In a word, when the king would have kept his promise, he had not the power of doing so: and his Act of Parliament for Liberty of Conscience, seconded by his own frequently-repeated pledges, could not prevent the demolition, defacing, or seizure, of nine churches out of ten in the kingdom.

Interruption of divine worship by Papists.

The same Act promised "full and free exercise of their respective religions to all that profess Christianity within the kingdom, without any molestation, loss, or penalty whatsoever:" but it omitted to ordain any punishment on those who should disturb any religious assemblies. Into the churches, therefore, of which the Protestants still had the use, the Popish officers and soldiers intruded, and interrupted divine service or the sermon with menaces, and oaths, and curses, and insults, and assaults, and every sort of noise and disturbance. Still, much to the discontent of the intruders, the Protestants collected together for divine worship, and the zeal of those who remained supplied the absence of those that were gone, and the churches were as crowded as formerly.

Protestant expedients for divine worship.

In the country, where the Protestants were deprived of the churches, they assembled in private houses: and the loss of their ministers was supplied with others, who, in the absence of a regular maintenance, also officiated gratuitously, or were supported by voluntary contributions. Thus there appeared no probability of the service of the Church being controlled and suppressed, but by compulsion. And the following successive measures appear to have been directed to that end.

A proclamation on the 13th of July, 1689, forbade Protestants to go out of their parishes, partly, as hath been supposed, with a design of hindering their religious assemblies; for such must have been the effect of the order in a country, where the number of churches was less than that of the parishes.

Protestants forbidden to go out of their parishes, 1689.

On the 6th of September, in the same year, on pretence of a case of pistols and a sword being found in some outpart of the building, the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, was locked up for a fortnight, and no service in it permitted.

Service not permitted in Christ Church.

On the 13th of September, on pretence of some ships being seen in Dublin Bay, all Protestants were forbidden to assemble in any church, or in any other place of divine service.

Protestants forbidden to assemble for divine worship.

On the 27th of October, Christ Church was appropriated to themselves by the Papists, and the Protestants precluded from officiating in it any more.

Christ Church appropriated by the Papists.

On the 18th of June, 1690, Colonel Luttrell, governor of Dublin, issued his order, forbidding more than five Protestants to meet and converse together, on pain of death, or such other punishment as should be thought fit by a court martial. And in answer to the inquiry, whether this was designed to hinder meeting at churches? it was replied, that it was designed to hinder meetings there, as well as in other places. And, in execution of this, all the churches were shut up, and all religious assemblies forbidden through the kingdom under pain of death.

More than five Protestants forbidden to meet on pain of death. 1690.

All the churches shut up.

"And we were assured," observes Dr. King, from whose narrative most of the foregoing particulars have been extracted, "that, if King James had returned victorious from the Boyne, it was resolved that they should never have been opened for us any more: and the same excuse would have served for his permitting this, which served him the former

year for not restoring the churches, taken away in his absence at the former camp, even that he must not disoblige his Roman Catholick clergy."

The king's injurious treatment of the University.

The University of Dublin partook in the general oppression of the Church. Notwithstanding the promise of the king, on his first arrival in Dublin, "that he would preserve them in their liberties and properties, and rather augment than diminish the privileges and immunities, granted to them by his predecessors," yet he withdrew from them the pension annually paid them out of the Exchequer, as part of their support, and proceeded to acts of violence against the members of the foundation, then consisting of a provost, seven senior and nine junior fellows, and seventy scholars.

Attempt to force a fellow on the society.

An attempt had been made in an earlier part of the king's reign, to force upon the college a professor for an office which had no existence. An attempt was subsequently made in behalf of the same individual, to obtrude him on the society as one of the senior fellows. The attempt was steadily resisted, partly on the plea of the individual's incapacity, but principally "for the much more important reasons, drawn, as they alleged, as well from the statutes relating to religion, as from the obligation of the oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion which we will never desert, that render it wholly impossible for us, without violating our consciences, to have any concurrence, or to be any way concerned, in the admission of him." Thus while the same spirit of infatuation which had actuated the king to obtrude a president on Magdalen College, Oxford, was evidenced in his attempts on Trinity College, Dublin, the like spirit of conscien-

tious resistance, which had been roused in the former body, did not slumber in the latter.

Ejection of the provost and fellows.

But the resistance was ineffectual. The members of the society were forcibly ejected by the soldiers. The provost and several of the fellows succeeded in effecting their escape into England; others were apprehended and committed to the main guard: all were displaced from their situations, and their imprisonment was only forborne on condition of three of them not meeting together on pain of death. The college itself the king intending to convert at a future time into a seminary of Jesuits; meanwhile he nominated two Popish priests to be the provost and librarian.

Primate Ussher's books added to the college library.

It has been already noticed that in the year 1601, soon after the foundation of the university, a handsome benefaction was made, from the arrears of their pay, by the English army in Ireland, for establishing a library. A similar disposition actuated another English army in that kingdom in the year 1656, when advantage was taken of the intended sale of the costly and valuable collection of books, of the manuscripts which were not in his own handwriting, and of the choice, though not numerous, collection of coins, which Archbishop Ussher had bequeathed to his daughter; and the officers and soldiers of the army then in Ireland, from a generous emulation of the former noble action of Queen Elizabeth's army, were incited by some men of publick spirit to follow the example.

The purchase was accordingly effected; but the bountiful purpose of the purchasers was defeated by some pretence of Cromwell, and his son, then commander-in-chief in Ireland, who withheld it from the college. And the books being deposited in the

castle of Dublin, unbestowed, unprotected, and disregarded, in rooms not properly secured, many of them were lost or stolen during the anarchy and confusion that followed the usurper's death; till after King Charles the Second's restoration, they fell to his disposal, and he generously bestowed them on the university, agreeably to Primate Ussher's original design.

College and its contents seized by the Papists.

This collection, together with the other contents and furniture of the library, was now seized on by King James's adherents, together with the furniture of the chapel, the communion plate, and all things belonging to the college, or to the individual fellows and scholars. The house was made a barrack for a Popish garrison, the chapel was turned into a magazine, many of the chambers were employed as prisons for Protestants, the doors, wainscots, closets, and floors were destroyed, and injury to a large amount was committed on all the building and its contents, the sole offence being the design and use of the university as a place for Protestant education.

The king a martyr to Popery.

But a sufficient sketch has been now given of the trials of the Church during this short but disastrous reign. King James had made an early resolution "either to die a martyr, or to establish Popery." He did not, indeed, die the death of a martyr, but he endured a sort of martyrdom in the loss of his royal dignity, and in final banishment from his home and his country, by his defeat at the Boyne on the 1st of July, 1690; about five years and five months after his accession to the throne, and somewhat more than one year and a half after his abdication of the English crown. The character of his mind, and the tendency of his actions, are strangely illustrated by

His defeat at the Boyne, July 1, 1690.

the two last acts recorded of him, previously to the conclusive battle; namely, the appointment, in a Romish college at Kilkenny, of certain Popish priests to benefices in the diocese of Meath, from which the lawful incumbents had been forcibly driven; and the establishment, by royal charter, of a new Benedictine nunnery in Dublin, the patent for which bears date the 15th of June, 1690, a fortnight before his final defeat and dethronement. To the Church of Ireland his reign, almost from its commencement to its conclusion, was a calamitous series of fallacious promises, of violated pledges, of unconstitutional and tyrannical decrees, of arbitrary impositions, of oppressions and persecutions the most bitter and relentless. These evils probably were the dictates of wicked counsellors, rather than of his own free will; but they resulted from his determination to incur any danger in order to the establishment of Popery. However this be, his failure was of incalculable importance to the religious condition of Ireland; for it laid a check for awhile in the British empire on the aspiring, the restless, and the unchangeable spirit of that domineering power, and restored her legitimate rights and privileges, as previously secured, to the Church.

Character of his reign.

Actuated by a lively sense of the deliverance achieved for her by the victory of the Boyne, the ministers of the Church, resident in Dublin and its vicinity, waited in a body on the conqueror in his camp, and by the mouth of the venerable Bishop of Meath, who had been their great advocate in affliction, and who now conducted their rejoicing assembly, tendered to King William an address, expressive of their congratulations, their loyalty, and their

Congratulations of the clergy to King William.

prayers for his welfare[4]. On the following Sunday, July the 6th, Dopping, bishop of Meath, and Digby, bishop of Limerick, with all the clergy who were in Dublin and its neighbourhood, the Primate having excused his non-appearance by reason of his great age and infirmities, attended his triumphant procession to St. Patrick's cathedral, whither he repaired to return thanks for his success. There a sermon was preached by Dr. King, who had been elected not long before to the deanery, commemorating the power, and wisdom, and the providence of God, in the protection of his people, and the defeat of their enemies[5]. And this was followed by the king's permission for the appointment of a day of solemn thanksgiving, and for composing an occasional form of prayer. Thus pure religion, rescued from the encroachment of "Popish tyranny and arbitrary power," was again established by God's good providence in Ireland, under the safeguard of the law: and rescued from the arbitrary and tyrannical proscriptions of the Popish king, as she had been not long before delivered from the sectarian persecutions of the republican usurpation, the Church of Ireland was again vindicated and secured as part of the constitution of the kingdom; having all along, and independently of all secular support, preserved her character of a true and sound part of the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church of Christ, by her three orders of the ministry, transmitted in an unbroken line from the apostles, and by her preaching of the pure word of God, and her ministering of the sacraments, according to primitive usage, as embodied in her Book of Common Prayer.

Thanksgiving at St. Patrick's.

Restoration of the Church.

[4] WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 161.

[5] MASON, p. 211.

That this Apostolical and Scriptural Church was not at the same time enabled to exert her influence, and dispense the means of grace, over the whole kingdom and all its inhabitants, must be matter of the most sincere and deep concern with those who are capable of justly estimating her excellence. But whatever efforts now or at any other time were directed to that end, they were counteracted by impediments inherent in the politico-religious condition of the country, especially by the indefatigable energy and predominant influence of the Romish hierarchy and priesthood, which annulled all freedom of thought and action in the Popish community, so as to preclude the operation of Christian truth upon their minds, whilst they put forth all their powers for the secular aggrandisement and profit of their party. This object had been fully unfolded and boldly avowed in the last miserable reign, when every exertion was used for placing in the hands of the Papists all the property and political power of the kingdom. Such was the aim of their united efforts. And never can it be enough lamented that the united energies of Protestantism could not be brought into action on the other side; but that sectarianism was permitted to divert the natural resources, to weaken the powers, and to diminish the authority, of the Church; and thus to impede her efficacy in driving away the erroneous and false doctrines of Popery, and in spreading over the kingdom the blessings of the reformed and pure faith of Christ, and his ordinances, as professed and maintained in her Apostolical communion.

Obstructions to her progress.

Counteraction of the Romish hierarchy.

Evil influence of sectarianism.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

CATALOGUE of the ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS who are ascertained to have occupied the SEES of the CHURCH of IRELAND, during the period comprised within the foregoing narrative, commencing in the year of our Lord 1535, the twenty-sixth of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and ending in 1690, the year of the Abdication of King James the Second, with the Birth-place or Country of each Prelate, his previous Station in the Church, the dates of his Succeding to, and Vacating, his Bishoprick, and his Translation, if any.

I. PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
George Cromer	England	.. ..	1522 ..	1542	
George Dowdall	County of Louth	Prior of Crouched Friars, Ardee.....	1543 ..	1551	voluntary banishment.
Hugh Goodacre	England	Vicar of Shadfleet, Isle of Wight	1552 ..	1552	
George Dowdall	As above	.. ..	1553 ..	1558	
Adam Loftus	Yorkshire	Chaplain to Q. Elizabeth	1562 ..	1567	to Dublin.
Thomas Lancaster	England	Chaplain to Q. Elizabeth	1568 ..	1584	
John Long	London	King's College, Cambridge	1584 ..	1589	
John Garvey	Kilkenny.....	Bishop of Kilmore	1589 ..	1594	
Henry Ussher.....	Dublin.....	Archdeacon of Dublin ..	1595 ..	1613	
Christopher Hampton .	Calais	Bishop-elect of Derry....	1613 ..	1624	
James Ussher	Dublin.....	Bishop of Meath.....	1624 ..	1655	during the Usurpation.
John Bramhall	Yorkshire	Bishop of Derry.....	1661 ..	1663	
James Margetson	Yorkshire	Archbishop of Dublin ...	1663 ..	1678	
Michael Boyle	Ireland	Archbishop of Dublin ...	1678	survived the Abdication of King James.	

BISHOPS OF MEATH.

Edward Staples	Lincolnshire ...	Canon of Christ Chur. Oxford	1530 ..	1554	deprived.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
William Walsh	Waterford.....	Cistercian Monk of Bectiff	1554 ..	1560	deprived.
Hugh Brady	Dunboyn.....	Archdeacon of Meath ...	1563 ..	1583	
Thomas Jones.....	Lancashire	Dean of St. Patrick's	1584 ..	1605	to Dublin.
Roger Dod	England	Dean of Salop.....	1605 ..	1608	
George Mountgomery .	Scotland	Bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher	1610 ..	1620	
James Ussher.....	Dublin.....	Chancellor of St. Patrick's	1621 ..	1624	to Armagh.
Anthony Martin.....	Galway.....	Dean of Waterford.....	1625 ..	1650	during the Usurpation.
Henry Leslie or Lesley	Scotland	Bp. of Down and Connor	1660 ..	1661	
Henry Jones	Ireland	Bishop of Clogher	1661 ..	1681	
Anthony Dopping	Dublin.....	Bishop of Kildare	1681	survived	the Abdication of King James

BISHOPS OF CLONMACNOIS.

Quintin	Ireland	Franciscan Friar.....	1516 ..	1538	
Richard Hogan	Ireland	Bishop of Killaloe	1538 ..	1538	
Florance Gerawan	Ireland	Franciscan Friar.....	1539 ..	1554	
Peter Wall (or Wale)..	Ireland	Dominican Friar.....	1556 ..	1568	

In 1568 the bishoprick of Clonmacnois was by Act of Parliament united to that of Meath, and Hugh Brady became bishop of the two dioceses.

BISHOPS OF CLOGHER.

Hugh O'Cervallan	Ireland	.. ..	1542	not known, but later than 1557.	
Miler Magragh	Fermanagh	Franciscan Friar, Bp. elect of Down	1570 ..	1570	to Cashel.
George Mountgomery .	Scotland	Dean of Down	1605 ..	1620	
James Spottiswood	Scotland	D. D.	1621 ..	1644	
Henry Jones	Ireland	Dean of Ardagh	1645 ..	1661	to Meath.
John Leslie or Lesley..	Scotland	Bishop of Raphoe	1661 ..	1671	
Robert Leslie or Lesley	Ireland	Bishop of Raphoe	1671 ..	1672	
Roger Boyle	Ireland	Bp. of Down and Connor	1672 ..	1687	when the revenues of the see were applied by King James to the support of the Popish bishops, and the see left unoccupied.

BISHOPS OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

Eugene Magenis.....	Ireland	.. ..	1541	unknown, but later than 1559.	
John Merriman	England	Chaplain to Q. Elizabeth.	1568 ..	1572	
Hugh Allen	England	.. ..	1573 ..	1582	to Ferns.
Edward Edgeworth ...	England	Preb. of Tipperkevin, Dub.	1593 ..	1595	
John Charden.....	Devonshire	Beneficed in Exeter	1596 ..	1601	
Robert Humston.....	.. ..	M. A.	1602 ..	1606	
John Tod	.. ..	Dean of Cashel	1606 ..	1611	deprived.
James Dundas.....	Scotland	Chantor of Murray.....	1612 ..	1612	
Robert Echlin	Scotland	.. ..	1613 ..	1635	
Henry Leslie or Lesley	Scotland	Dean of Down	1635 ..	1660	to Meath.
Jeremy Taylor	Cambridge	Chaplain to K. Charles I.	1661 ..	1667	
Roger Boyle	Ireland	Dean of Cork	1667 ..	1672	to Clogher.
Thomas Hacket	England	Dean of Cork	1672	survived	the Abdication of King James II.

BISHOP OF KILMORE.

John Garvey	Kilkenny.....	Dean of Christ Church ..	1585 ..	1589	to Armagh.

BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

Names.	Birth-p aces.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Lisach Ferral	Ireland	.. ..	1583	unknown.	

BISHOPS OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

Robert Draper	Ireland	Rector of Trim	1603	.. 1612	
Thomas Moygne.....	Lincolnshire...	Dean of St. Patrick's....	1612	.. 1628	
William Bedell	Essex	Provost of Trinity College	1629	1633	Ardagh, by resignation.
				1641	Kilmore, by death.

BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

John Richardson	Chester	Archdeacon of Derry....	1633	.. 1654	during the Usurpation.

BISHOPS OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

Robert Maxwell.....	Ireland	Archdeacon of Down..	1643 / 1661	1672	
Francis Marsh	Gloucestershire.	Bishop of Limerick.....	1672	.. 1681	to Dublin.
William Sheridan	Cavan	Dean of Down	1681	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF DROMORE.

Arthur Magenis	Ireland	.. ..	1550	unknown.	
John Tod held the see in commendam with Down and Connor			1606	.. 1611	deprived.
Theophilus Buckworth	Cambridgeshire.	Treasurer of Armagh	1613	.. 1652	during the Usurpation.
Robert Lesley, or Leslie	Ireland	Archdeacon of Connor ..	1660	.. 1661	to Raphoe.
Jeremy Taylor held the see in commendam with Down and Connor..			1661	.. 1667	
George Rust.....	Cambridge	Dean of Connor	1667	.. 1670	
Essex Digby	Warwickshire .	Dean of Cashel	1670	.. 1683	
Capel Wiseman	Essex	Dean of Raphoe.....	1683	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF RAPHOE.

George Mountgomery ..	Scotland	Dean of Down.....	1605	.. 1610	to Meath.
Andrew Knox	Scotland	Bishop of Orkney	1611	.. 1633	
John Lesley, or Leslie .	Scotland	Bishop of Orkney	1633	.. 1661	to Clogher.
Robert Lesley, or Leslie	Ireland	Bishop of Dromore	1661	.. 1671	to Clogher.
Ezekiel Hopkins	Devonshire	Dean of Raphoe.....	1671	.. 1681	to Derry.
William Smith	Lisnegarvy	Bishop of Killalla	1681	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF DERRY.

George Mountgomery .	Scotland	Dean of Down	1605	.. 1610	to Meath.
Brutus Babington.....	Cheshire	Fell. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	1610	.. 1611	
John Tanner.....	Cornwall	Bishop elect of Dromore	1613	.. 1615	
George Downham	Chester	Chaplain to K. James I..	1616	.. 1634	
John Bramhall	Yorkshire.....	Archdeacon of Meath....	1634	.. 1660	to Armagh.
George Wild	Middlesex	Chaplain to Abp. Laud..	1661	.. 1665	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Robert Mossom	England	Dean of Christ Ch., Dublin	1666	1679	
Michael Ward	Shropshire	Bishop of Ossory	1679	1681	
Ezekiel Hopkins	Devonshire	Bishop of Raphoe	1681	1690	

II. PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.

ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

George Browne	London	Provincial of Augustine Friars	1535	1554	deprived.
Hugh Curwin	Westmoreland	Dean of Hereford	1555	1567	to Oxford.
Adam Loftus	Yorkshire	Archbishop of Armagh	1567	1605	
Thomas Jones	Lancashire	Bishop of Meath	1605	1619	
Lancelot Bulkeley	Anglesey	Archdeacon of Dublin	1619	1650	during the Usurpation.
James Margetson	Yorkshire	Dean of Christ Church	1660	1663	to Armagh.
Michael Boyle	Ireland	Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross	1663	1678	to Armagh.
John Parker	Dublin	Bishop of Elphin	1678	1681	
Francis Marsh	Gloucestershire	Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh	1681	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF KILDARE.

Walter Wellesley	Ireland	Prior of Conal	1531	1539	
William Miagh	Ireland	.. .. ..	1540	1548	
Thomas Lancaster	England	.. .. ..	1550	1554	deprived.
Thomas Leverous	Kildare	Dean of St. Patrick's	1551	1559	deprived.
Alexander Craik	.. ..	Dean of St. Patrick's	1560	1564	
Robert Daly	.. ..	Prebend. of Clonmethan	1564	1582	
Daniel Neylan	.. ..	Rector of Inniscatty	1583	1603	
William Pilsworth	London	Chancellor of Ferns	1604	1635	
Robert Ussher	Ireland	Provost of Trinity Coll.	1635	1642	
William Golbourn	Chester	Archdeacon of Kildare	1644	1650	during the Usurpation.
Thomas Price	Wales	Archdeacon of Kilmore	1661	1667	to Cashel.
Ambrose Jones	Ireland	Archdeacon of Meath	1667	1678	
Anthony Dopping	Dublin	Chaplain to Duke of Ormonde	1678	1681	to Meath.
William Moreton	Chester	Dean of Christ Church	1681	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF OSSORY.

Milo Baron	Ireland	Prior of Inistiock	1527	1550	
John Bale	Suffolk	Rector of Bishop's-stoke	1552	1553	by expulsion.
John Thonory	Kilkenny	B.D.	1553	1565	
Christopher Gaffney	Ireland	Prebendary of Tipper	1567	1576	
Nicholas Walsh	Ireland	Chancellor of St. Patrick's	1577	1585	
John Horsfall	Yorkshire	.. .. ..	1586	1609	
Richard Deane	Yorkshire	Dean of Kilkenny	1609	1612	
Jonas Wheeler	Oxford	Dean of Christ Ch., Dublin	1613	1640	
Griffith Williams	Caernarvon	Dean of Bangor	1641	1672	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
John Parry	Dublin	Dean of Christ Church	1672	1677	
Benjamin Parry	Dublin	Dean of St. Patrick's	1677	1678	
Michael Ward	Shropshire	Provost of Trinity Coll.	1678	1679	
Thomas Otway	Wiltshire	Bishop of Killalla and Achonry	1679	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

BISHOPS OF FERNS.

Alexander Devereux	Wexford	Abbot of Dunbrody	1539	1566	
John Devereux	Wexford	Dean of Ferns	1566	1578	
Hugh Allen	England	Bishop of Down and Connor	1582	1599	

BISHOPS OF LEIGHLIN.

Matthew Sanders	Drogheda	.. .. ..	1527	1549	
Robert Travers	.. ..	.. .. ..	1550	1555	deprived.
Thomas Field, or O'Fihel	Cork	Franciscan Friar	1555	1567	
Daniel Cavenagh	Ireland	Chancellor of Leighlin	1567	1587	
Richard Meredyth	Wales	Dean of St. Patrick's	1589	1597	

BISHOPS OF FERNS AND LEIGHLIN.

Robert Grave	Kent	Dean of Cork	1600	1600	
Nicholas Stafford	.. ..	Chancellor of Ferns	1600	1604	
Thomas Ram	Windsor	Dean of Ferns	1605	1634	
George Andrew	Daventry	Dean of Limerick	1635	1648	during the Usurpation.
Robert Price	Wales	Dean of Connor	1661	1666	
Richard Boyle	Ireland	Dean of Limerick	1666	1682	
Narcissus Marsh	Wiltshire	Provost of Trinity College	1682	survived the Abdication of King James II.	

III. PROVINCE OF CASHEL.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CASHEL.

Edmund Butler	Ireland	Prior of Abbey of Athassel	1527	1550	
Roland Baron	Ireland	.. .. ..	1553	1561	

BISHOPS OF EMLY.

Æneas O'Hifernan	Ireland	Preceptor of Any	1543	1553	
Reymun de Burgh	Ireland	Observantine Franciscan	..	1562	

In 1568 the two Sees of Cashel and Emly were united by Act of Parliament.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CASHEL AND BISHOPS OF EMLY.

James Mac Caghwell	Cashel	Bishop-elect of Down	1567	1570	
Miler Magragh	Fermanagh	Bishop of Clogher	1570	1622	
Malcolm Hamilton	Scotland	Chancellor of Down	1623	1629	
Archibald Hamilton	Scotland	Bishop of Killalla and Achonry	1630	1659	
Thomas Fulwar	Ireland	Bishop of Ardfert	1661	1666	
Thomas Price	Wales	Bishop of Kildare	1667	1684	when the revenues of the see were applied by King James for the support of the Popish Bishops, and the sees were left unoccupied.

BISHOPS OF LIMERICK.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
John Coyn	Ireland	Domiuican Friar	1522	1551	resigned.
William Casey	Ireland	Rector of Kilcornan	1551	1556	deprived.
Hugh Lacy or Lees	Ireland	Canon of Limerick	1557	1571	resigned.
William Casey	As above	Restored	1571	1591	
John Thornburgh	Salisbury	Dean of York	1593	1603	to Bristol.
Bernard Adams	Middlesex	Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford	1604	1625	
Francis Gough	Wiltshire	Chancellor of Limerick	1626	1634	
George Webb	Wiltshire	Chap. to King Charles I.	1634	1641	
Robert Sibthorp	Essex	Bishop of Kilfenora	1642	1649	during the Usurpation.

BISHOPS OF ARDFERT AND AGHADOE.

Nicholas Keenan	Ireland	.. .. ..	1588	1599	
John Crosby	Ireland	Prebendary of Disart	1600	1621	
John Steere	England	Bishop of Kilfenora	1622	1628	
William Steere	England	Dean of Ardfert	1628	1637	
Thomas Fulwar	Ireland	Rector of Kingroan	1641	1661	to Cashel.

BISHOPS OF LIMERICK, ARDFERT, AND AGHADOE.

Edward Singe	England	Dean of Elphin	1661	1663	to Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.
William Fuller	London	Dean of St. Patrick's	1663	1667	to Lincoln.
Francis Marsh	Gloucestershire	Dean of Armagh	1667	1672	to Kilmore and Ardagh.
John Vesey	Coleraine	Dean of Cork	1672	1678	to Tuam.
Simon Digby	Queen's County	Dean of Kildare	1678		survived the Abdication of King James.

BISHOPS OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

Nicholas Comin	Limerick	Bishop of Ferns	1519	1551	resigned.
Patrick Walsh	Waterford	Dean of Waterford	1551	1578	
Marmaduke Middleton	.. ..	Rector of Kildare	1579	1582	to St. David's
Miler Magragh	Fermanagh	In commendam with Cashel	1582	1589	resigned.
Thomas Wetherhead	Ireland	Archdeacon of Cork and Cloyne	1589	1592	
Miler Magragh	Fermanagh	In commendam with Cashel	1592	1607	resigned.
John Lancaster	England	Chap. to King James I.	1607	1619	
Michael Boyle	London	Dean of Lismore	1619	1635	
John Atherton	Somersetshire	Chanc. of Christ Church	1636	1640	
Archibald Adair	Scotland	Bishop of Killalla and Achonry	1641	1647	during the Usurpation.
George Baker	Dublin	D.D. of Dublin	1661	1665	
Hugh Gore	Dorsetshire	Dean of Lismore	1666		survived the Abdication of King James II.

BISHOPS OF CORK AND CLOYNE.

Dominick Tirrey	Ireland	Rector of Shandon	1536	1556	
Roger Skiddy	Ireland	Dean of Limerick	1557	1566	resigned.
Richard Dixon	Ireland	Preb. of Rathmichael	1570	1571	deprived.
Matthew Sheyn	Ireland	.. ..	1572	1582	

BISHOPS OF CORK, CLOYNE, AND ROSS.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
William Lyon	Chester	Vicar of Naas	1583	1617	
John Boyle	Kent	Dean of Lichfield	1618	1620	
Richard Boyle	London	Dean of Waterford	1620	1638	to Tuam.

BISHOP OF CORK AND ROSS.

William Chappel	Nottinghamshire	Prov. of Trinity College	1638	1649	during the Usurpation.

BISHOP OF CLOYNE.

George Synge	England	Dean of Dromore	1638	1653	during the Usurpation.

BISHOPS OF CORK, CLOYNE, AND ROSS.

Michael Boyle	Ireland	Dean of Cloyne	1661	1663	to Dublin.
Edward Synge	Shropshire	Bishop of Limerick	1663	1678	

BISHOP OF CORK AND ROSS.

Edward Wetenhall	Lichfield	Chantor of Christ Church	1678	survived	the Abdication of King James II.

BISHOPS OF CLOYNE.

Patrick Sheridan	Cavan	Dean of Connor	1679	1682	
Edward Jones	England	Dean of Lismore	1682	survived	the Abdication of King James.

BISHOPS OF KILLALOE.

Richard Hogan	Ireland	Franciscan Friar	1525	1539	to Clonmacnois.
James O'Corrin	Ireland	.. ..	1539	1546	resigned.
Cornelius O'Dea	Ireland	.. ..	1546	1555	
Terence O'Brien	Ireland	.. ..	1555	1566	
Maurice O'Brien	Ireland	.. ..	1570	1612	resigned
John Rider	Cheshire	Dean of St. Patrick's	1612	1632	
Lewis Jones	Merionethshire	Dean of Cashel	1633	1646	
Edward Parry	Newry	Dean of Lismore	1647	1650	during the Usurpation.
Edward Worth	Cork	Dean of Cork	1661	1669	
Daniel Witter	England	Dean of Down	1669	1675	
John Roan	Wales	Dean of Clogher	1675	survived	the Abdication of King James.

IV. PROVINCE OF TUAM.

ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM AND BISHOP OF KILMACDUAGH.

Christopher Bodekin	.. ..		1536	1572	

ARCHBISHOPS OF TUAM.

William Laly	Galway	Dean of Tuam	1573	1595	
Nehemiah Donellan	Galway	Coadjutor of Abp. Laly	1595	1609	resigned.
William Daniel	Kilkenny	Treasurer of St. Patrick's	1609	1628	
Randolph Barlow	.. ..	Dean of Christ Church	1629	1638	
Richard Boyle	London	Bp. of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross	1638	1641	
John Maxwell	Scotland	Bp. of Ross in Scotland	1645	1646	during the Usurpation.

ARCHBISHOPS OF TUAM AND BISHOPS OF KILFENORAGH.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Samuel Pullen	Yorkshire	Dean of Clonfert	1661	,, 1667	
John Parker	Dublin	Bishop of Elphin	1667	,, 1678	to Dublin.
John Vesey	Coleraine	Bishop of Limerick	1678		survived the Abdication of King James.

BISHOPS OF ELPHIN.

Conat O'Siagal	Ireland	Abbot of Assadara	1544		
Bernard O'Higgin	Ireland	Dominican Friar		.. 1552	probably.
Roland De Burgo	Ireland	Bishop of Clonfert	1552	.. 1580	
Thomas Chester	London	,, ,,		,, 1584	
John Linch	Galway	LL.B. of Oxford	1584	.. 1611	resigned.
Edward King	Huntingdonshire	D.D. of Dublin	1611	.. 1638	
Henry Tilson	Yorkshire	Dean of Christ Church	1639	.. 1655	during the Usurpation.
John Parker	Dublin	Dean of Killalla	1661	,, 1667	to Tuam.
John Hudson	England	Dean of Clogher	1667	.. 1685	when the revenues of the see were applied by King James to the support of the Popish Bishops, and the see was left unoccupied.

BISHOPS OF CLONFERT.

Richard Nangle	Ireland	Provincial of the Augustinian Hermits	1536		
Roland De Burgo	Ireland	Dean of Clonfert	1541	.. 1580	

BISHOPS OF CLONFERT AND KILMACDUAGH.

Stephen Kerovan	Galway	Archdeacon of Enaghdune	1582	.. 1602	
Roland Linch	Galway	Archdeacon of Clonfert	1602	.. 1625	
Robert Dawson	Kendal	Dean of Down	1627	.. 1643	
William Baily	Scotland	D.D. of Oxford	1644	.. 1664	
Edward Wolley	Shrewsbury	Chaplain to Kings Charles I. and Charles II.	1664	.. 1684	when the revenues of the sees were applied by King James to the support of the Popish Bishops, and the sees were left unoccupied.

BISHOP OF KILLALLA.

Owen O'Connor	Ireland	Dean of Achonry	1591	.. 1607	

BISHOPS OF KILLALLA AND ACHONRY.

Miler Magragh held these sees in commendam with Cashel			1607	.. 1622	
Archibald Hamilton	Scotland	D.D. of Glasgow	1623	.. 1630	to Cashel.
Archibald Adair	Scotland	Dean of Raphoe	1630	.. 1640	deprived.
John Maxwell	Scotland	Bp. of Ross in Scotland	1640	,, 1645	to Tuam.
Henry Hall	Oxfordshire	Dean of Cork	1661	.. 1663	
Thomas Bayly	Rutland	Dean of Down	1663	.. 1670	
Thomas Otway	Wiltshire	Chaplain to Lord Berkely	1670	.. 1679	to Ossory.
John Smith	Athboy	Dean of Limerick	1679	.. 1680	
William Smith	Lisnegarvy	Dean of Dromore	1681	.. 1681	to Raphoe.
Richard Tennison	Carrickfergus	Dean of Clogher	1681		survived the Abdication of King James II.

No. II.

Question whether any Bishops resigned at Queen Elizabeth's Accession.

It has been stated in the foregoing narrative, page 276, that the only bishops of the Church of Ireland, who were affected by the measures consequent on Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, were Walsh, bishop of Meath, and Leverous, bishop of Kildare. Whilst these sheets, however, have been passing through the press, a volume, apparently of much research and value, under the title of *An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, has been published by the Honourable and Reverend Arthur Perceval, which contains the following passage.

"At the accession of Queen Elizabeth," says Mr. Perceval, "of all the Irish bishops only two were deprived, and two others resigned, on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome. The rest continued in their sees: and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders. . . . . This has never been disputed."

The whole of this passage I take to be indisputable, except that part of it which affirms "two of the Irish bishops to have resigned their bishopricks on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome." In this particular the position of the excellent writer appears to me questionable at least, or, I may venture to say, erroneous. He will not be displeased if I proceed to investigate the position for the purpose of ascertaining its correctness. And as he does not particularize the individuals, I purpose, as the most complete and satisfactory method of proceeding, to recite the several sees, with the occupancy of each at the queen's accession, November 17, 1558, and the date and cause of each vacancy subsequent to that event, so far as they are recorded and known.

Armagh was vacated by the death of George Dowdall, August 15, 1558, and had not been filled at the queen's accession.

Meath, by the deprivation of William Walsh, 1560.

Clonmacnois, by the death of Peter Wall or Wale, 1568.

Clogher was occupied by Hugh O'Cervallan in 1557, but how much later is not recorded, nor how he vacated it. His successor was appointed in 1570.

Down and Connor was occupied by Eugene Magennis in 1560; but how much later is not recorded. A grant of the sees was made to James Mac Caghwell, January 6, 1565.

Kilmore; the occupant of this see is not known.

Ardagh was vacated by the death of Patrick Mac Mahon, 1572.

Dromore, Raphoe, and Derry; the occupant of neither of these sees is known.

Dublin was vacated by the translation of Hugh Curwin, 1567.

Kildare, by the deprivation of Thomas Leverous, 1560.

Ossory, by the death of John Thonory, 1565.

Ferns, by the death of Alexander Devereux, 1566.

Leighlin, by the death of Thomas Field, or O'Fihel, 1567.

Cashel, by the death of Roland Baron, 1561.

Emly, by the death of Reymund de Burgh, 1562.

Limerick, by the resignation of Hugh Lacy, 1571.

Ardfert was occupied by James Fitzmaurice in 1576; but how much later is not recorded, nor how he vacated it. His successor was appointed in 1588.

Waterford and Lismore, vacated by the death of Patrick Walsh, 1578.

Cork and Cloyne, by the resignation of Roger Skiddy, 1566.

Killaloe was occupied by Terence O'Brien in 1566; but how much later is not recorded; nor how he vacated it. His successor was appointed in 1570.

Tuam and Kilmacduagh, vacated by the death of Christopher Bodekin, 1572.

Kilfenorah; the occupant of this see is not known.

Elphin was vacated by the death of Roland de Burgh, 1580.

Clonfert, the same, 1580.

Killalla, occupant not known.

Achonry, occupant not known.

Of the twenty-eight bishopricks recited above, at the queen's accession, there was vacant	1
Those, of which the occupants are not known, were	7
Subsequently there were vacated by deprivation	2
" " " translation	1
" " " death	11
" " " resignation	2
" " " causes not recorded	4
Total	28

The question with which we are engaged evidently turns upon the last six.

Two of these vacancies, namely, of Cork and Cloyne, and of Limerick, were made by resignation; but these can hardly be the two of which we are in search. For one was in the year 1566, the other in 1571, that is to say, eight years and thirteen years respectively, after the queen's accession; not, therefore, on occasion of that event, nor likely to be connected with it. Besides that, as to the question of the supremacy, Bishop Skiddy had previously accepted the deanery of Limerick from King Edward the Sixth; and, although he had been appointed to the see of Cork and Cloyne by Queen Mary, he had not been put by her into real possession, but subsequently received a new grant, and his investiture, from Queen Elizabeth, and was actually consecrated by her mandate. Under these circumstances the supposed motive for resignation were strange indeed.

Two of the vacancies, namely, of Killaloe and Ardfert, were made in a manner not recorded, but after the years 1566 and 1576 respectively; probably at a considerable distance after, for the following appointments took place in 1570 and 1588; so that, supposing the two vacancies to have been made by resignation, a mere gratuitous supposition, hardly reconcileable with Sir James Ware's and Mr. Harris's ignorance of the fact, they are likewise thus removed from connexion with the queen's accession.

There remain the vacancies of the two sees of Clogher and of Down and Connor.

As to the former, there seems to be no positive evidence that Hugh O'Cervallan, bishop of Clogher, occupied the see later than 1557; but that he did occupy it later may be probably inferred from the fact of the grant of the bishoprick being made to his successor, September 18, 1570, near twelve years after Queen Elizabeth's accession, so that the vacancy should appear to have been unconnected with that event. But if it was earlier, there is still no authority for attributing it to resignation; and the absence of such authority affords a presumption against the fact, which could not well have failed of being recorded at the time, or of falling under the notice of historical antiquaries afterwards. Besides the bishops in question are said to have resigned "on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome." But Bishop O'Cervallan had long ago severed that adherence; for having been first promoted to his see by the provision of Pope Paul III., he gave up his bulls, and took the oath, then required, to King Henry VIII.; who thereupon gave him a new grant of the bishoprick; of which his adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome was not likely to produce a subsequent resignation.

As to Down and Connor, the bishop of that diocese likewise, Eugene Magennis, had been advanced to it by provision from Pope Paul III.; but he likewise had made submission, and sworn fealty to King Henry VIII., from whom he had a pardon for accepting the sees, in September or October, 1541; together with a dispensation for holding *in commendam* other benefices, which he voluntarily surrendered, and which were then, by letters patent, annexed to his bishoprick. Moreover in 1552, he assisted Archbishop Browne, together with Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, at the consecration of Goodacre and Bale, appointed by King Edward VI., respectively to Armagh and Ossory. And he was present in the session of parliament which was opened in Dublin on the 12th of January, 1560, wherein the Pope's power was utterly abrogated. "But I do not find," says Sir James Ware, "when he died." Ware, therefore, supposes, and so does, of course, his continuator Harris, that the vacancy of this see was made by death, and not by resignation, of which latter cause, if it had occurred, they could hardly have been ignorant; but, however made, the grant of the see to his successor in 1565, renders it probable that the vacancy did not occur in immediate connexion with the queen's accession.

Upon the whole, if the position which I have been examining, rests upon any direct testimony, it is entitled to credit in proportion to the validity of that testimony. If not, the foregoing review of the occupancy of the Irish sees at Queen Elizabeth's accession may be a sufficient warrant for the opinion, that no resignations were made in consequence of that event; but rather that the hypothesis of such resignations having been made, is not better founded than the fiction, which, so late as the time of Strype, attributed to the queen the deprivation of Primate Dowdall, who, in fact, died three months before she came to the throne.

POSTSCRIPT.

With reference to the foregoing investigation, my attention has been just now directed to Mr. Dodsworth's little volume, *The Church of England a Protester against Romanism and Dissent;* in the eighth number of which, page 8, is contained a quotation from a recent tract, entitled *Historical Notices of Peculiar Tenets of the Church of Rome.* This quotation states, "That by the records of the Irish Church it appears, that when, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Roman jurisdiction was renounced, of all the Irish

bishops only two, namely, Walsh, bishop of Clonard," (meaning Meath, of which Clonard was one of the numerous constituents,) " and Liverous," (Leverous,) " bishop of Kildare, suffered deprivation for their refusal to join in that renunciation. Two others, Lacey, bishop of Limerick, and Skiddy, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, resigned: the former in 1566, and the latter in 1571, possibly from scruples on the same score." It may be that these are the two bishops of whom Mr. Perceval speaks as having " resigned, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth." But, whether their resignation was at all connected with the alleged or supposed cause, is left to the decision of the reader, when he shall have considered the circumstances above stated concerning the investiture and consecration of Bishop Skiddy, and the length of time which elapsed during his and Bishop Lacy's contended occupancy of their sees, without any scruple, as it should seem, as to the Roman jurisdiction and supremacy.

After all, the question is of no great moment. But, having stated as a fact what appears to be differently regarded by the above-named respectable writers, I am fain to take this opportunity for endeavouring to explain and verify my statement.

No. III.

Original Document relating to Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, in the Reign of King James II.

Mention has been made, in page 697, of the compulsory withdrawal of Archbishop Vesey to England, during the persecution of the Church by the Papists in King James II.'s reign. An interesting MS. document, in the archbishop's handwriting, is in existence on the subject: and I take advantage of a second edition of the *History*, for profiting by the kind indulgence of his lineal descendant, the Viscount de Vesci, proffered through the Hon. and Rev. William Wingfield, vicar of Abbeyleix, and inserting the document in the Appendix.

" An account of some of God's providences to the Arch Bishop of Tuam, from the time he left Ireland to the time of his return, which he hopes & prays for, to the poor & small remnant of his flock left behind; beseeching him to preserve them in the faith unto salvation.

" On the 29th of January 1688 I left my home at Tuam,

leaving 6 small children, with several of my poor friends & relations, who depended on me, behind, bringing only my wife & 4 of my children with me: the parting was very sorrowful, and the weeping great. I left all my worldly substance, which was considerable, to the value of some thousands of pounds, in stock, furniture, & debts; but my library was to me the most valuable. On the 2nd of Feb^{y} following we came safe to Dublin, unmolested in the way, which within a week became impassable by the multitude of skein-men & half-pike-men called now Raparies. On the 6th, (the day 2 years Tyrconill took the government in Ireland & that day 4 years King James the crown in England) I took shipping in Dublin by licence under the great seal of Ireland; & on the 8th, after a most dangerous passage, landed in Hylake road at the point of Worrall in Cheshire, having not in all the world with me above £60 or thereabouts. But oh God! that wonderful deliverance from the perils of the sea was to me an earnest, that thou wouldst preserve me on the land. Give me grace thankfully to remember it all my days and always to employ that life in thy service, which thou didst so very graciously preserve; & grant I may live to return, & see that Kingdom & Church, which I then left in such desolation, in as great peace & happiness as sometimes I have seen it! I stayed at Chester till my servants came over to me, whom I left in Dublin to bring my horses after me: which being of good value, between 3 & 400£, I designed to have sold, & to have lived on the money, hoping it would, being managed with frugality, have maintained any great charge, till the storm that drove me over were passed. But I found the great seal was no protection to my estate that I had left behind: for Tyrconell, who, before I came away, had illegally & arbitrarily taken from my Arch Bishoprick of Tuam the Collegiate church of Galway, which was united perpetually to it by King Charles the 2nd, (for which I was denyed any relief in Chancery by Sir Alex^{r} Fitton,) after I was come by his leave out of the kingdom, my licence unexpired, sent to the stables & took away my set of coach horses, and my pad for his own use, & gave about 10 other saddle horses to his officers, which they divided among them by lot. On the news of this being done in Dublin, they made a garrison of my house at Tuam in the country, & took & spoiled all they could; driving away my stud, seizing my corn, hay, &c, turned out my children out of the house, acting all violences as they pleased, so that they must have perished, had not one person, a roman catholick gentlewoman (one of many of that religion whom I had obliged) been so charitable to take them into her care, which friendship I

trust God will enable me to return, in some good office before I die.

"And I thank God I have done it, in several, and especially by remitting a considerable arrear of rent, above £200, & renewing a lease gratis, the fine being worth £290." Mem. This last paragraph is in paler ink, and was evidently written at a later date.

"The names of such as have ministered to my necessities, according to the sums annexed to them, since I came into England.

"Teach me, O Lord, to live by faith in thy providence, and cover me with thy wings, till this tyranny be overpast. Be gracious to those my benefactors, & to all my enemies: forgive these the injuries, & reward those for the kindness, they have shewn, neither of which I have deserved at their hands. But thou, O Lord, suppliest by the charity of the one, what I suffer by the injustice of the other: in this thou dealest justly, in the other mercifully, with me. Glory be to thee, O Lord, for both! Let no spirit rise in me lusting to revenge: but enable me to take patiently the spoiling of my goods. Restore me in thy good time to the discharge of my pastoral duty, that I may do good to the souls of those who have so injuriously treated me, both in my reputation & estate. And since thou art pleased in a strange country, to raise friends to relieve the wants of my poor family out of their abundance, encrease, I pray thee, their casket & their store, & fill the bags which they so charitably empty, & let them never want what they have given, but reap the promises of Godliness in this life & a better, finding grace here in the time of need & a treasure in heaven hereafter. Accept, I beseech thee, as done unto thyself, what they have done to thy unworthy servant: for when I was hungry, they gave me meat; when I was thirsty, they gave me drink; & when I & mine were naked, they clothed us. Let them therefore find place among the blessed of the Father at thy right hand, when thou shalt reward every man according to his works, O most blessed Saviour & Redeemer Jesus. Amen.

	£.	s.	d.
"Imprimis—Given to my wife at Chester by Mrs. Hinton	03	00	00
"Given by Dr. Patrick Dean of Peterborough, out of some money put into his hands for charitable uses	20	00	00
"Given by Jonathan Lord Bishop of Exeter, six guinies	06	09	00
"As I was coming out of St Lawrence Jury church on tuesday May 28th 89, a clergyman pulled me by the gown, and in an entry told me he gave me thanks for my sermon at St. Ann's on Whitsun-			

	£.	s.	d.
day, and was sorry for my losses & my countrymens in Ireland; and putting a shilling into my hand desired me to accept it. I asked his name; he said it was not worth enquiring, but bid me thank God. I told him I did so, but desired his name: he said he was one Philips, & lived in Wiltshire. The good man seemed as if he rather wanted my charity. I considered his good will, & was afraid I should have put him out of countenance if I should refuse it, & also that it may be God sent him to try whether I was humble under my affliction; & therefore told him what he gave, I believed, in great kindness, I received with as much thankfulness. It may be it was his mite: & may the cup of cold water given to a prophet, in the name of a prophet, & by a prophet, have the reward of a prophet. I bent the shilling to distinguish it, resolving to keep it to the last if God be pleased to bring me to it: but unfortunately I lost it out of my pocket . .	00	01	00
" Given my wife by my good lady Clarke her cousin, four guinnies and a Louis . . .	05	03	06
" Given by Mr. Roderick to my son 4 guinies, which I sent to Mr. Roderick for his salary June 20th 89, at which time leaving Eton, he gave this to buy him books	04	06	00
" Given by delivery of Mr. Thos. Firmin from an unknown hand, one W^{m} and Mary, a guinea .	01	01	06
" Given by one Mr. Gower of Fetter-lane, apothecary	01	00	00
" Sent to me by one Mr. Alexander of Gracious Street a Taylor, as much fine milled crape, as will make a gown and cassock. he was obliged not to discover who sent it; but what is given in secret, O Lord, do thou reward openly in this world & in the great day of retribution.			
" July 18th 89 Given me by Mr. & Mr. of Cliffords Inn with great civility as the respects of some Gents of the house, 10 guinies . . .	10	15	00
" July 24th 89 Sent as a present to my wife by Dr. Tenison out of some private charity,			

		£.	s.	d.
	he had to dispense & delivered to me by Dr. Tenison Bp. of Killala	10	00	00
" Aug. 6th 89	Sent me by Dr. Wake from an unknown hand & delivered by Mr. Firmin, five guinnies . .	05	07	06
" Aug. 6th 89	Sent me by Dr. Tillotson by the same hand five guinnies .	05	07	06
	" Sent me the same day by Sir Jeremy Sambrook by the same hand .	05	07	06
	" Sent to my wife as a present by her cousin Roy . . .	05	00	00
" 7th	A Gent who refused to let me know his name brought me 3 pounds .	03	00	00
" 14th	Sent to my daughter Lettis by the Countess of Berkley at Epsom 5 guinies . . .	05	07	06
" 22	Brought by Dr. Horneck from a lady	15	00	00
" 22	By Mr. Rawlinson Apothecary in physic to my children . .	02	00	00
	" Dr. Harris bestows his care without fees.			
" 23	Sent me a good beaver . .	03	00	00
" 28	By a grave Gent low statured; pretty well (qu. drest) a flaxen wig; he would not tell his name, ten guinies	10	15	00
" 29	The Queen unsolicited sent me by the Clerk of the closet, Dr. Stanley	40	00	00
	" The same day the King ordered me out of the treasury £200: may the Lord bless & reward them both! .	200	00	00
" Sep. 2	Given by my brother Owen, delivered by his wife £30 . .	30	00	00
" 14	Sent me then from the company of Drapers by one Mr. Reily .	03	00	00
" 17	Given to Letty by my cousin Walker	04	00	00
" 30	Given by the Bp. of St. Asaph of the Queen's charity . .	10	00	00
" 31st	Sent by Dean Davys for Tomy .	05	00	00
	" By Mr. Calamy a broad piece when I baptized his child . .	20	00	00
" Oct. 11	A present sent by an unknown person, I suppose Sir J^{h} Horn, of near	01	04	00

		£.	s.	d.
	eight yards of fine black cloth to make a gown & cassock .	07	00	00
" Oct. 14th	3 Guinies sent by an unknown lady .	03	04	06
" 21st	30 Guineas sent by an unknown hand	31	10	00
" Nov. 3	Given 20 shillings for preaching a sermon at Mercers Chapel .	01	00	00
" Nov. 7	Sent me by my L$^{d.}$ Newport .	20	00	00
" Dec. 17	Sent by Bp. of Hereford by Mr. Middleton . . .	10	00	00
" 24	Sent by the Bp. of Lincoln by Mr. Middleton . . .	10	00	00
" Jan. 21	Sent by Dean Davys for Tomy .	10	00	00
" Feb. 17	By the Bp. of St. Asaph out of the Queen's charity . .	05	00	00
" March 12	By Mr. Firmin from the Earl of Kingston . . .	10	00	00
" 1690 April 17	By the Bp. of St. Asaph of the Queen's charity . .	05	00	00
" 30	By an unknown hand to D$^{r.}$ Wake for me . . .	05	07	06
" May 3	Brought by Mr. Middleton from an unknown hand . .	05	00	00
" June 3	Brought by Mr. Middleton from D$^{r.}$ Montague . . .	05	00	00
" 18	Sent by the Com$^{rs.}$ of the great seal out of arrears of mine for farm rents . . .	50	00	00
" July 8th	Given by the Countess of Berkley for Letty . . .	05	07	06
" 22	By Bp. of St. Asaph of the Queen's charity . . .	05	00	00
" Aug. 20	Given me at my going to Ireland by Sir Jo$^{h.}$ Horne . .	20	00	00
" Jan. 19	Given again soon after my return by Sir Jos$^{h.}$ Horne . .	21	10	00
" Feb. 12	Given by D$^{r.}$ Busby my old master .	05	07	06
" 13	Given by Lady Keeling . .	05	07	06
" March 16	Given by D$^{r.}$ Tenison & D$^{r.}$ Freeman out of D$^{r.}$ Caven's legacy .	05	00	00
" June 30	Given by the Lady Cook 5 broad pieces . . .	05	17	06
" July 3	Sent by Mrs. Fitzgerald the Bp. of			

		£.	s.	d.
	Clonferts wife from an unknown hand . . .	10	15	00
" July 10	Given me by Mr. Firmin crape for a gown & cassock 36 yards.			
" Sept. 1	Sent me by the Earl of Strafford .	50	00	00
" 3	Given me by Sir Joseph Horne .	50	00	00
" 15	Sent me by an unknown hand in the city . . .	20	00	00
" Feb. 26	Sent me by Dr. Montague & the vice Chancellor of Cambridge from the University . .	21	10	00
" 26	Sent me by Mr. Cooker senr. Bursar of Trinity College Cambridge from the house both sent by Mr. Wm.			
"1692	Martyn Carryer . .	05	00	00
March 27	Given by Mr. Ferdwich . .	20	00	00
" 28	Sent by Mr. Middleton from unknown hands ten guineas & 3 pds. in silver	13	15	00
	" Given by Mrs. Moyear a 5 guinny piece . . .	05	07	06
	" The Queen after my coming from London gave me—but it cost me in fees to the Officers in the treasury & for solliciting more than £43 .	300	00	00

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